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MODERN PHILOLOGY

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ERRATUM

MODERN PHILOLOGY, XVI (December, 1918), p. 445, lines 19-20:
for Macpherson's read Stone's.

Modern Philology

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NUMBER I

THE HOUSEKEEPERS OF THE GLOBE

The Globe playhouse was jointly operated by two distinct business organizations, the members of which were known respectively as the "housekeepers" and the "actors." The "housekeepers" were the proprietors of the building; the "actors" were the chief players of the troupe. The "housekeepers" at their own cost provided the theatre, and agreed to keep it in good repair.¹ In return for this they received one-half of the income from the galleries, boxes, and tiring-house door.² The "actors" not only did the bulk of the acting; they paid the wages of the hired men (i.e., those players, or "hirelings," who were not members of the "company," as the organization of "actors" was called), of the boys (who were needed to play the rôles of women), and of the musicians; provided all the costumes and properties; met the charges of the poets (who were sometimes paid by the play and sometimes engaged at a fixed salary); and settled for all the other expenses connected with operating the playhouse.³ In return for this they received the other half of the income from the galleries, boxes, and tiring-house door, and, in addition, the whole of the income from the outer doors⁴—that is, the money paid for general admission, which, of course, did not include admission to the galleries and boxes.

¹ See the Petition of Benfield, Swanston, and Pollard, with the other documents relating thereto, printed by J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines of the Life of William Shakespeare*, eleventh edition, 1907 (hereafter referred to as *Petition*), pp. 313, 316.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 313, 317.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 313, 316.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 313, 317.

The two organizations, though distinct, were interlocking, for most of the "housekeepers" were also "actors." At first all the "housekeepers" were also "actors," except Cuthbert Burbage (who, in all probability, originated the scheme of the Globe, and was mainly responsible for the erection of the building). Later, however, at the death of some of the "housekeepers," who left their property to relatives or friends, a few outsiders were admitted. The practical result of this system of interlocking was the harmonious operation of the theatre for the mutual benefit of the two organizations.

Each organization distributed its profits by means of shares; but one must always carefully distinguish between shares in the house and shares in the company. Shakespeare is referring to shares in the company in *Hamlet*, III, ii, 289-94:

Hamlet: Would not this, sir, and a forest of feathers,—if the rest of my fortunes turn Turk with me—with two Provincial roses on my razed shoes, get me a fellowship in a cry of players, sir?

Horatio: Half a share.

Hamlet: A whole one, I.

The present article deals only with the shares in the house.

The organization of the housekeepers was formed in December, 1598, by the two brothers, Richard and Cuthbert Burbage, for the specific purpose of erecting the Globe playhouse.¹ According to their plan the Globe property was to be divided into two separate and distinct moieties or halves; the one moiety was to be held by the Burbages as the originators of the scheme; the other moiety was to be held by five of the actors, probably chosen by the Burbages,² namely, William Shakespeare, John Heminges, Augustine Phillips, Thomas Pope, and William Kempe. When on February 21, 1599, the formal lease of the land was signed with Sir Nicholas Brend, this division into moieties was carefully observed; to the Burbages Sir Nicholas leased one-half of the property at a yearly rental of £7 5s., and to the actors he leased the other half at the same rate. The actors immediately took their moiety and, dividing it into five equal parts, proceeded to arrange their holdings in the form of a "joint tenancy."

¹ For a complete history of the erection of the Globe see Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 234.

² So Cuthbert Burbage states; see *Petition*, p. 317.

The distinction between the two moieties (one as the private property of the Burbages, the other as the property of the actors) was maintained until after the death of Richard Burbage. During all the intervening years the Burbages' moiety remained untouched; the actors' moiety, however, was subject to change at any time.

At the outset, then, the Globe property was divided into ten equal shares, distributed as follows:¹

Richard Burbage	2½
Cuthbert Burbage	2½
William Shakespeare	1
John Heminges	1
Augustine Phillips	1
Thomas Pope	1
William Kempe	1

In the early summer of 1599 William Kempe withdrew from the undertaking. The actors' moiety was promptly reorganized, and Kempe's share was divided equally among the remaining four.² The distribution of shares, therefore, at the time of the opening of the Globe in 1599 stood as follows:³

Richard Burbage	2½
Cuthbert Burbage	2½
William Shakespeare	1¼
John Heminges	1¼
Augustine Phillips	1¼
Thomas Pope	1¼

Early in 1604 Thomas Pope died, and by his will left his share to Mary Clark, alias Wood, and Thomas Bromley, to be held by them

¹ See the legal documents in the case of *Witter vs. Heminges and Condell*, printed by Charles William Wallace in *Shakespeare and His London Associates* (issued as *University Studies*, X, 305-36 [especially p. 53], published by the University of Nebraska). For the ability to trace in such detail the history of the Globe housekeepers we are in large measure indebted to the discovery by Mr. Wallace of these documents as well as the *Osteler vs. Heminges* documents, which not only supplement but also illuminate the wills of the actors, printed by Malone, Chalmers, and Collier, and the important *Petition* discovered and printed by J. O. Halliwell-Phillips.

² *Witter vs. Heminges and Condell*, p. 54.

³ It is possible, of course, to conceive of the property as now consisting of eight shares, the Burbages holding two each, and the actors one each; but the legal documents still refer to the property as divided into ten shares as I have indicated; see, for example, *Witter vs. Heminges and Condell*, p. 54.

jointly.¹ Mary soon married the well-known actor John Edmonds, a member of Queen Anne's company. The share is thereafter referred to as being in the hands of "Basilius Nicoll [a scrivener, the executor of Pope's will, and here, possibly, representing Thomas Bromley, who was a minor²], John Edmonds, and Mary his wife."³

In May, 1605, Augustine Phillips died, and his share in the Globe passed to his widow.⁴ Shortly afterward she married John Witter, who thenceforth held the share in his wife's right.⁵

At some date not long after July, 1605, two distinguished members of the company, William Sly and Henry Condell, were admitted to the actors' moiety. The shares were thereupon increased to twelve, distributed as follows:⁶

Richard Burbage	3
Cuthbert Burbage	3
William Shakespeare	1
John Heminges	1
Henry Condell	1
William Sly	1
Basilius Nicoll, etc.	1
John Witter	1

In August, 1608, William Sly died, and by a nuncupative will⁷ left his share in the Globe to Robert Brown, presumably the well-known actor. The share, however, soon passed, probably by purchase,

¹ For the will see J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of the Principal Actors in the Plays of Shakespeare*, p. 125.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 127, 128.

³ See the Osteler *vs.* Heminges documents, printed by Mr. Wallace in the *Times*, London, October 2 and 4, 1909; in *Advance Sheets from Shakespeare, the Globe, and Blackfriars*, 1909; and in the *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, Vol. XLVI.

⁴ See J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of the Principal Actors*, p. 85.

⁵ Witter *vs.* Heminges and Condell, pp. 47-76.

⁶ Mr. Wallace is in error, I believe, when he says (e.g., in the *Times*, London, October 2, 1909) that Condell was not admitted as a sharer in the house until 1610, and that the number of shares in the Globe was not increased from the original ten until that year. The evidence on which I base my statement is clear and positive, and was discovered and printed by Mr. Wallace himself. It is to be found in the Witter *vs.* Heminges and Condell documents, pp. 49, 57.

⁷ For the will see George Chalmers, *Apology*, p. 441.

to John Heminges and Henry Condell, and the distribution of the Globe property now stood:

Richard Burbage	3
Cuthbert Burbage	3
John Heminges	1½
Henry Condell	1½
William Shakespeare	1
Basilus Nicoll, etc.	1
John Witter	1

On February 20, 1611, the famous player William Osteler was admitted to the actors' moiety. This increased the total number of the shares to fourteen, which were distributed as follows:¹

Richard Burbage	3½
Cuthbert Burbage	3½
John Heminges	1½
Henry Condell	1½
William Shakespeare	1
William Osteler	1
Basilus Nicoll, etc.	1
John Witter	1

On July 29, 1613, the destruction of the playhouse by fire led the housekeepers to erect at great expense the Second Globe. For this purpose an assessment of "£50 or £60" was made upon each share. John Witter, by failing to contribute his part when called upon, forfeited his share.² John Heminges, as the business manager, thereupon confiscated the share and gave one-half of it gratis to Henry Condell, each, of course, contributing the requisite assessment. Thus, after the rebuilding, the property was held as follows:³

Richard Burbage	3½
Cuthbert Burbage	3½
John Heminges	2
Henry Condell	2
William Shakespeare	1
William Osteler	1
Basilus Nicoll, etc.	1

¹ Osteler vs. Hemings; Witter vs. Hemings and Condell, p. 61.

² Witter vs. Heminges and Condell, pp. 60, 61.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 61, 62.

On December 16, 1614, William Osteler died, and left his share to his wife, Thomasine, the young daughter of John Heminges. The share was promptly taken over by Heminges to manage for his daughter.¹

On April 23, 1616, William Shakespeare died. The immediate disposition of his share is not known. He may have disposed of it before his death, for it is not mentioned in his will; but this assumption, of course, is not necessary. I cannot believe with Fleay² that his share passed to Cuthbert Burbage. There is no evidence for this opinion and much evidence against it. The share would naturally remain in the actors' moiety and in the hands of the actors themselves. Whatever was the immediate disposition of the share, evidence shows that it was ultimately divided between Heminges and Condell.

In 1617, or very soon thereafter,³ Nathaniel Field, who had joined the Globe company, was admitted into the actors' moiety, and the total number of shares was increased to sixteen.⁴ The distribution, assuming that Shakespeare's share had by this time been divided between Heminges and Condell, was as follows:

Richard Burbage	4
Cuthbert Burbage	4
John Heminges	2½
Henry Condell	2½
Nathaniel Field	1
Thomasine Osteler	1
Basilius Nicoll, etc.	1

On March 13, 1619, Richard Burbage died, leaving his four shares to his widow,⁵ who shortly married a Mr. Robinson.

Next, through the retirement of Nathaniel Field, and the disappearance of "Basilius Nicoll, John Edmonds, and Mary his wife,"⁶

¹ Osteler *vs.* Heminges.

² *A Chronicle History of the London Stage*, p. 325.

³ I have not been able to determine the date exactly. Field was acting his *Amends for Ladies* at Rosseter's Blackfriars in January, 1617; the playhouse, however, was closed on January 27, and possibly Field joined the King's Men shortly after. See Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 346.

⁴ Witter *vs.* Heminges and Condell, p. 63.

⁵ For his will see J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of the Principal Actors*, p. 45.

⁶ Probably when young Thomas Bromley, who held the share jointly with Mary Clark alias Wood, came of age, Basilius Nicoll, as executor of the will, sold the share to Heminges and Condell in order to settle up the estate.

and of Thomasine Osteler,¹ Heminges and Condell managed to get into their hands all of the actors' moiety.² The distribution of the sixteen shares stood thus:

Mrs. Robinson	4
Cuthbert Burbage	4
John Heminges	4
Henry Condell	4

In December, 1627, Henry Condell died, leaving his four shares to his widow.³

The only actor now represented among the housekeepers was John Heminges, and he, we are told, had "given over playing."⁴ This was a state of affairs not originally contemplated, and, of course, far from desirable. Accordingly a reorganization was secured by which Joseph Taylor and John Lowin, the two most eminent members of the company, were admitted as housekeepers and each allotted two shares. This was accomplished by taking two shares from Mrs. Condell, one share from John Heminges, and half a share from Cuthbert Burbage and from Mrs. Robinson.⁵ Thus for the first time the integrity of the Burbages' moiety was affected, and from now on, so far as I can discover, no distinction is made between the two moieties. The shares after the reorganization stood:

Mrs. Robinson	3½
Cuthbert Burbage	3½
John Heminges	3
Mrs. Condell	2
Joseph Taylor	2
John Lowin	2

On October 10, 1630, John Heminges died, and his three shares passed to his son William.⁶ In 1633 William, being in pecuniary straits, sold one share to John Shanks, a member of the Globe

¹ For her suit against her father to recover the share, see the *Osteler vs. Heminges* documents.

² *Petition*, p. 312.

³ See J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of the Principal Actors*, p. 145; *Petition*, p. 312.

⁴ *Petition*, p. 316.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 312.

⁶ See his will, J. P. Collier, *Memoirs of the Principal Actors*, p. 73; *Petition*, p. 316.

company; and a year later, for the same reason, he sold the other two shares to Shanks.¹ The distribution now stood:

Mrs. Robinson	3½
Cuthbert Burbage	3½
John Shanks	3
Mrs. Condell	2
Joseph Taylor	2
John Lowin	2

The following year, 1635, three other members of the company, Robert Benfield, Elliard Swanston, and Thomas Pollard, believing that their "labours, according to their several ways and abilities," were equal to those of John Shanks, petitioned the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery, the Lord Chamberlain, to be admitted as housekeepers to the Globe, suggesting that Cuthbert Burbage, Mrs. Robinson, and John Shanks each be required to sell them one share.² The petition was granted,³ and the new distribution of the shares was as follows:

Mrs. Robinson	2½
Cuthbert Burbage	2½
Mrs. Condell	2
John Shanks	2
Joseph Taylor	2
John Lowin	2
Robert Benfield	1
Elliard Swanston	1
Thomas Pollard	1

So far as our knowledge goes this was the final disposition of the shares. The lease which the housekeepers held from Brend was rapidly drawing to a close; indeed, Brend sought to regain possession of his property on December 25, 1635, but the housekeepers brought suit in the Court of Requests and forced an extension of the lease until December 25, 1644. The outbreak of the Civil War, however, put an end to the usefulness of the Globe before that date. Brend, it would seem, did not wait for the lease to expire, but "on Monday the 15 of April, 1644," pulled down the building "to make tenements in the room of it."⁴

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

¹ *Petition*, pp. 312, 313, 314, 316.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 312, 314.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

⁴ The manuscript notes in the Phillipps copy of *Stow's Annals*; see *The Academy*, October 28, 1882, p. 314.

THE DRAMATIZATION OF THE ROBIN HOOD BALLADS

I. THE EXTANT MATERIAL

It has long been known that the Robin Hood plays are related in some way to the Robin Hood ballads, but just what this relation is has not been fully studied. Did the plays borrow from the ballads, or the ballads from the plays? Or do both go back to a common oral tradition? The material which will help us answer these questions is very scanty. There are three fragmentary Robin Hood plays, one certainly before 1475, the other two of unknown date.¹ Of the thirty-nine ballads on this subject only twelve can be dated with certainty before the seventeenth century.² The most important documents for this study are:

"A Gest of Robyn Hode" (probably before 1500), which is based on "Robin Hood, the Knight, and the Monk," "Robin Hood, Little John, and the Sheriff," "Robin Hood and the King," "Robin Hood's Death," and other ballads.³

"Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne," Percy MS, ca. 1650, date of composition unknown.

"Robin Hood and the Curtal Friar." Versions A and B go back to a common original ballad of unknown date.⁴

"Robin Hood and the Potter," in a MS of about 1500.⁵

"Robin Hood and the Butcher," after "Robin Hood and the Potter," and probably derived from it.⁵

"Robin Hood Rescuing Three Squires," which shows verbal resemblances to "The Curtal Friar."⁶

"Robin Hood and the Monk," before 1450.⁷

"Robin Hood and the Valiant Knight," which occurs first in eighteenth-century copies.

¹ Child, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, III, 90, prints the plays. They are reprinted in Manly's *Specimens*, I, 279-88.

² Child, *op. cit.*, III, 42.

³ Child, *op. cit.*, III, 42, names these four ballads as the sources of the "Gest." Clawson, *The Gest of Robin Hood* ("University of Toronto Studies," 1909), pp. 24, 55, 67, 76, 96, 122-23, 125-27, proves that several other separate ballads were used by the compiler of the "Gest."

⁴ Child, *op. cit.*, III, 120-22; Clawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 65-68.

⁵ Child, *op. cit.*, III, 108, 115; Clawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 72-73.

⁶ Child, *op. cit.*, III, 178.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 42.

II. DEVELOPMENT OF THE ROBIN HOOD PLAYS

The dramatic elements in the ballad have been pointed out so frequently that it will be necessary only to refer the reader to the work of Steenstrup, Hart, and Miller.¹ The chief interest of the balladist is in the single striking dramatic situation. In keeping with this chief interest of the balladist are the impersonality as regards the author, the omissions in the narrative, the shifting of time and place, the lack of synchronism of the events in the action, and the holding of the key of the situation to the close of the narrative. Most of these ballad traits are found also in the Robin Hood plays, which will be compared more closely with single ballads farther on. It is clear, I think, that the ballad contained dramatic elements strong enough to cause it to develop easily into drama. A little more stress on the action that accompanied the singing of the ballad, an additional development of the mimetic tendency at the expense of the songlike qualities, was all that was required to transform the ballad into a drama.

There is evidence to support the theory that this transformation was furthered by the fact that both ballads and plays were important features of the May-games. The references to Robin Hood in *Piers Plowman*, in the histories of Bower and Major, and in the Paston letters show that the Robin Hood legends were very popular with the common people.² By the fifteenth century Robin Hood had been taken over into the May-games. As Chambers points out,³ Robin the shepherd at once suggested Robin the outlaw. Robin and Marion were conventional names of shepherds and shepherdesses in the French *pastourelles*. These names form the title of Adan de la Halle's *Robin et Marion*, which is based on French *caroles* on the same subject. The identity of name between Robin the shepherd and Robin the outlaw, who had long been the hero of popular ballads, led to the merging of the two characters in the May-games. Robin soon brought the rest of his band into these festivities. There are numerous references to Robin Hood in

¹ Steenstrup, *The Medieval Popular Ballad* (transl. by E. G. Cox), p. 230; W. M. Hart, *Ballad and Epic*, p. 32; G. M. Miller, *The Dramatic Element in the Popular Ballad*, "University of Cincinnati Studies," January-February, 1905.

² These and other references are cited by Child, *op. cit.*, III, 40-41.

³ *The Mediaeval Stage*, I, 175-76.

connection with the May-games.¹ These accounts inform us that ballads and plays of Robin Hood were presented at these celebrations, that Robin and Marion presided over the festivities, and that archers sometimes impersonated Robin Hood and his men. Moreover, the two plays printed as one in the sixteenth century are described as "very proper to be played in May-games."

Other May-game ceremonies, such as mummings, morris dancing, ritual sacrifices, and weddings, took dramatic form.² It is natural to suppose, then, that the Robin Hood ballads, which were an important part of these games, took dramatic form there, and that the plays borrow from the ballads rather than that the ballads are indebted to the plays. That these plays were given before a crowd thoroughly familiar with the Robin Hood legend is seen by a reading of them. Much is taken for granted by the author; and a knowledge of the Robin Hood legend, which admittedly found its earliest expression in the ballads, is essential for the full understanding of these concise dramatic fragments.

III. THE RELATIVE DATE OF PLAYS AND BALLADS

Did any of the extant ballads serve as a model for the plays that have come down to us? Only the closest verbal similarities could give evidence to prove that a particular play is indebted to a particular ballad, for we do not know the dates of either the ballads or the plays. The question of exact date, however, is not so important in a study of this kind as it is in ordinary problems of the relations of plays to their sources. The very nature of ballad transmission makes it impossible to date a traditional ballad. To decide, therefore, which ballads influenced the plays, we must trace briefly the growth of the Robin Hood ballad cycles, determine the distinctive marks of each cycle, and find out which cycle shows the greatest similarity to the plays.

If we divide the ballads according to the conception of the hero we find two main groups. The first group comprises "Robin Hood,

¹ Child, *op. cit.*, III, 40 ff.; Strutt, *Sports and Pastimes* (ed. William Hone), Book IV, chap. lili, pp. 455-57, 459; C. R. Baskervill, "Some Evidence for Early Romantic Plays in England," *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 229-59, especially 237-48. The lost plays listed on p. 247 seem to Professor Baskervill to be derived from early ballads.

² See Chambers, *op. cit.*, Vol. I; Beatty, "The Saint George, or Mummers' Plays," *Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts, and Letters*, Vol. XV, Part II; and Baskervill, *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 237 ff.

the Knight, and the Monk" (ca. 1450); "Robin Hood, Little John, and the Sheriff"; "Robin Hood and the King"; "Robin Hood's Death"; "Robin Hood and the Potter"; and "Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne." In this group, as in the "Gest," Robin Hood is a yeoman who, for some reason not given, is outlawed. He is nevertheless courteous, generous, brave, pious, and, above all, deeply devoted to "Our Lady deere," for whose sake he treats all women with respect, and in whose name he does deeds of kindness. Though he does not scruple to levy on fat purses of barons, knights, and rich abbots and monks, he is generous to the poor. Manliness, good humor, and generosity are his chief attributes. Despite his lowly birth his bearing is kingly; even the king treats him as an equal. He is always successful in his fights. He never stoops to trickery in order to gain an unfair advantage over his adversaries. Little John, Scathlok, and Much are his attendants. Friar Tuck and Maid Marion do not appear in this cycle of ballads, which scholars are agreed in regarding as the earliest.

Judging from the ballads regarded as later than those that we have discussed, we see that Robin Hood soon came to be the best-known hero-outlaw. The popularity of the legend caused many imitators to write ballads concerning his deeds. In these poems, however, he undergoes a complete transformation. He is no longer the jaunty adventurer, successful in all feats of skill and strength. No longer is he "evermo the best." He often meets with defeat and sometimes with disgrace and humiliation. Romantic elements of lost relatives, distressed princesses, and lovely queens have intruded themselves into the heroic legend. These corrupt and servile imitations seem the result of commercializing the popularity of the hero in the earlier group of ballads. Some of these may have been written by members of a particular craft for the purpose of glorifying their trade, for in them there are many varieties of Robin's defeat by a member of some craft—a tinker, a tanner, a shepherd, a ranger, a peddler. In many the only motif is "Robin Hood met his match." In these later ballads also Friar Tuck plays a more important rôle. The "Gest" adds Gilbert of the White Hand to the band, which is steadily being increased by the addition of men who have won Robin's admiration by defeating him in fight.

These are the two groups that could have served as a model for the conception of the hero of the plays. A discussion of this conception is given in the comment on the three early Robin Hood plays. The treatment of Robin Hood is also connected with the development of well-marked ballad motifs.

According to the action of the central character, the extant ballads fall into three main groups. There are, of course, single ballads which represent other episodes in the life of Robin or his band, but these are mere additions to, or elaborations of, the three chief themes. The first of these groups comprises ballads which show how Robin Hood outwitted his archenemy, the sheriff of Nottingham. This group includes "Guy," "The Monk," "The Potter," "The Butcher," "The Three Squires," "Will Stutly," and "The Golden Arrow."

The second group describes a fight between Robin Hood and some opponent, generally a yeoman. Robin either meets his foe accidentally or, spurred on by rumors of his skill and bravery, goes out in search of him. Out of admiration for his opponent's skill and bravery Robin usually calls a halt in the fight and invites his foe to become a member of the band of outlaws. By this means of recruiting Robin steadily enlarges his band. The group is different from the first in that it contains later ballads which represent Robin as a contemptible and miserable coward, who stops at no trick to outwit an enemy. For example, in "Robin Hood and the Tinker" Robin blows his horn while the tinker is not looking. The treatment of the horn-blowing episode is an indication of the relative date of the ballad in which it occurs. To the second group belong "The Friar," "The Pinder," "Little John," "The Tinker," "Robin Hood Newly Revived," "The Scotchman," "The Ranger," and "The Tanner."

The third group also describes a fight, but there are several important differences in the conclusion of this fight, differences so great as to constitute a new class of ballads. Robin calls a halt in the fight, not out of admiration for his opponent's skill, but out of cowardice. Instead of inviting his opponent to join the band he proposes a drinking-bout or runs off at the first opportunity. The ballads in this group are "The Beggar," "The Bold Pedlars," "The Shepherd," and "Robin Hood's Delight."

Although it is not possible to determine the absolute date of any of these groups, it may be possible to fix their relative dates. The most important characteristics of the Robin Hood of the early ballads is that he is an outlaw, that he hates the clergy, and that he protects and befriends the poor and helpless. He is first of all an outlaw, and for this reason regards the sheriff of Nottingham as his archenemy. The earliest ballads and the "Gest" stress these ideas; they contain no references to Robin Hood's method of recruiting, and they never represent his defeat at the hands of an unworthy opponent. He voices many of the feelings of the middle classes: their hatred of a corrupt and greedy clergy, their disregard of unjust laws, their sympathy with the poor, and their admiration of bravery, skill, and fair play. There are no elements of romance in these early ballads, no giants, distressed damsels, lost relatives, or noble queens; they are heroic, not romantic, in spirit. Even if there were no other evidence of the relative dates of these groups, it would be absurd to suppose that the cowardly figure of the third group was transformed into the noble and admirable outlaw of the first group of ballads. We may safely say, I think, that the first group represents a more primitive Robin Hood than does group three.

But Robin Hood is more than an outlaw. He is the leader of an outlaw band. In "Robin Hood and the Monk," which is earlier than 1450, he is attended by Little John, Scathlok, and Much. The "Gest" adds Gilbert of the White Hand and Reynold.¹ In the "Gest" and in the first group of ballads, the group in which Robin outwits his enemy the sheriff, Robin appears at the head of a small band of outlaws, but we are not informed as to how he formed this band. The earliest ballads may have represented him as the head of a small group of outlaws, or these followers may have been added to his band one at a time. The attendants of Robin may have been suggested by the followers of Hereward the Wake, Fulk fitz Warin, or some other outlaw. We can do little more than theorize concerning these lost ballads; but we do know that the process of recruiting goes steadily on in the ballads, and that some of the recruits are certainly later additions. The chief interest

¹ For the confusion of Little John and Reynold Grenelefe see Clawson, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

of the balladist in the second group of ballads, the recruiting group, was not in the explanation of how Robin increased the number of his followers but in the fight that preceded Robin's invitation to his opponent. The fight's the thing. The invitation to his opponent was used to show Robin's generosity in praising a worthy opponent and in admitting that he had had enough, and to explain how Robin's band grew constantly larger. The essential characteristic of this group is the fight which ends in the invitation to join the band. Whether this motif is later than that of group one does not matter; the important fact is that both groups of ballads treat Robin Hood with respect and dignity.¹ The fight which always preceded the entrance of a new member into the band, and which constituted, as it were, a part of his initiation, is also present in the third group of ballads, the group in which the fight sometimes ends in a drinking-bout. It is improbable that the fight which ends in a carousal is earlier in origin than the fight which represents a more admirable side of Robin's nature. If these suppositions are correct, then, we may arrange the three groups of ballads according to their relative dates.²

IV. THE RELATION OF THE PLAYS TO SINGLE BALLADS

This classification of the ballads was necessary before the relation of each play to its possible sources could be determined. One would naturally expect that the earliest ballad themes were dramatized earlier and more often than the others. And this is exactly what one finds to be the case in the three extant Robin Hood plays. "Robin Hood and the Knight," before 1475, is a dramatization of Robin's outwitting the sheriff (of Nottingham?), and is therefore connected with the first group of ballads, which, as we have seen, is the earliest of the three groups. "Robin Hood and the Friar" describes a fight which ends in the addition of a new member to the

¹ The fact that the earliest extant ballads deal with the outwitting of the sheriff explains why a small band of outlaws appear in the earliest ballads. A companion was necessary to assist Robin in tricking the sheriff.

² Such an arrangement does not imply that a single ballad dealing with one of these themes, the recruiting story for example, is necessarily later than any extant ballad in group one. There are complex fusions, cross-borrowings, and imitations that prevent safe estimates as to the date of these ballads.

What has been said concerning the development of the Robin Hood story borrows many ideas from Professor Child's masterly and almost definitive discussion.

band.¹ "Robin Hood and the Potter" tells of Robin's defeat at the hands of a potter. Since the end of the play is missing we cannot be certain as to how the play ended. I believe, however, that the play is a variation of the theme of the first play. In the first place there is no indication that the fight ended in a drinking-bout or in an addition to the band. There is one bit of evidence, however, that points to the conclusion that the episode described in the play was given merely to furnish Robin with a disguise, as in the ballad account, with which to outwit the sheriff. The potter's boy Jack says:

Out, alas, that ever I sawe this daye!
For I am clene out of my waye
From Notyngham towne.²

It is significant that each of the extant plays, which probably represent a number of plays on the subject, deals with a theme that was a popular and widespread ballad motif. It appears certain, therefore, that the Robin Hood plays are dramatizations of the best-known ballad stories. A closer study of the plays will furnish additional evidence for this statement. I shall first examine the plays to see if there are any traces of the influence of ballads in general and shall then discuss the relations between the plays and their nearest analogues.

Certain ballad-like qualities are to be found in the plays. The second and third plays have distinctively ballad introductions which contain absolutely no action:

Now stand ye forth, my mery men all,
And harke what I shall say;
Of an adventure I shal you tell,
The which befell this other day.
As I went by the hygh-way,
With a stout frere I met,
And a quarter-staffe in his hande.³

¹ "Robin Hood and the Friar" is the poorest of the three plays. The vile epithets, the Latin words, the learned references and explanations, and the ranting tone of Friar Tuck's speeches are not in keeping with the spirit of the early ballads or the other plays. It has been seen also that Friar Tuck was a late addition to the band. The presence of his dogs in the play is entirely unmotivated and may be a slavish imitation of the ballad account, in which the dogs play an important part.

² Lines 149-51. In referring to the plays I shall cite Manly's *Specimens*, I, 279-88.

³ "Robin Hood and the Friar," p. 281, ll. 1-7. "Robin Hood and the Potter" has an introduction which is almost the exact counterpart of this passage. One may borrow from the other, or both may go back to a common original ballad.

There are several cases of ballad-like repetition. Such repetition, of course, is not confined to ballads; it appears also in plays that have no relation to ballads, for example, in the *Ludus Coventriae* and in other folk plays. But the presence of such repetition is to be expected in plays which are, as we suppose, based on ballads. Typical examples are to be found in Play II, lines 16-17, 20-21, 96-104; Play III, lines 145, 147, 155, 157, 165, 168, 178, 184.

Again, Robin's request for permission to blow his horn is a common ballad episode, which appears in "The Shepherd," "The Tinker," "The Valiant Knight," "The Three Squires," etc. It is not surprising, then, to find this request in the second play.

The plays are similar to the ballads in presenting usually a single brief situation. Omissions and transitions also are common to both plays and ballads. In both, the dialogue is often unsigned, and confused and inconsistent passages occur frequently. Such confused passages are particularly noticeable in the plays, which are almost meaningless to one who does not know the legend as it appears in the ballads. This confusion is not due primarily to the fragmentary condition of the plays but rather to the assumption on the part of the author that the story is well known. One example will suffice. In the third play Little John bets his master twenty pounds that he would not "dare medle with that potter man for man." Robin promptly takes the bet. We are left to suppose that all except Robin leave the stage. The potter's boy Jack enters. Robin insults him and his master by calling them vile names and by breaking the pots on the ground. The potter enters and plans to avenge the insult. Just as he and Robin are beginning to fight the latter calls out for Little John:

Lyttle John, where art thou?

Here, mayster, I make God avowe [193-94].

We are not prepared for Little John's prompt reply to his master's call, for apparently he has not been on the stage. His presence is explained by the ballad version, in which, as we are informed, Little John and the other members of the band hide in the bushes to watch the fight between their master and the proud potter. The author of the play was evidently dramatizing a story so well known, both to himself and to his audience, that he did not take the trouble

to explain anything fully. The plays, then, are obviously based on familiar ballad themes. It is not certain that we have the particular ballads which the authors of the plays used, but we do have ballads which are very close to the stories treated in the plays.

The first play is based chiefly on "Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne," or on a ballad very similar to it. The date of "Guy" is not known, but the ballad may have been written early enough to serve as a model for the play, which is dated before 1475. A somewhat similar story appears in "Robin Hood and the Monk," which is as early as 1450. Fricke¹ believes that "Guy" is an offshoot or appendix to "The Monk," in which Little John rescues his master from the sheriff. The feeling that Robin in turn should rescue Little John and repay his kindness gave rise to the ballad of "Robin Hood and Guy of Gisborne." These two ballads have several motifs in common: the capture of a member of the band, the disguise, the trick on the sheriff, the rescue of the captured outlaw, the capture and death of Robin's enemy. Verbal resemblances confirm Fricke's theory. The relation of the drama to "Guy" will appear more clearly if we compare the two versions of the story.

A knight goes out in search of Robin Hood. He is unnamed in the play; toward the end of the ballad we learn that his name is Guy. A contest of skill takes place between the two: archery in the ballad is proposed by Robin; archery, casting the stone and the axletree, and perhaps wrestling are proposed by the knight in the play. In the ballad the knight asks who his opponent is; in the play we have no indication as to how the knight found out Robin's name. They fight to the finish. This contest is described in detail in the ballad (20 lines); it is briefly treated in the play (2 lines). Robin kills the knight and disguises himself in his clothes. According to the play Robin meets a man who tells him that Robin Hood and his men have been taken by the sheriff. In the ballad Robin takes Guy's weapons and goes to Barnsdale to see how his men are faring. The ballad explains how Robin outwits the sheriff and frees Little John by impersonating Guy, and how the two outlaws kill the sheriff. In the play, as Robin approaches the scene of the

¹ Cited by Child, *op. cit.*, III, 96.

battle he sees Friar Tuck fighting bravely against heavy odds. He arrives just in time to see his men captured by the sheriff. The rest of the play is lacking, but we may safely assume that it told how Robin followed his men and released them.

The variation from "Guy," such as the abrupt Friar Tuck incident, may be purely arbitrary, or may be due to another ballad on the subject. Although the story is similar to that of "Guy," we need not suppose that the author ever heard this particular ballad.¹ The chief interest of the play is not the fight, which is treated with great brevity, but the disguise and the trick on the sheriff. This motif connects the play with a large group of ballads, of which "Guy" and "The Monk" are good examples. If this is not the leading theme of the play, Robin's disguise is absolutely unintelligible.

"Robin Hood and the Valiant Knight" is similar in some respects to the play. Although this corrupt ballad is very late, it may be based on an older ballad. No one who has read this poor imitation would think of accusing the author of inventing anything in it. A knight, Sir William by name, goes out at the head of a hundred men to bring Robin Hood to the sheriff. Leaving his men some distance behind him, he goes to the tent of the outlaw, whom he recognizes at sight. After a brief parley they fight. Each blows his horn and summons a band of men. After a long and bloody fight, in which Robin receives a mortal wound, the forces separate. In the play the knight blows his horn as in the ballad, but apparently for no reason whatever, for nothing comes of it. This action is probably a reminiscence of some ballad in which the knight's horn played as important a part as it does in "The Valiant Knight." In this ballad, as in the play, the knight recognizes Robin at sight. The play, therefore, is not largely indebted to any single extant ballad. The variations from "Guy," the closest parallel, may have been invented by the author, or may be derived from some lost ballad which combined elements of "Guy," "The Monk," and "The Valiant Knight."

The nearest parallel to the second play, "Robin Hood and the Friar," is found in the ballad of "Robin Hood and the Curtal Friar."

¹ There are no verbal resemblances between this ballad and the play.

In the ballad Little John's marksmanship is the occasion of Scathelok's mention of the prowess of a certain friar of Fountains Abbey. Robin vows that he will neither eat nor drink until he has found that friar. Hiding his men in the bushes, he accosts the friar and demands that the friar carry him over the stream. The friar obeys and then forces Robin to return the favor. Robin again demands to be carried over. Apparently the friar obeys meekly enough; but when he gets in midstream he suddenly throws Robin into the water. The inevitable fight follows. In vain Robin shoots arrow after arrow at the friar, who deftly catches them on his shield. They then fight with swords for six hours. Both ask a boon.

The fryar sett his neave to his mouth
A loud blast he did blow [A, stanza 16].

Then follows a fight between Robin's men and the friar's dogs.

In the play Robin, who has had a bitter encounter with the friar, asks:

Is there any of my mery men all
That to that frere wyll go,
And bryng hym to me forth-withall
Whether he wyll or no? [14-17].

Little John accepts the challenge and vows to bring the friar to Robin, "whether he wyll or no." The friar's immediate appearance on the scene saves Little John the trouble of seeking him out. The friar enters with

Deus hic! Deus hic! God be here!
Is not this a holy worde for a frere?
God save all this company!
But am not I a jolly fryer? [22-25].¹

He says that he has come in search of Robin Hood and vows that he will become a member of the band if Robin defeats him in fight; but if Robin is defeated the friar will force him to be his knave,

And leade these dogges all three [45].

Upon Robin's entrance they bandy words. Then follows the ducking, which, as in the ballad, ends in a fight. Robin asks for a boon,

¹ The character of the friar has been commented on in a note on p. 16.

the permission to blow for his favorite hound. At the sound of the horn Robin's men come trooping in. The friar is granted the same boon and blows for his men, who fight Robin's band. Upon Robin's invitation to join the band the friar dismisses his men and agrees to become a member of the band of outlaws.

There are such verbal resemblances between the play and the ballad as the following:

Lye ther, knave! Chose whether thou wilt sink or swym [81].
And chuse thee, chuse thee, fine fellow,
Whether thou wilt sink or swym [B, stanza 19].

Blow on, ragged knave, without any doubt,
Untyll bothe thyne eyes starte out [95-96].
Now fute on, fute on, thou cutted fryar [A, stanza 15].
Of thy blasts I have no doubt;
I hope thou'lt blow so passing well
Till both thy eyes fall out [B, stanza 26].

The rhyme on "fee" and "free" (110-11) echoes the rhyme in stanza 39 of the ballad.

The play of "Robin Hood and the Potter" in the early editions follows abruptly after the episode of Robin and the friar. The closest ballad parallel to this play is "Robin Hood and the Potter." The ballad opens with a stanza of description, which is followed by a call for attention. The play opens with Robin's request for attention to his story. In the ballad Robin is

Among hes mery maney,
He was ware of a pround potter,
Cam dryfing owyr the ley [stanza 4].

He comments on the potter's discourtesy:

Yonder comet a prod potter, seyde Robin,
That long hayt hantyd bis wey;
He was neuer so corteys a man
On peney of pawage to pay [stanza 5].¹

Little John, who has had a bout with the potter, bets his master forty shillings that no man can force the potter to pay. Accepting the bet, Robin challenges the potter and demands passage money.

¹ The last two lines are repeated in stanzas 11 and 13 of the ballad.

The potter refuses to pay and, seizing a staff from his cart, knocks Robin down. Robin admits that he is defeated and, after a rebuke from his opponent, proposes that they be friends. Robin disguises as a potter and goes to Nottingham, where he tricks the sheriff.

In the play Robin tells his men of an adventure he has had with "a proude potter":

This seven yere and more he hath used this waye,
Yet was he never so curteyse a potter
As one peny passage to paye [128-30].¹

He then asks:

Is there any of my mery men all
That dare be so bolde
To make the potter paie passage,
Either silver or golde? [131-34].

The question calls forth Little John's

Not I, master, for twenty pound redy tolde,
For there is not among us al one
That dare medle with that potter, man for man.
I felt his handes not long agone [135-38].²

Robin lays a wager of twenty pounds that he will make the potter "pay passage, maugre his head." The potter's boy Jack does not appear in the ballad, but in the play Robin insults the potter by breaking the pots Jack is carrying to Nottingham and by calling the potter a "cuckold." The potter soon enters to avenge the insult. Upon Robin's demand,

Passage shalt thou pai here under the grene-wode tre,
Or els thou shalt leve a wedde with me [187-88].³

the potter challenges Robin to a fight. There is nothing in the play to indicate that they actually fight. Immediately after the potter's challenge Robin turns to call Little John:

Lyttle John, where art thou?
Here, mayster, I make God avowe.
I tolde you, mayster, so God me save,
That you shoulde fynde the potter a knave.

¹ Repeated in lines 129-30, 178, 179 of the play.

² Little John describes his fight with the potter in stanza 6 of the ballad.

³ This line is a reminiscence of stanzas 7 and 8 in the ballad.

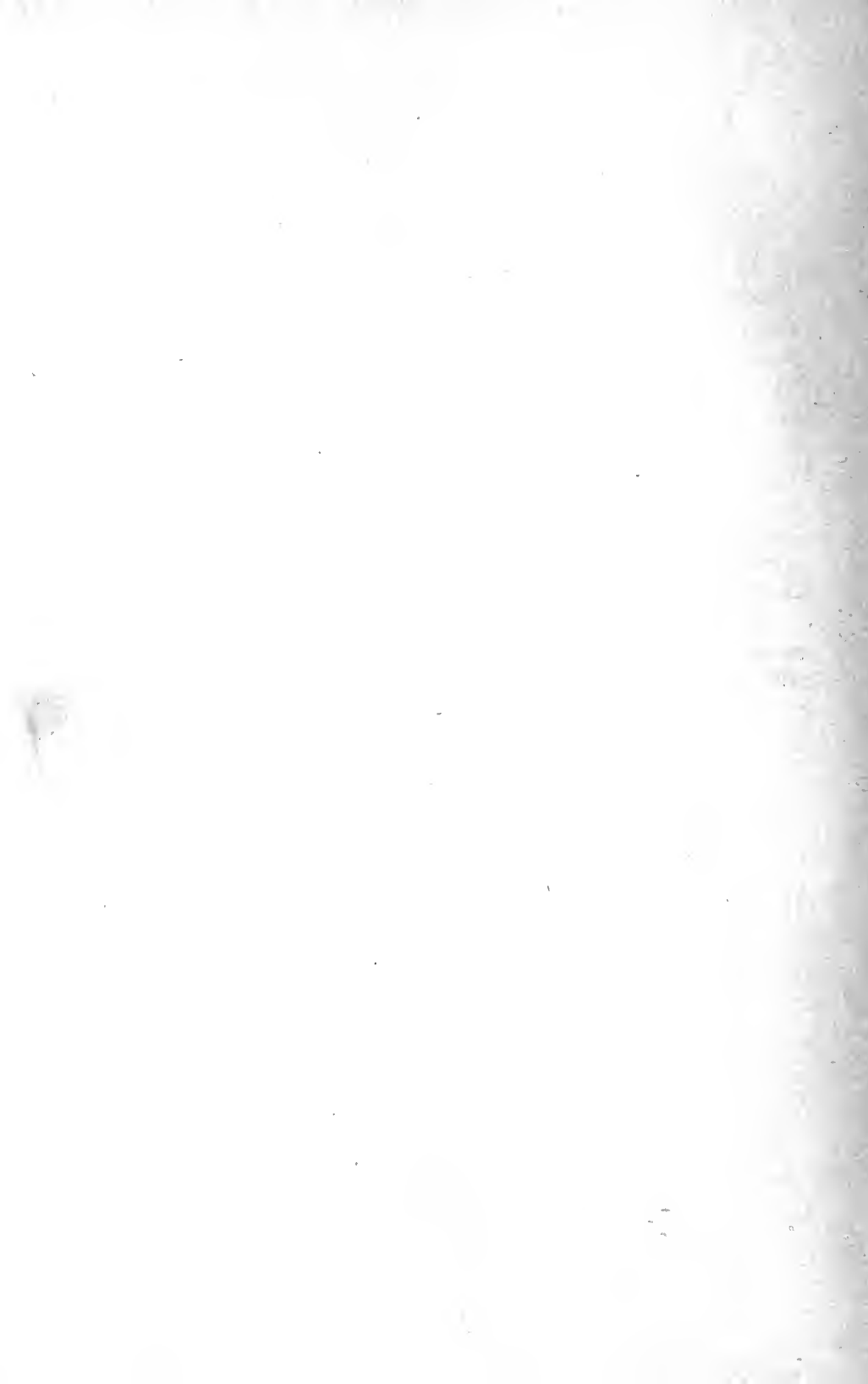
Holde your buckeler faste in your hande,
 And I wyll styfly by you stande,¹
 Redy for to fyghte;
 Be the knave never so stoute,
 I shall rappe hym on the snoute,
 And put hym to flyghte [192-201].

It will be observed that the verbal parallels between the last two plays and the corresponding ballads consist in most cases of lines that are repeated several times in both ballads and plays. The presence of such lines in the plays does not prove, therefore, that the authors of the plays were indebted to these particular ballads for the phraseology of the plays. These lines are in the nature of refrains, which, as we know, appear in ballads that are in no way related; they are ballad commonplaces. But the presence of these verbal resemblances to the ballads furnishes additional evidence for the statement that the Robin Hood plays are based directly on the ballads, with which both audience and authors were thoroughly familiar. This familiarity with the ballads is seen in the themes chosen for dramatization, in the echoes and reminiscences of the ballads to be found in the action and phraseology of the plays, and in the assumption that the story was so well known that the audience might readily supply the missing links in the dramatic versions, which are concerned primarily with the presentation of a single striking situation.

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¹ In the ballad only twenty-three out of eighty-three stanzas are given to the account of the fight between Robin and the potter. In the ballad Little John and the other members of the band do not appear until the potter has given Robin a beating. Then Little John taunts Robin by asking for the payment of the wager. After a rebuke from the potter Robin proposes that they exchange clothes. In the play Little John is apparently willing to tackle the potter again, or at least to assist his master in punishing the potter. The account of the fight in the play is even briefer than in the ballad. The chief emphasis, I think, in the play was not on the fight with the potter but on the trick on the sheriff. Line 198 echoes a line in stanza 17 of the ballad.



THE ORDER OF MILTON'S SONNETS

The traditional method of arranging Milton's sonnets has been to unite the groups given in the 1645 and 1673 editions of the *Minor Poems* with the four sonnets published by Phillips in 1694, and then to shift such of the twenty-four pieces as seem to be out of time order. The scheme thus offered by Professor Masson has stood for years essentially unchanged, in spite of single alterations proposed now and then by individual editors. Often taste has influenced such decisions. For satisfactory results it seems that all the internal evidence should be examined at once, and with it Milton's own directions in the Trinity College Manuscript; this document contains details concerning the order of the sonnets which seem never to have been used at full value.

In the 1645 volume, I, "O nightingale, that on yon bloomy spray,"¹ is followed by the five Italian sonnets,² and these in turn by VII, "How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of Youth." The group is completed by VIII, "When the Assault was Intended to y^e Citty";³ IX, "Lady, that in the prime of earliest youth"; and X, "To y^e Lady Margaret Ley."

Of this group, I-VI appear from imitative characteristics to be early work. The conventionality of the lines to the nightingale requires no comment. Quite as surely the Italian poems may be considered formal experiments. With the demonstrated reasons for this estimate of Milton's Italian poems⁴ should be considered the common characteristics of the English poems written at Cambridge during the early seventeenth century. Interesting parallelisms of

¹ First lines will be given of sonnets lacking titles in the first printed forms or in the Manuscript. Manuscript references are not according to Wright's "Facsimile of the Manuscript of Milton's *Minor Poems*," etc. (1899), wherein blank pages 10-12 and 51-54 have been ignored, but according to the numbering on alternate folios of the Manuscript itself.

² The "Canzone," printed between III and IV, is not numbered.

³ The MS forms (folio 9). Sonnet VIII was headed "On his Dore when y^e Citty expected an assault," but Milton altered the heading as put down by his amanuensis or copyist.

⁴ E. Allodoli, *Giovanni Milton e l'Italia* (1907), pp. 54-61.

conventional themes might be drawn from the writings of Milton, Crashaw, Vaughan, and others; in many instances Drummond of Hawthornden used the same subjects as these English contemporaries. Though this experiment would demonstrate nothing final concerning the dating of Sonnets I–VI, it would bring added power to the assertion that nothing signifies I to have been written at Horton, as has been assumed,¹ or II–VI to have been composed in Italy.

Less speculation is necessary regarding the four that follow. The subject of VII proves a date near December 9, 1631, the poet's twenty-third birthday. On similar grounds VIII may be assigned to the end of 1642, for Charles threatened London only on October 12 and November 12 of that year. Here the Manuscript corroborates the internal evidence by the marginal date "1642" opposite a draft of this sonnet.² Sonnets IX and X can also be dated broadly from their materials within the limits of the autumn of 1643 and midsummer, 1645. The lady addressed in IX would scarcely have gained such praise until after Mary Powell had returned to her parents, and for the same reason X, "To y^e Lady Margaret Ley," may be assigned to the months when Phillips asserted that Milton's friendship for Lady Margaret was at its strongest.³ Both pieces were surely ready for printing on October 6, 1645, the date of entry for Milton's first collection in the Stationers' Register.

The Manuscript confirms the arrangement of the last four sonnets given in the 1645 volume. On folio [6]⁴ is a draft of VII, without number but from its placing evidently written before the others. VIII, IX, and X fortunately stand on the same folio (9); they are in correct order (though not numbered) and the last two are in Milton's own hand. The date 1642 at the side of VIII implies that IX and X were written later, inasmuch as they follow it on the folio, and revisions in the texts of both prove that these two are not fair copies of other drafts. These points show that in his first printed

¹ In Moody's edition, 1900.

² Folio 9. Milton evidently struck out the date when changing the title as noted above.

³ *Letters of State written by Mr. John Milton, etc.* (1694), xxiii.

⁴ Arabic numerals for certain sonnets represent Manuscript forms. Wherever reference is made to unnumbered folios of the Manuscript, the correct number appears in brackets.

book Milton was careful to mark the order of his sonnets, and also that the agreement between the 1645 volume and the Manuscript is more than accidental. Proper deductions from other evidence of the same sort would be that the 1645 collection was carefully arranged throughout; that Sonnets I-VI and the "Canzone" are properly placed; and that these pieces, standing before the birthday sonnet, were written during Milton's years at Cambridge.

Fourteen sonnets remain to be arranged. Ten of these were first printed in the 1673 edition of the *Minor Poems*. Appearance before Milton's death has given this volume an authority not entirely justifiable, for some points of weakness show that it lacked the oversight granted the 1645 collection.

Folio [46] of the Manuscript has drafts of the two divorce sonnets, with the heading "These sonnets follow y^e 10 in y^e printed booke"; below this direction is the title "On the Detraccon which followed upon my writeing certaine treatises." They are numbered 11 and 12, "I do but prompt the age to quit their clogs" standing first. In the left margin, directly opposite the numeral 11, is the direction "vid. ante." This note, I believe, has a relation to the evident change of the numeral above the first piece from 12 to 11, for the change seems due to evidence on folio 43. There, in Milton's hand, is another draft of this sonnet, with the same title and number. To confirm this mark of the poet's intention that the two divorce sonnets should not be arranged as they are printed in the 1673 volume, there exists a second draft of Sonnet XII; it is to be found on folio 47, with its proper number, and is clearly a working draft. The title is not given.

Internal evidence points to a time basis for this arrangement. Sonnet XI shows a spirit of active conflict such as possessed Milton when issuing the enlarged version of *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, etc., on February 2, 1644, and *The Judgement of Martin Bucer concerning Divorce*, etc., on August 6.¹ His expression "For all this waste of wealth and loss of blood" (l. 14) may conceivably refer to the greatest battle of the Civil War, fought at Marston Moor on July 2. There is also reason to consider the "barbarous noise" (l. 3) of Milton's assailants at least as late as midsummer,

¹ Thomason, *Catalog*, etc. (1908), I, 336.

1644; Thomason's list of pamphlets dates two of the noteworthy attacks¹ upon Milton's divorce doctrines in September and November, and the abusive references to him continuing to appear for two years more would have had less effect upon him than the early censure. Consequently, I place XI in the fall of 1644² because of its tone in contrast with the lines on "Tetrachordon." This pamphlet was published on March 4, 1645; the mild sonnet referring to it necessarily appeared later. Mistress Milton's return to London in August or September may be taken to mark the latest date for Sonnet XII; moreover, its whimsical tone implies that it was written much later than the one reviling Milton's adversaries. Such materials within the two poems bear out the Manuscript evidence of arrangement, so that it seems proper to reverse the order of the 1673 edition.

All three drafts of the lines "To Mr. H. Lawes on His Aires"³ are numbered 13, and at the right of the first, rough draft is the date February 9, 1645—that is, 1646. This exact notation of date, in Milton's own hand, is very valuable proof of care for a time order, inasmuch as the next folio, [44], bears Sonnet XIV with an equally exact date heading. At the head of the sheet Milton wrote, "On y^e religious memorie of M^{rs} Catherine Thomson my christian freind deceas'd 16 Decem. 1646." Below is the working draft, the number 14, and then the fair copy. Both XIII and XIV are wholly in the poet's own handwriting, as are the headings and dates.

Yet the surest evidence of thoughtful arrangement in the Manuscript is on folios 47 and [48]. The former has the draft of the divorce sonnet referred to above; then, "15 On y^e Lord Gen. Fairfax at y^e

¹ Prynne's *Twelve Considerable Questions*, etc., was issued on September 16 (I, 341), and the anonymous *Answer to a Book intituled the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce* on November 19 (I, 349). Thomason's catalogue gives no earlier dates bearing on the matter.

² The only inexplicable detail of the Manuscript is opposed to this date, inasmuch as the draft of XI on folio 43 is below the working draft of 13, dated February 9, 1645 (i.e., 1646). Possible explanation depends upon the belief that this draft of XI is from an earlier copy.

³ Folio 43 bears two drafts, the first headed, "To my freind Mr Hen. Laws. Feb. 9, 1645"; the second, "To Mr Hen: Laws on the publishing of his Aires." The third, on folio 45, has the heading given above. In this case the copyist wrote the words "the publishing of" and then struck them out. This fact disposes of the labored arguments against a date of composition so long before the publication of Lawes's songs; the delay had made Milton's early form of the title inappropriate.

seige of Colchester";¹ and finally, "16 To the Lord Generall Cromwell May 1652. On the proposalls of certaine ministers at y^e Commtee for Propogation of the Gospell." In the left margin, opposite the numeral 15, is Milton's note, "on y^e forcers of Conscience to come in heer." To this the copyist added, "turn over the leafe," and on folio [48] wrote opposite the poem named, "To come in as directed in the leafe before." This last note has been deleted but is legible.

It will be recalled that Sonnet XIV was concerned with an event of December 16, 1646. In XV the line to Fairfax,

Thy firm unshaken virtue ever brings
Victory home ,

implies a date near August 25, 1648, when the siege of Colchester was raised. If earlier, under Milton's title the writing could not have been begun before June 13, the first day of the action. Under such conditions was there reason to insert "On the Forcers of Conscience" between these two sonnets? Was it written between December 16, 1646, and the summer of 1648?

The very abundance of internal evidence in this case is deceptive. The references are less exact than they seem at first sight. Masson assumed that the spirit of this sonnet suited best the early months of 1646, when Milton had "done forever with Presbyterianism"² and had taken a defiant attitude toward Parliament. But many events during these years might easily have driven him to abuse the Presbyterians. Bitter disputes between Prynne, Godwin, and Robinson began in 1644, and a year later the pamphleteers were taking sides with either the Presbyterians or independent factions in the House of Commons. In June, 1645, and again in the following March the Westminster Assembly invited such abuse by asserting its authority in questions of orthodoxy. So much for the general incitements toward such an attack.

A point overlooked is that Milton's sonnet has a defiant, threatening tone that shows full belief in the evil outcome of the conflict. "On the Forcers of Conscience" confesses defeat as the individualists were experiencing it toward the close of 1646, when Parliament passed the ordinances for reducing all England to strict Presbyterian conformity.

¹ This title has been deleted.

² III, 471.

The abolishment of Episcopacy had been assured at the forming of the Westminster Assembly in 1643, but the first specific action of Parliament was their ordinance of January, 1645, for the general adoption of the Directory for Public Worship in place of the Book of Common Prayer. This ordinance was strengthened in August and during the succeeding twelvemonth by further legislation. Not, however, until August 28, 1646, did the Houses draw up the rules of ordination by the Classical Presbyteries—the chief cause of Milton's indignation. On October 9 they abolished the places of all archbishops and bishops within the kingdom, and from November 17, 1646, to March 5, 1647, passed successive acts for confiscation of church properties to the Commonwealth.¹

From the very definite nature of Milton's advice to the Presbyterian forces in Parliament and to their agent, the Westminster Assembly, the sonnet "On the Forcers of Conscience" could not have been written until after August 28, 1646; moreover, the circumstances inviting such indignant expressions from an independent religionist continued until the following summer. Political Presbyterianism weakened slowly, but the ferment of dissatisfaction among army leaders was growing steadily throughout the first half of 1647. Thus, while Parliament was working upon Charles I for such proposals as came on May 12 in his long-deferred "Answer to the Nineteen Propositions," offering to establish Presbyterianism for a test period of three years, the political organization of the army was taking form. Upon such data it seems right to place this sonnet within the period beginning on August 28, 1646, and ending with the capture of the king by the army on June 4, 1647. On the latter day was ended the long uncertainty over questions of religious toleration which had become vital through the ordinances of the preceding ten months, and only then could Milton have felt the relief of his fellow-independents.

It has been shown that events do not prohibit a placing of this political sonnet in accordance with the Manuscript directions on the margin of folio 47. I therefore assume XIV, "On the Religious Memory of Mrs. Catherine Thomson," to have been written soon

¹ C. H. Firth and R. S. Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660* (1911), I, 887-924.

after December 16, 1646; [XV],¹ "On the Forcers of Conscience," during the early months of 1647; [XVI], on Fairfax, about August 25, 1648; and [XVII], on Cromwell, in May, 1652.

On folio [48] appears the last sonnet in this unbroken sequence in the Trinity College Manuscript—the lines "To S^r Henry Vane the younger," with the number 17. George Sikes,² who first printed the poem, in 1662, corroborates the Manuscript order with the note: "Composed by a Learned Gentleman, and sent him, July 3, 1652." In the corrected scheme the Vane sonnet is [XVIII].

From this point the 1673 edition of the *Minor Poems* must be relied upon for a central basis of arrangement. The sequence given there is as follows: "On the Late Massacher in Piemont"; "When I consider how my light is spent"; "Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son"; "Cyriack, whose grandsire on the royal bench"; and "Methought I saw my late espoused saint." "On the Forcers of Conscience" is not printed with the sonnet group, but farther on in the 1673 volume. It remains, therefore, to place this sonnet properly according to the Manuscript data and also to add the four omitted from that volume for political reasons.

Sonnet [XIX], "On the Late Massacher in Piemont," may be given a loose dating within the limits of May, 1655, and March, 1656. For nearly a year after the massacre the *State Papers* reflect the lively interest of Englishmen in giving aid to the Piedmontese,³ but thereafter the entries are perfunctory records of funds on hand and collections. Entries between May 17 and June 1 are of a petition to London citizens for aid, of a committee for relief, of a set day for public humiliation and appeal to the churches, and of a house-to-house canvass for funds. If these entries show the spirit of London in the spring of 1655, conditions were favorable for such a composition as Milton's sonnet on these Protestant martyrs, particularly by one so closely associated with Cromwell. Moreover, his state letters regarding the Piedmontese show an indignation similar to that of the sonnet. On such grounds I date [XIX] soon after the event inspiring it—in May or June, 1655.

¹ From this point brackets indicate my revisions of the old numbering in Roman numerals as given in the 1673 edition.

² *The Life and Death of Sir Henry Vane*, pp. 93–94; from J. K. Hosmer's *The Life and Death of Young Sir Henry Vane* (1888), p. 376.

³ *State Papers, Domestic*, cxxvii, 165–97.

The position of Sonnets [XX] and [XXI] in the 1673 volume may imply much or little. [XX], "When I consider how my light is spent," may have been written at any time after the spring of 1652, when Milton's blindness became complete. [XXI], "Lawrence, of virtuous father virtuous son," likewise has no certain date; we know only that a son of Henry Lawrence, President of Cromwell's council, was intended, and that from 1652 to 1660 Milton's relationship with this youth was most cordial.¹

With the first sonnet to Skinner the Manuscript again becomes useful. Folio 49 has the last ten lines of "Cyriack, whose grandsire on the royal bench," and then the companion piece, with the number 22. Evidently this sheet and another, both smaller than the body of the Manuscript,² belonged to a collection of the sonnets including those on Fairfax, Cromwell, and Vane, but not that on the Long Parliament. Both sheets bear pieces excluded from the 1673 volume, a fact that may explain their preservation in this Manuscript. They were inserted in time to be paged properly, so that the number 22 on the second Skinner sonnet may be considered a contemporary placing of the poem. In the present revision these two sonnets stand [XXII] and [XXIII], in the same order, but from no positive evidence of date.³ The entire series is made complete by adding Sonnet [XXIV], "Methought I saw my late espoused saint." This could not have been written before the death of his second wife, Catherine, on February 3, 1658.⁴ Once more the Manuscript supplies a numbered draft to prove that Milton's sonnets originally were arranged with conscious care,⁵ and as in all previous instances this poem has a position that conforms with the known facts regarding the relative time of its composition.

A few general inferences may be drawn from these proofs of a time basis of arrangement. First, the Trinity College Manuscript

¹ A mention of Lawrence in the "Second Defence" (1654) is too casual to have value. Phillips' life is again the only source of information. See the *Letters of State*, etc. (1694), xxxvii.

² Those forming folios 45, [46], 49, and [50]. The numbering of sonnets on 45 and [46] proves that that sheet was bound in by the wrong edge.

³ Internal evidence in [XXIII] indicates 1655 as the time of writing, "this three years' day" being dated from the spring of 1652.

⁴ Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 32, 310.

⁵ Folio 50: number 23.

and the 1645 edition of the *Minor Poems* gain new authority. Their interrelation shows that Humphrey Moseley wrote truly in announcing his book as from Milton's true copies, and that undoubtedly their author gave personal supervision to the first printing of his poems. Furthermore, proved disagreement between the Manuscript and the 1673 edition lessens the importance of a text already known to have been carelessly revised during the printing process. Finally, from the exactness of Milton's autograph notes regarding the time order of his early pieces, according to present information Sonnets I-VI should be placed as in the 1645 volume, with the assumption that they were written at Cambridge as literary exercises in the fashion of the day.

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TWO CONVENTIONS OF THE ELIZABETHAN STAGE

In our attempts to re-create imaginatively an Elizabethan theatrical performance, the two doors leading to the front stage have received relatively little attention. On the mediaeval stage, with its multiple setting, the places of entrance of the various characters were of great significance, and on the Elizabethan stage, which developed from it, this significance would naturally continue. Such evidence as there is for the use of locality signs above the doors,¹ and the contemporary allusions to the care exercised by the Elizabethan actors in making their entrances through the proper doors, speak for this importance.

The usual Elizabethan play, however, does not easily lend itself to any scheme of locality boards yet suggested. Thus *The Merchant of Venice*, though limited in location to Belmont and Venice, shifts its scene thirteen times between the two. It might possibly be arranged for all entrances and exits in Belmont to be made through, say, the right door, and those in Venice through the left, but not much would be gained by this, and exits where people separate, like that, for instance, at the end of II, 2, could be made more effectively by different doors than by the one in this case hypothetically marked Venice. Still, even if we are unable to explain the complete scheme of door significance, at least two conventional uses may be noted.² To the first, so far as I am aware, attention has not previously been called.

¹ The most complete account of the locality boards is to be found in Mr. W. J. Lawrence's *Elizabethan Playhouse*, Vol. I, "Title and Locality Boards on the Pre-Restoration Stage." Would it be too fanciful to notice in this connection the tablets above the doors in the Inigo Jones sketch of the interior of a theater, which Professor Adams identifies with the Cockpit-in-Court, built by Charles I in 1632 or 1633? These tablets as pictured (*Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 396) bear no inscriptions but offer an excellent place for locality boards. The picture of the *Theatro Olympico* at Vicenza, which is said to have inspired Jones, shows no such tablets (*ibid.*, p. 399).

² A third conventional use of the doors was common—that indicated by such directions as "Enter at one door . . . at another door," "on opposite sides," "severally," and the like. Sometimes such entrances implied that the persons entering came from different places. Thus in *Coriolanus*, I, 4-10, the directions observe carefully the use of one of the doors—presumably that from the rear stage—as the entrance to Corioli, and of the other doors as leading to the battlefield and the Roman camp. (Throughout this note I refer to the directions of the folio, not of modern editions, which often, as in this instance, hopelessly confuse the staging; thus all these scenes are before Corioli, at a greater or less distance from the gates.) Very often in the plays persons enter at opposite

On the Elizabethan stage, as we usually picture it, at least two doors are always visible, and when the rear stage curtains are opened at least three; but there are several scenes in Elizabethan plays in which the audience is asked to imagine that but one door leads to the stage. An illustration or two will make this convention clear:

Hamlet, V, 2: When the queen drinks the poisoned cup, Hamlet cries, "Ho, let the door be locked."

Richard II, V, 2: Aumerle, asking pardon from Bolingbroke, requests permission "to turn the key, That no man enter till my tale be done."

Othello, IV, 2: Emelia is told to "shut the door, Cough and cry 'hem' if anybody come." After Othello calls her in again, the scene continues, first between Desdemona and Iago, then between Iago and Roderigo, thus seeming in a less private place. In V, 2, the convention of the single door is more strikingly illustrated. Montano's direction, "Come, guard the door without; let him not pass," shows the imagined arrangement of the scene.

In none of these scenes but the last is the rear stage obviously employed, and the single door used as the entrance is almost surely—because of its greater effectiveness—one of the front stage doors. Nor is any other door made use of anywhere in the scene; the convention is observed in the action. Other examples might be cited

doors to show that they are just meeting, a circumstance which justifies a bit of exposition. A familiar case is *Macbeth*, I, 2, where Duncan meets the sergeant and hears of Macbeth's bravery. In *Cymbeline*, III, 1, Cymbeline thus enters at one door and the ambassador from Rome at another, though Cymbeline's first speech is pretty abrupt for a first meeting. Perhaps this scene might better be cited as an illustration of the use of the separate entrance to emphasize visually the opposition of one party to another. In *Titus Andronicus*, I, 1, such opposing parties enter at different doors, but go out together to show their reconciliation. In *I Henry VI*, II, 1, the French fleeing before the English from Orleans are directed to enter "seuerall wayes" to suggest their confusion and surprise. In this case the significance of the different doors as leading to different localities is sacrificed to secure a greater dramatic effect. Indeed the English have probably entered only thirty lines before through these very doors to scale "the walls." In *III Henry VI*, II, 5, a son who has killed his father enters at one door, and, from the same battlefield but at another door, a father who has killed his son. Obviously the purpose is to make the contrast more striking. In one case at least this desire for effect through the use of opposite doors leads to a sort of conflict with the principal convention discussed in this paper. In *Twelfth Night*, II, 2, Viola and Malvolio enter at "seuerall doores," though Malvolio is supposed to be following her from Olivia's; indeed some modern editions so direct. But the Elizabethan stage manager saw a more effective situation in Malvolio's confronting rather than pursuing Viola, and arranged the scene accordingly. This is, however, only a sort of conflict. After the act intermission and the fifty lines of scene 1, the audience had probably forgotten at which door Viola and Malvolio had gone out, so that observance of the convention would have had no point.

even from Shakespeare's plays, but, as this usage can scarcely have affected the work of the playwrights except as it allowed such situations, we may pass to the second and more important of these conventions related to the doors. It is more important because it represents one of the methods available to Elizabethan dramatists for the solution of the problem of location, a problem always interesting in any sort of drama.

For all plays require some sort of imagined or realized background, and the sort of background furnished by the stage for which the dramatist writes largely conditions the form which this problem shall take for him. Thus, to the modern dramatist the problem is usually one of arranging his story before as few backgrounds as possible. Henry Arthur Jones has won commendation for his cleverness in *Mary Goes First*: the characters and not the playwright seem to be compelling the action to take place in the one room. Pinero's hand, on the contrary, is pretty obvious in *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*: Paula's visit to Aubrey in Act I requires considerable explanation, and Hugh's intrusion in Act III defies probability; a gentleman does not usually prowl about a strange country house at night just to catch a glimpse of a girl to whom he has only a little before said goodnight. The demand for cleverness and plausibility in securing unity of scene on our heavily set stage is of course perfectly justified; that is precisely what the problem of location means to the modern dramatist. But such standards have no possible application to Shakespeare; by them his finest achievements seem puerile. To him the problem of location did not involve the arrangement of his story to conform to some elaborate scheme of stage setting; his difficulty was rather now how to make clear to his audience what his location really was, and now, the scene over, how to destroy the significance he had built up and to show that his location had shifted, though often the stage picture remained the same.

And it was a real difficulty, though students have as yet paid slight attention to it. A few productions of little-known Elizabethan plays in the Elizabethan manner and without playbills would, I think, make it an obvious one. Editors in preparing modern texts of course depend largely upon textual allusions, but even with the text before them for repeated examination not infrequently make

mistakes. It is hardly possible that an audience however attentive would be able to catch these references. On the stage, to be sure, are other helps: properties, "business," costume, all can suggest the scene. In *The Merchant of Venice* the very people by their presence—Portia in Belmont, Shylock in Venice—usually settle the general location of the scenes without need of any other indication.

Often, however, something more is needed, some convention or set of conventions as easy to understand and as generally applicable as that of our own falling curtain. In this connection two methods of shifting the location may be referred to, even though they are not especially concerned with the doors. Both are pretty generally accepted and require only brief illustration. One is the indication of a journey by moving about the stage, an interesting survival from the multiple staging. In the Towneley play of *Abraham* a three days' journey is thus suggested in twenty lines. From the Shakespearean plays an example not usually noted occurs in *II Henry IV*, IV, 1, where (see the folio) the Archbishop and his friends do not, as modern editions direct, go out to meet Prince John but only move forward a little to indicate their advance to a place "just distance 'tween our armies." The other convention is that of showing a change of scene from one room to an adjacent one, or from outside to inside a house, tent, and the like, by opening the curtains of the rear stage, though there was in this, to the Elizabethan way of looking at the stage, scarcely a change of scene, since the front stage often retained its first significance. Thus in *Julius Caesar*, III, 1, Caesar first appears in the street and then goes into the senate house, and in IV, 2 and 3, the struggle between the Poet and soldiers takes place on the front stage, which throughout the scene represents the space before the tent of Brutus.

Many cases, however, could not be made clear by either of the two devices. For these I have previously¹ suggested another convention in the use of the doors: that exit and immediate re-entrance by a different door meant on the Elizabethan stage a change of scene. This is not a mere guess; a few precise directions show that it was certainly a custom of the stage. Perhaps the most familiar

¹ *Modern Philology*, III (1905), 75-76, and XII (1914), 252, note.

illustration is that from Middleton's *Changeling*: III, 1 concludes with De Flores leading Alonzo out, ostensibly to show him the fort. The quarto then says, "Exeunt at one door and enter at the other," and the new scene begins with the same men but supposedly in a different place. The imagined shift is all the more strikingly conventional because on the stage in both scenes there is a rapier hidden by De Flores before scene 1 began, but for use in scene 2. Similarly in *The English Traveller*, IV, 3 (Pearson's reprint, p. 66), Geraldine, having tried to sleep on a pallet, rises, "goes in at one doore, and comes out at another," and is supposed to be now in a different part of the house, though the pallet is still in sight. So too in *The Brazen Age* (p. 177) there is a precise direction to exit and re-enter to represent the crossing of a river, a throne being present in both scenes, and in *The Iron Age* (p. 379) another to suggest the Greeks' entrance into Troy. In only two cases known to me does such a direction occur when the action does not signify a shift of scene: in *The Spanish Tragedy*, III, 11, where the mad Hieronimo so exits and re-enters to indicate his suspicion of eavesdroppers; and in *Caesar and Pompey*, IV, 1, where Caesar is pursuing Pompey. Other persons remain on the stage in both scenes, a fact which sufficiently changes the significance to avoid any misunderstanding.

If these were the only plays from Shakespeare's period in which this usage occurs the convention would, though interesting, be scarcely important. But other situations may be cited where this convention would be useful, but which lack the precise directions, perhaps in some cases just because a few lines intervene, usually to indicate a slight lapse of time. Possible illustrations are numerous. I confine myself to a half dozen, all from Shakespeare's plays because such citations require less explanation.

One is to be found in *Hamlet*, I, 4 and 5, where the change of scene could scarcely be visually indicated in any other way. Hamlet in scene 4 has broken away from his friends "upon the platform" to follow the Ghost; they discuss the situation for five lines and then follow him. He re-enters—according to this convention, from the other door—with the Ghost. There is no hint that either scene is played in the rear stage or balcony; the use of different doors would make the change of scene clear.

The case of *Romeo and Juliet*, II, 1 and 2, a scene which has caused considerable discussion in pseudo-Elizabethan performances, is similar. Where is the wall to be placed which Juliet says is high and hard to climb, and which Romeo "o'er perched with love's light wing"? The actual accomplishment might prove less graceful on the stage, and a wall cutting the stage in two would be a nuisance. Of course the modern division into two scenes does not correspond to any change of setting in the original performance. The situation is an admittedly difficult one, but with this convention in mind might be imaged thus: Romeo enters, scene 1, from Capulet's, *left*, and presently exits there, drawn back by thoughts of Juliet. After a moment, to show that they do not meet him, his friends enter through this same door, and after looking for him in vain go out *right*, to show that they are leaving Capulet's. Then, after a moment's pause again, Romeo re-enters, *right*, thus showing that the scene has changed. This arrangement would suppose the wall off stage. The interval of forty lines between Romeo's exit and re-entrance and the absence of any direction for this exit and entrance make the case more doubtful than most.

This convention would be especially useful in making clear the shifts that modern editors feel it necessary to note by such directions as, "Another part of the forest," "Another room in the same," and the like. Sometimes, to be sure, this change of scene is of little consequence, or the playwright may not have imagined it at all, but not infrequently it does require indication.

Thus in *King John*, III, scene 2 is at Angiers on the battlefield. John is concerned about the safety of his mother, Elinor, and exits to find her; he immediately re-enters in scene 3 with her.

I Henry IV, V, 3, on the battlefield of Shrewsbury, concludes with Hal's throwing back at Falstaff the latter's "pistol" of a bottle of sack and hurrying on to the battle again. After a soliloquy of seven lines by Falstaff, Hal re-enters, wounded, with his father and others. The change of location here is perhaps not essential, but modern editors usually suppose one.

In *II Henry VI*, IV, a series of scenes picturing Jack Cade's march through London illustrates this convention admirably—not, however, at IV, 2, where modern editions show an exit and re-entry.

Instead, the corollary of this convention is here made use of—that exit and re-entrance by the *same* door show that the scene is not changed. The Staffords and their forces, after parleying with Cade, withdraw (l. 195); at line 202 one of Cade's men says of them, "They are all in order and march toward us." Cade orders, "Come, march, forward." The folio direction says: "Alarums to the fight wherein both the Staffords are slain. Enter Cade and the rest." We may imagine that the Staffords had entered where they went out, say *right*; Cade pursues them in the battle, *right*, re-entering there for what modern editions call scene 3, which closes, "Come, let's march towards London," and in which the exit should therefore be to the *right*. Scene 4 is with the king (60 lines), scene 5 in London before the Tower (13 lines). When Cade re-enters in scene 6, perhaps the audience would have forgotten where he went out; he could as well enter *left*, however, so that if they did remember they would not be confused, and exit *right* to show his progress toward London Bridge, and so on. Note especially the effective use at scenes 7-8; scene 7 is at Smithfield; Cade exits to go through London; scene 8 begins with his "Up Fish Street, down St. Magnus corner," etc.

One example may be cited of change of room scenes, *Macbeth*, III, 2 and 3. In scene 2 Macbeth dismisses the murderers; in scene 3, after seven lines of soliloquy by Lady Macbeth, he re-enters. Perhaps the scene is not supposed to change, but, if modern editors are right in assuming that it did, the change could hardly have been shown in any simpler way than by his re-entrance through a different door.

Act II of *Macbeth* suggests the corollary to this convention, already referred to, that entrance by the same door through which one went out means that the scene has not changed. This usually is of little consequence, as rarely could there be any question about it. But the custom of giving the doors a more or less definite significance in a scene or series of scenes is of a good deal of consequence. If in Act II the right door, for example, is supposed throughout the act to lead to Duncan's chamber, the left to the palace in general—Banquo's, Macbeth's, Malcolm's rooms—and the (uncurtained) rear stage door to be the outer gate, the whole act will be clearer and more effective

than if Banquo, for example, retired through the same door that Macbeth presently makes use of when he goes to kill Duncan. If Banquo did use that door, even an intelligent spectator might suppose him a fellow-conspirator. Actions, especially on the stage, speak louder than words.

Finally, an interesting illustration of this convention and in general of Shakespeare's management of location is furnished by *King Lear*, I, 2, to III, 3. All these scenes are before Gloucester's castle. The Globe edition so locates I, 2, and II, except scene 3—Edgar's soliloquy—which this edition places in a wood. But are not scenes 1 and 2 in Act III also there? To assign these scenes to a distant heath, despite such lines as III, 2, 12, "Good nuncle, in," and 63, "While I to this hard house," surely implying that the speakers are near the house where Lear's daughters are sheltered while he suffers without, is to miss an excellent dramatic contrast. Even if II, 3, is supposed to be in a wood at some distance from the castle—it need not be—Kent is all the time upon the stage in the stocks, so that the stage is really the same, and the significance of the central door need not be supposed to have changed. We may therefore picture the scene as follows: By the beginning of Act III, if the staging just described is correct, the central door is associated in the minds of the audience with Gloucester's castle. When the act begins, Kent, who may, when released from the stocks, have been still kept in custody and taken into the castle, enters either from the central door or, if really released, from one of the side doors. He exits to look for the king, say *left*; the gentleman, in that case, at the *right*. Lear, after a moment's pause, to avoid giving the impression that he has met either, enters, perhaps *right*, and Kent re-enters from the *left*, where he went out, thus showing that the scene remains the same. But Kent, having gone out with Lear at the *left*, end of scene 2, enters, scene 4, at the *right*, marking the change of scene to the exterior of the hovel, represented in this scene by the left door. Since at the end of scene 4 they return whence they came, they go out where they entered, *right*. Scenes 3 and 5, each of which is only about twenty-five lines in length, are concerned with persons at Gloucester's castle; the entrances and exits are therefore through the rear stage, either curtained or exposed. In scene 5 the curtains

are surely closed to prepare the bed or couch used by Lear in scene 6. This scene is also to be thought of as in the castle; at least I can find no evidence of the "chamber in a farmhouse" of the Globe directions. For this scene Gloucester and Lear, who in scene 4 went out *right* from before the hovel, here enter *left*. Thus throughout the first three acts the central entrance is uninterruptedly associated with the castle, and the various changes of scene are all visually indicated through this convention without much change of the stage setting.

The advantage of this convention on such a stage is its clearness and its simplicity. Fewer illustrations are to be found than would occur were the Elizabethan plays less frequently composed with double or triple plots. Of course, too, the convention is useful only when the re-entrance occurs before the audience has forgotten where the exit was made. For this reason I have neglected all illustrations which occur at an act interval. But in certain series of scenes the convention offers a considerable aid to a dramatist presenting a rapidly developing story which allows little textual reference, uses few distinctive properties in its different scenes, and changes its imagined location freely. Recognition of its existence makes a little clearer just how the problem of location presented itself to the Elizabethan dramatist, and also emphasizes once more the close connection of the Shakespearean with the mediaeval stage.

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RICHARDSON AND WARBURTON

If we accept Mr. Crane's ascription to Warburton of the preface to Volume IV of the first edition of *Clarissa* (1748),¹ a partial explanation of the omission of this preface from subsequent editions may appear in the change which seems to have taken place in Richardson's attitude toward Warburton between 1742 and the beginning of the year 1750. That in the former year cordial relations of mutual respect existed between the two men is witnessed by Warburton's well-known letter to Richardson, dated December 28, 1742, acknowledging Richardson's letter of November 17² and his gift of a copy of *Pamela*, and recounting the conversation with Pope with his suggestions for the continuation of the novel.³ Presumably this friendly relationship still existed in 1747, when arrangements for the publication of *Clarissa* were made. That a more qualified regard existed on Richardson's side at least by January, 1750, is made evident by his correspondence of that date. This strain in relations was due, I believe, to the quarrel between Warburton and Richardson's friend and correspondent Thomas Edwards.⁴

¹ *Modern Philology*, XVI (1919), 495-99.

² Austin Dobson quotes from this unpublished letter from Richardson to Warburton dated November 17, 1742. Mr. Dobson says: "He seems to have sent copies of the four volumes [of *Pamela*] to Warburton, having heard that that great personage would be willing to assist him with advice. A transcript of this letter, hitherto unprinted, is in the Forster Collection. It humbly invites Warburton's corrections—"if in his *unbending Hours*, such a low Performance may obtain the Favour of his Perusal"—in view of a future edition; and it refers to the praise with which the first two volumes had been honoured by 'the first Genius of the Age,' namely, Pope" (*Samuel Richardson* [New York, 1902], p. 58).

³ Richardson's acquaintance with Warburton may have originated in their common acquaintance with Ralph Allen, of Prior Park, Widcombe, to whose household Pope introduced Warburton in November, 1741 (Nichols, *Literary Anecdotes* [London, 1812], V, 575-76), and with whom Richardson was apparently on terms of intimacy, since in a letter of April 21, 1753, he speaks of "my girl's reception at Widcombe," and of Mr. Allen's calling at Salisbury Court when "in town about three weeks ago." In another letter he speaks of knowing Warburton's wife before her marriage, which occurred in 1745. This lady was the favorite niece of Ralph Allen. Cf. *Correspondence of Samuel Richardson* (ed. Barbauld, London, 1804), III, 60-61, and *DNB*, LIX, 305.

⁴ Miss Thomson says: "But of all the members of this little coterie, the one most worthy of commemoration was Thomas Edwards . . . Warburton never forgave Edwards for this attack, and though he had formerly extended a patronising friendship to Richardson, seems to have included him in his displeasure" (*Samuel Richardson: A Critical Study* [London, 1900], pp. 100-101).

In 1747 Warburton had brought out his edition of Shakespeare, the errors in which Edwards exposed in a work which ran into two editions in the same year under the title *A Supplement to Mr. Warburton's Edition of Shakespeare*, and in 1748 appeared in a third edition entitled *Canons of Criticism*. This work brought upon Edwards the vengeance of Warburton, expressed chiefly in insulting references to Edwards in Warburton's notes to the *Essay on Man*, verse 463, and the *Dunciad*, Book IV, verse 565, in his edition of Pope's *Works* (1751).¹

Richardson's sympathy with Edwards' critical antagonism, both before and after Warburton's retaliatory utterances, is apparent in the letters that passed between Richardson and Edwards from January 9, 1750, to February 4, 1755. Such partisanship may well have been apparent to Warburton or suspected by him; and it may explain the omission from the edition of 1749 of Warburton's preface published in 1748 and solicited presumably in 1747 or earlier. In any case the correspondence reveals one more of those literary enmities with which Warburton surrounded himself.

In the first letter to Edwards which Mrs. Barbauld publishes, dated January 9, 1750, Richardson writes:

But Miss S. did me the distinction of saying she feared that my love for Mr. Edwards made me think very unfavourably of another gentleman, whose first patronage was that of her late father. I said, I valued that other gentleman for his good qualities, and was concerned for his bad.²

"Miss S.," as shown by other letters, was Miss Sutton, the daughter of the Sir Robert Sutton who was a cousin of Robert Sutton, second Lord Lexington, at whose house Sir Robert and Warburton first met.³ To Sir Robert Sutton, Warburton dedicated in 1723 his first book, a volume of translations from the Latin, and to his influence he owed several honors and preferments later.⁴ These facts explain other allusions in the correspondence, such as the following:

Jan. 24, 1750, Edwards to Richardson: "I fear I suffer in Miss Sutton's opinion for Mr. Warburton's sake, as much as she thinks he does with you for mine."⁵

¹ Nichols, *op. cit.*, II, 198-99.

² *Correspondence* (ed. Barbauld), III, 4-5.

³ Nichols, *op. cit.*, V, 540.

⁴ *DNB*, LIX, 302.

⁵ *Correspondence*, III, 10.

March 16, 1752, Richardson to Edwards: "I told Miss Sutton how kindly you took her remembrance of you. She desired her compliments to you. She is sure, she says, you are a good man, though she is far from giving up her old friend, as an old friend."¹

March 20, 1752, Edwards to Richardson: "I have in some measure vindicated the reputation of the divine Shakespeare; and (but you must not let Miss S. hear this) in some measure represented the insolence of his overbearing commentator."²

Edwards' letter of March 30, 1751, refers to an unpublished letter of Richardson's discussing, apparently, Newton's "bad edition of the *Paradise Lost*." The allusion to the Warburton quarrel which follows shows this to have been a familiar topic between them:

However, have not I work enough upon my hands with the professed critic? whose long-threatened vengeance is probably only suspended, to fall with greater weight on my devoted head as soon as his pictures come from Holland; especially as, I hear, matters are compromised between Mallet and him, and I am left the sole butt of his wrath.³

Richardson replies to this in a letter dated May 2, 1751, published only in Dr. Poetzsche's dissertation:

'Have you not work enough upon your hands with your professed critic,' you ask?—No, I answer. His affair is over. His fame as a Critic has been cannonaded into ruins; and all that he can do, now, will be looked upon as your effects of spite, of malice, and, Mr. Edwards, must not, shall not be sensible of those effects? He may indeed be incensed at you; well he may; he never can recover of your wounds you have given him. He has lost his legs, and walks, painfully walks, & fights upon his stumps, yet nobody wails him as your Witherington of your old famous ballad was wail'd:

Thee, Witherington, needs must I wail,
As one in doleful dumps;
For, when his legs were smitten off,
He fought upon his stumps.

¹ *Correspondence*, III, 39.

² *Ibid.*, III, 44-45.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 12. Warburton's edition of Pope's *Works* (with the notes on Edwards) came out this very year. The allusion to Mallett is explained by Nichols' statement: "In 1749 a very extraordinary attack was made on the moral character of Pope . . . Lord Bolingbroke published a book which he had formerly lent Mr. Pope in MS. The Preface to this work, written by Mr. Mallett, contained an accusation of Mr. Pope's having clandestinely printed an edition of his Lordship's performance without his leave or knowledge" (*op. cit.*, V, 599).

Richardson goes on to speak of reading to his circle of friends passages from Edwards' letters and then refers again apparently to Miss Sutton:

and a certain young lady shakes her head, and wishes somebody had not an adversary of whose goodness of Heart and Head she seems to think he could not be apprized, when he dealt so freely about this gall.¹

Richardson seems to have urged Edwards to publish a rival edition of Pope's works, thus continuing the feud, but Edwards refuses in a letter dated March 20, 1752:

I come now to the paragraph in your letter where you exhort me to vindicate Pope and Milton from their editors; to which I answer, I do not like fighting-work, unless upon a just and reasonable provocation. Now I think I have not this in either of these cases.²

A letter dated March 31, 1752, Edwards begins with a eulogistic query:

Do you think me as insensible as Mr. Warburton, that you should imagine that it ever came into my head to compare my concert with yours?³

On April 21, 1753, Richardson writes Edwards a full account of an unpleasant encounter with Warburton, and the latter's ostensible excuse for his enmity. He says, after telling of Mr. Allen's call and his return call upon Mr. Allen at Mr. Warburton's house:

A few days after, in company with Mr. Millar the book-seller, I met Mr. W——n in the Strand. I addressed myself to him, though he turned short from me (as by accident I then supposed, not design) to speak to Mr. Millar. I told him, lest the servant should have neglected it, that I did call to pay my respects to Mr. and Mrs. Allen. He answered, with a face all his own, and a voice and manner equally peculiar to himself, that they were very often abroad. I left him and Mr. Millar together—but could not forbear to think, that this was a discouragement to my calling again. I was abundantly confirmed in this surmise, when I found that Mr. Millar had taken notice to his wife and sister of Mr. W——'s manner of speech and behaviour; and when I was told that he had designed to shew his displeasure to me—my crime is great—he said that I had, in a new edition of *Clarissa*, reflected upon his friend Mr. Pope, by some passages not in the first (which, by the way, I know nothing of); and that I had had *the insolence* to present one of them to his wife. I did, indeed, present one in the octavo size to that lady; and

¹ Erich Poetzsche, *Samuel Richardsons Belesenheit* (Kiel, 1908), pp. 98–100.

² *Correspondence*, III, 43; see also Thomson, *loc. cit.*

³ *Correspondence*, III, 56.

intended it as a civility to one whom I knew before she was his. Do you, my dear Mr. Edwards, remember any such reflexion on Mr. W——n's friend? On May 1, 1753, Edwards replies:

I cannot recollect the lest ground for the exception Mr. W. takes: the man seems to be eat up with pride and ill nature, and I am afraid his new *riband* will make him still worse.² Insolence, did he say? None but the most impudent man living³ could have used that word, speaking of Mr. Richardson. What would Miss S[utton] say if she were to hear this story?⁴

Richardson writes to Edwards on January 31, 1754, urging him to publish an edition of his works "in two pretty volumes" and saying:

Warburton's Shakespeare and Pope's Works would always be accompanied by Mr. Edwards's two volumes; and taste and true criticism would be improved by them.⁵

In this same year the conferring upon Warburton in September, 1754, of the D.D. degree comes in for satirical mention, as well as Warburton's work, *A View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy in Four Letters to a Friend*, which appeared in part in 1754. January 28, 1754, Edwards writes to Richardson:

I have received a very kind letter from the Archbishop to thank me for my sonnet; and I am more proud of that than our friend Warburton can be of his Doctorship.⁶

Richardson writes to Edwards on November 26, 1754:

The new Dr. has not presented me with his Letters.⁷

Edwards replies on December 19, 1754:

What a poltroon is the new-dubb'd Doctor! who, after having received, I will say undeservedly received, presents of books from you, which are worth

¹ *Correspondence*, III, 60–61. It should be noted that the presentation copy of *Pamela* had been for Warburton himself; that of *Clarissa* (in the fourth edition apparently) was sent to his wife. Does this not betoken a change of relations before this particular affront?

² In April, 1753, Warburton was made prebend of Gloucester Cathedral (*DNB*, LIX, 307).

³ An abusive pamphlet in reply to the defense of Pope against Mallett's and Bolingbroke's attack appeared about 1749, entitled *A Familiar Epistle to the Most Impudent Man Living* (Nichols, *op. cit.*, V, 600).

⁴ *Correspondence*, III, 65. April 15, 1756, Edwards writes: "I did apprehend that you meant Mr. Pope in that passage in *Clarissa* that I referred to, and I think that this passage, or another, where you pass a just censure on the satirical charge on the sex in general, 'Every woman is at heart a rake,'—one of these, I say, or perhaps both, were what raised the professed critic's indignation so high as to accuse you of abusing Mr. Pope. But how weak, how foolish! Yet it must be one of these; for, in a careful perusal of the book, there is nothing else in the whole six volumes that can be thought to hint at him" (*ibid.*, III, 134–35).

⁵ *Ibid.*, III, 74.

⁶ *Ibid.*, III, 72–73.

⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 100.

more than all that he has written, or, I am satisfied, ever will write, does not do himself the honour to desire your acceptance of his trifles! But he is all of a piece. For your comfort, Lord R——n is left out too: but that he may thank me for, and so I doubt may you. I wish it were in my power to make amends.¹

Richardson's reply expresses contempt for Warburton's character and methods and little interest in his works.²

A final reference to the enmity which Warburton extended to include the friends of Edwards appears in a letter from the latter to Richardson dated February 4, 1755:

Have you seen the new edition of the *Divine Legation*, dedicated to Lord Chancellor? Our good friend Dr. Heberden is attacked in a note there with no small contempt. How much am I obliged to that worthy author! If he goes on thus, I shall have company enough, and that of the most deserving sort. I hope however that his honouring me with his friendship is not the cause of the Dr.'s suffering, as it has unfortunately been with others. Yet I cannot think what else can have provoked this Drawcansir against one of the most amiable and inoffensive of men.³

In Volume XII of the Forster manuscripts in the South Kensington Museum, Dr. Poetzsche finds the correspondence between Richardson and Edwards marked in Richardson's hand with the following note:

Perhaps the following excellent persons, for the esteem they had for Mr. Edwards (one of the worthiest of men!), will be glad of looking into it.—Returning it to my Family; with whom it must ever be private;—no extracts from it to be taken from it [*sic*], or letters copied.⁴

Miss Thomson notes that the correspondence with Edwards dates from 1748. It is probable, therefore, that in this collection there are letters which would throw further light upon the Warburton feud; quite possibly among the letters before 1750 there may appear some definite mention of the preface by Warburton now under discussion.

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¹ *Correspondence*, III, 102-3.

² *Ibid.*, III, 104-5.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 118-19. The fourth edition of the first volume of Warburton's *Divine Legation* appeared in 1755. To Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Warburton had owed his appointment in 1753 to the prebend in Gloucester Cathedral.

⁴ The names are: the Rt. Honorable Arthur Onslow, Esq., George Onslow, Esq., Dr. Heberden, Mr. Price, Mr. Masson, Miss Mulso, Mrs. Donnellam (Poetzsche, *op. cit.*, p. 92).

THE DUMB-SHOW IN HAMLET

In a delightfully ingenious and thoroughly unconvincing paper in the *Modern Language Review* for October, 1917, Dr. W. W. Greg contends that "Claudius did not murder his brother by pouring poison into his ears," for if he had done so he would have taken alarm at the representation of this action in the dumb-show without waiting for a second representation of it in the spoken play; consequently, that "the Ghost's story was not a revelation, but a mere figment of Hamlet's brain"; that as Hamlet was already familiar with *The Murder of Gonzago*, it was from that play that his fevered imagination supplied the incident, and hence we have the amazing coincidence of the exactly similar story.¹

In answer to all this, Mr. J. Dover Wilson, in the April number of the same journal, employs and amplifies the familiar explanation that Claudius did not see the dumb-show; it seems that he was speaking aside with the Queen and Polonius, as he himself clearly proves by asking Hamlet, while the play itself is in progress, "Have you heard the argument? Is there no offence in't?" As Ophelia had already divined, the dumb-show *is* the argument. Dr. Greg had dismissed this explanation, first proposed by Halliwell, as wholly unwarranted; and even if it is not, we must admit that it does somewhat blur and confuse the picture to have Claudius too obviously and too conveniently happen to play the part of a box occupant at the Metropolitan Opera House during this crucial moment.

Whatever difficulty there is in the way of this explanation *could* be overcome by supposing that the throne chairs of the King and Queen were placed in the inner stage, as they would be, I presume, in order that they might be removed and the *prie-dieu* substituted for the next scene, and that the dumb-show was acted on the *upper*

¹ The "amazing coincidence" may be explained, I believe, by a liberal interpretation of Hamlet's much discussed "dozen or sixteen lines." That Shakespeare did not mean to imply by this a special passage, but some sort—*any* sort—of alteration which would account in the minds of the audience for the precise similarity, is now usually conceded: and a proof of it might be found in the fact that after mentioning *The Murder of Gonzago* Hamlet says, "I'll have these players Play *something like* the murder of my father." The Ghost's revelation enabled Hamlet to make "something like" into an "exact coincidence."

stage.¹ There would be perhaps a certain appropriateness in thus separating the dumb-show from the scene of the piece itself, its silent action taking place, as it were, in a world apart, remote, symbolical. And if this were indeed the arrangement, think how the dramatic value of the whole episode would be enhanced! Claudius composed and unsuspecting beside his Queen, with Hamlet and the others ranged before him watching, and over his very head the action taking place which was soon to be repeated before his eyes! The suspense which could be created by such a situation would be intense and would be sustained and increased as the piece itself was given.

Nevertheless, however appropriate in and of itself, and however excellent for its theatrical effectiveness, there is not the least warrant for presuming that it was actually so given. As the play was presented before the King, the dumb-show would not be placed where the King could not see it. There is no "above" in the stage direction; and in other dramas where a somewhat similar device occurs there is abundant evidence that it was not a traditional arrangement. In *Jocasta* and in *Gorboduc* it is expressly stated that the performers in the dumb-show entered "upon the stage." In *James IV*, as in *The Spanish Tragedy*, those who were to witness a play were sent, as was Christopher Sly, to the "gallery"; but we have no record of any such use of the upper stage as I have suggested. I believe that the dumb-show and spoken piece alike were presented before Claudius, and that he did not look the other way to show the audience that he did not see what it was fully intended that he *should* see.²

What, then, of Claudius' calmness when his crime is first represented? How are we to get over this difficulty? My answer is simple: by not creating it. As we read the stage direction, it surely seems that Claudius would take alarm at the business of the dumb-show; but if we had none of us read or studied the drama, I doubt if our reaction during the brief moment when the dumb-show is being given would be more than an excited wonder as to whether

¹ Mr. Wilson assumes that the play within the play was performed on the inner stage, which corresponds in general position with the usual modern arrangement.

² It is a gratuitous assumption on Dr. Greg's part, and wholly unwarranted it seems to me, that the dumb-show was a surprise to Hamlet. He was familiar with the piece and was deeply concerned with its proper presentation. His comment, "Marry this is miching mallecho; it means mischief," indicates simply that he knows what is coming. He is not disconcerted, nor are his plans in the least upset.

the King would realize its import. We continue sure that *something* will happen when the piece itself is performed; but it is not to be expected that Claudius, as a well-conducted villain, will betray himself before the proper moment has arrived.

It is quite the custom for Shakespearean critics to scold at their adversaries for treating the characters in a drama as if they were actual people, and then to proceed to do the same thing themselves. Let me blandly follow the example of my betters and ask now: Why, considering Claudius as an actual murderer who witnesses the performance of his very crime, does he sit unmoved until the same action is repeated with the accompanying words?

Claudius, of course, is quite unprepared for any such exhibition. A group of strolling players has arrived at his castle, and he is delighted that Hamlet is inclined to see them perform a piece. He would naturally suppose that Hamlet was seeing it for the first time—as he himself was. If one will but glance again at the dialogue from the King's entrance to the appearance of the dumb-show, he will note that Hamlet has not yet begun to play the part of interpreter and "chorus." That these players should enact the very incident of his own crime might well impress Claudius (as it does Dr. Greg) as a strange coincidence, but there was no occasion for him to take alarm, nor would his "conscience" be instantly and violently shaken. The whole ear of Denmark had been rankly abused with a false report as to this unknown and unsuspected murder; to Claudius, who knew nothing of the Ghost's revelation, the pouring of poison into a sleeper's ear could have a special significance for no one but himself; so long as his crime was safely hidden, this momentary pantomime could arouse no suspicion regarding *him*.

It was not, so far as we know, the custom to have the action of the dumb-show repeated in the spoken piece; indeed, we have no other instance (I speak under correction) where just that is done. Ordinarily, preliminary or supplementary matters are the dumb-show's province. Wherever the argument is given, it is always spoken, as it was always in Latin comedy. There was no reason, therefore, why Claudius should inevitably take the dumb-show to be the argument, even though the action had thus far been repeated. Indeed, the purport of the dumb-show seems to have been none too apparent

to the other spectators. Ophelia guesses that "belike this show imports the argument of the play," but still hopes that the Prologue will tell them what it meant. One is reminded of the opening scene in Munday's *Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, where, immediately after the elaborate pantomime, Skelton says,

Sir John, once more bid your dumb-shows come in,
That, as they pass, I may explain them all.

When, therefore, Hamlet begins to manifest some knowledge of *The Murder of Gonzago*, it is quite natural that Claudius should ask him¹ if he has *heard* the argument, and if there is no offense in it. His question shows that Claudius does not even yet realize that the business of the dumb-show is to be completely worked out, and is only beginning to suspect Hamlet's connection with the "Mouse-trap." Immediately after this the action rushes to its climax. Hamlet reveals his complicity in the affair; the pouring of poison into the sleeper's ear is now re-enacted, with the open and explicit statement of the deed; and Hamlet adds, "You shall see anon how the murderer gets the love of Gonzago's wife." At last Claudius fully realizes that his crime is known—that Hamlet himself knows it—and he retires in confusion and alarm.

The purpose of the dumb-show then is to do away with the spoken and too explicit argument and at the same time give the flavor of an old play acted by strolling players; and also perhaps to whet the curiosity of the audience as to the King's conduct when the play itself is presented. The mere action of the dumb-show, unsupported by any hint of Hamlet's connection with it, would not lead Claudius to any naïve self-betrayal, however increasingly uncomfortable he might grow during the whole procedure. At the start he had no reason to think of anything but a coincidence or to show any too obvious emotion. There is therefore no mystery to explain, and no reason to fancy either that Hamlet had been self-deceived (or Ghost-deceived) as to the exact manner of the murder, or that Claudius did not see the dumb-show when it was presented before him.

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¹ "Hamlet, of all people in the world!" exclaims Dr. Greg. But why not precisely Hamlet, who has just said as to the Player Queen's protestations, "O, but she'll keep her word"? That dénouement was still to be regarded, apparently, as possible.

A STANZA ASCRIBED TO THOMAS GRAY

While a large part of the undeniably genuine writings of Thomas Gray remain unpublished, the ascription to his authorship of anything doubtful, or more than doubtful, even though too slight to be significant, ought not to go unchallenged. "Thoughts and Verse Fragments," published by D. C. Tovey in *Gray and His Friends* (1890), received something like acceptance into the Gray canon when listed by Professor Northup in *A Bibliography of Thomas Gray* (1917), without criticism.¹ One of these fragments almost surely should be rejected.

This fragment² is quoted by Tovey from the notebooks of Mitford. It is a quatrain, a translation of a Latin riddle, extracted by Mitford from Mrs. Piozzi's *British Synonymy* (1794).³ The evidence to connect it with Thomas Gray is contained in Mrs. Piozzi's comment. "I could do nothing with the Riddle itself," she wrote; "Mr. Gray did me the honour to turn it thus." And after quoting the "Gray" translation she continued, "And while the world owes him solid obligations, let him neither be angry nor ashamed that it sees he can trifle to oblige or divert a friend."

No wonder that Tovey remarked: "Mitford quotes the above passage . . . with no suggestion of any difficulty; yet I know of no edition of Piozzi's *Synonymy* earlier than 1794, and Mrs. Piozzi seems to speak of Gray as still living. The explanation perhaps is that some of the materials for her book were put together long before this." Even this explanation he would have found insufficient if he had undertaken to discover the relations between Thomas Gray and Mrs. Piozzi. There is, I think, no evidence to show that she ever as much as met the poet.

The difficulty is easily removed by assuming that the lines quoted were the work, not of Thomas Gray, the poet, but of Robert Gray (1762-1837),⁴ afterward Bishop of Bristol. A portion of her correspondence with him, running from 1798 to 1820, is published

¹ Items 45 and 1506.

² Pp. 271-72.

³ II, 223.

⁴ See *Dictionary National Biography*.

in A. Hayward's *Autobiography, Letters, and Literary Remains of Mrs. Piozzi* (1861).¹ He is properly referred to as Mr. Gray in the *Synonymy*, for in 1794 he had not yet received the degree of D.D. The "solid obligations" which the world owed him in 1794 were no doubt his *Key to the Old Testament and Apocrypha* (1790), *Discourses on Various Subjects, Illustrative of the Evidence, Influence, and Doctrines of Christianity* (1793), and *Letters during the Course of a Tour through Germany, Switzerland, and Italy* (1794). That Robert Gray was given to some verse-writing is shown by the fact that he composed two Latin lines, and their translation in an English couplet, which appeared on the sundial at the Piozzi villa at Brynbella.²

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¹ II, 248-75.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 345-47.

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THE PROBLEM IN WILBRANDT'S *MEISTER VON PALMYRA*

In 1889, the very year in which Hauptmann produced *Vor Sonnenaufgang* and Arno Holz brought out *Die Familie Selicke*, the two plays which marked the capture of the German stage by naturalism, there was acted a work which foreshadowed the downfall of the very literary movement then just coming into its own. Adolf Wilbrandt's *Der Meister von Palmyra* was one of the first of those symbolic and idealistic works which came as a natural reaction to the *Alkoholikerdramen* of the eighties and early nineties, which Hauptmann himself adopted in *Hanneles Himmelfahrt* and *Die Versunkene Glocke*, and which, spreading to every land, have reached their highest development in the plays of Maeterlinck. *Der Meister von Palmyra* is philosophical in theme, poetic in treatment, and far from dramatic in structure, yet the strength of the underlying idea and the beauty and stage-mastery with which it is worked out unite to make it a play popular not only with a limited class of readers as a closet-drama, but also a success when competently produced behind the footlights. That Wilbrandt has succeeded in a theme so beset with difficulties is a tribute both to his own genius and to the perspicacity of the audiences before whom it has been presented.

Though it in no sense degenerates into didacticism, *Der Meister von Palmyra* is most strongly a *Tendenzstück*. Unlike the model which certain critics hold up, it originates in and develops around a central

problem. That Wilbrandt has succeeded in reducing one more artistic canon to the dust it deserves is due not only to his own power, but also to the grandeur and the far-reaching importance of the theme to which he has subordinated his characters. For the problem in *Der Meister von Palmyra* is the fundamental problem which has troubled every thoughtful man since the first human being, perched in the tree tops, thought reflectively at all; it is the problem which has lain at the base of every philosophy and religion since time began. It is the perennial, ever-propounded problem which each of us must solve in the depths of his own heart as best he can: it is the great problem of life and death.

What makes the play so interesting and helpful to us is the fact that the poet actually lived through the experiences recorded in his pages; the solution that he gives is a thoughtful man's answer to the riddle of the universe as it has presented itself to him through long years of experience. It is the crystallization of all his thought and poetry, handled with the best technique at his command, and as such deservedly marks the highest point of his genius. *Der Meister von Palmyra* could only have sprung from a varied spiritual experience based on intellectual foundations as broad as Wilbrandt's.

At twenty-two a Doctor of Philosophy, a jurisconsult and a philologist, an expert in Roman law and in languages and literatures, in Hegelian philosophy and in Egyptology, in the history of art and in the history of man, he was, from 1859 to 1880, a publicist, a journalist, and a playwright. With the publication of his novel *Geister und Menschen* dates the beginning of his literary work. *Arria und Messalina* and *Nero*, two Roman plays, first brought him into prominence as a dramatist, and led to his engagement in 1881 as the director of the Vienna Burgtheater, where he produced more Roman dramas and German patriotic pieces.

This practical theatrical experience, though of inestimable value to his technique, became irksome to his poet's soul, and in 1887 he resigned his position. Rejoicing in his new-found freedom, Wilbrandt spent the next summer in the romantic Salzkammergut, at picturesque Hallein. Here, in the companionship of his friends Franz Lenbach and Reinhold Begas, he meditated much on the subject nearest his heart, and one night, looking up at the innumerable starry

points twinkling in the black-arched dome of the heavens, he resolved to write a drama on the great mystery of life and death. His theatrical experience had taught him that any subject, if but handled aright, was possible upon the stage; and in 1889 *Der Meister von Palmyra* was the result.

The great problem of the play is the problem which Life feels when it comes into contact with Death. There is in mankind a strong, firmly rooted attachment to life. Few of us have as yet come to sympathize with Hardy's "coming universal desire not to live." Man is willing, if in a healthy state of mind, to struggle to the utmost to preserve the divine spark within his breast. Athwart this deep-seated instinct of the human soul falls the black shadow of death. Man is limited in existence to the brief span of three score years and ten; then he must die, no matter what his rank, his power, or his desserts. From the beginning of time thoughtful men have moralized upon this inevitable factor in human existence. In Tennyson's noble words,

Man comes, and tills the field, and lies beneath.

This seems to comprise the life of man; it is essentially the same for all, whether embodied in a moralizing Johnson's *Vanity of Human Wishes* or in the drama of an Andreyev. Death is the final goal of Life.

The great problem has been, therefore, to reconcile these two seemingly incompatible facts. Man's spirit stubbornly refuses to concede that death ends all, and religions and philosophies have sprung up to explain away death. Why does it exist? Is it the end? The first of these problems Wilbrandt explains in the only possible way, by dwelling on the necessity of death. Eternal physical life in this world would be impossible. To exemplify this he gives us the character of Apelles, who has the boon of eternal existence. Empires rise and fall, religions change, generations are born, grow to manhood, and pass away; Apelles remains the same. And what has he for his pains? A living death! Life without progress is not life at all; Death must exist.

Having disposed of the first question by showing the absolute necessity for physical death, Wilbrandt advances another step. Does

the necessary *Sorgenlöser*, Death, defeat forever the soul's cry for continued existence? Wilbrandt answers in a decided negative. He attempts no elaborate elucidation of this point; the absolute certainty with which he expects some form of future life is based upon the inward conviction of the soul. Thus, when Apelles in the first scene asks Zoë whether she is certain of immortality:

Wirfst du so leicht das sichere Leben hin
Für das, was niemand kennt? Die blühnde Jugend,
Der Glieder Kraft und Schönheit, Aug' und Ohr
Und Fühlen, Denken, Lieben für ein dunkel,
Geträumt "Vielleicht"? (Browning's "Grand Perhaps")

Zoë's firm answer is:

Dir mag es dunkel sein, mir nicht.

And in the last act, when Apelles' spiritual development is complete, he also scorns the fool whose only cry is, "Eat, drink, and be merry, for to-morrow we die." Life persists after the grave in some form. But in what?

There are only two views possible: continued existence apart from this life, in a static condition, or reincarnation in some form of physical and progressive existence; the third, the Buddhistic Nirvana, in which the soul is reabsorbed into the world-spirit, is not immortality in the ordinary sense. Which of these two shall we accept? The first has been the traditional view of Christianity; the second, that of the great religions of the East. To modern eyes there seems at first glance little doubt as to which is preferable. But Wilbrandt says no; the only logical and satisfactory conception of immortality is reincarnation. Hence he introduces, as a contrast to Apelles, the figure of one soul appearing in a different guise in each act, first as the Christian martyr Zoë, then the Roman courtesan Phoebe, then Christian Persida, the youth Nymphas, and, last of all, Zenobia. She is the true immortality,

Abbild des ewig neugeformten Lebens.

Life as constant, active progress is opposed to the stagnation, on the one hand, of the foolish desire to live forever in this life, represented by Apelles, and on the other, of the life of eternal bliss which the church has offered, represented in the play by the doctrines of early Christianity.

What, then, does *Der Meister von Palmyra* offer us on the philosophical side? First of all, an ideal, poetical, immanent world-spirit or over-soul, exhibiting itself in this life in man:

Und all die Menschenseelen sind verschieden
 Gefärbte Gläser, die der eine Geist
 Des Lebens—nenn ihn, wie du willst—durchleuchtet.
 Der steht, unsichtbar, hinter jeglichem,
 Sein wahres Ich, und lebt in uns sein Leben.

So much for God; as for the immortal soul of man,

Sollt' es dauern, müsst' es
 Im Wechsel blüh'n, wie du! von Form zu Form
 Das enge Ich erweiternd, füllend, läuternd,
 Bis sich's in reinem Licht verklärt. So könnten wir
 Vielleicht, allmählich, Gott entgegenreifen.

We have an example of this true immortality in the quintuple figure of the heroine who shows the false earthly eternal life, personified in Apelles, its mistake, and opposes the equally false Christian eternal heavenly bliss, which is merely Apelles transferred to another sphere. Such is the philosophic import, the plot of ideas.

It is hard for us, to be sure, not to laugh at this ludicrous idea of metempsychosis; it is really too preposterous for a modern German to hold it up as an ideal. Still, we must recognize that in times gone by it has been one of the vital philosophic beliefs. Indeed, the great Asiatic religions of Brahminism and Buddhism, comprising the majority of mankind, believe today in the transmigration of souls, and even in Europe and this country, where we profess to be enlightened, it flourishes as one of the cardinal doctrines of the theosophists. Hence after all, because of its wide extent in the past and even today, it merits more attention than has ordinarily been given it by modern scholars.

Belief in the teaching variously denominated as reincarnation, transmigration, or metempsychosis, is almost as old as mankind. We find the earliest peoples holding that the human soul, when it leaves this body in death, reappears on earth once more in the form of some new-born babe; in the lowest peoples, and in the exoteric practice of some of the higher, the belief is that the soul can reappear in the body of an animal. But such perversions of the doctrine we

must in all fairness exclude from any philosophic consideration; it is as unfair to judge it from the belief of the Hindu coolie as it would be to judge Christianity from the practice of a southern negro, rather than to try to penetrate into its esoteric principles.

In fact, in the ancient world, whoever made any pretense to intellectual power rejected the joyless life of the shades, which constituted the popular hereafter for the Greek and Roman, and if he believed in any life to come, he adopted some form of metempsychosis. The Orphic cults, which played so important a rôle in the religious life of Hellas, gained much of their power from the metempsychosis doctrine that they offered their initiates. Pythagoras reveled in it; and we all know the wonderful use to which Plato put it, in his Myth of Er and elsewhere. Among classic philosophers, Empedocles, Vergil, Philo, the neo-Pythagoreans, the neo-Platonists, Origen, the Gnostics, and the Manichaeans adhered to some form of transmigration. The ancient religions of the world nearly all embody it: the Persian Magi, the gymnosophists of India, the Druids, the bardic triads of the Welsh, the priestly rites of Egyptian Isis, the Eleusinian mysteries of Greece, the Bacchic processions of Rome, the cabalistic rituals of the Hebrews, the religions of Peru and Mexico—all are imbued with the teaching. And even today, it prevails in India, Burma, Tibet, China, and Japan. In fact, it is hardly exaggeration to say that, with the exception of those peoples who have come under the domination of Christianity, belief in metempsychosis has been and is well-nigh universal.

Nor has it been absent in Christians. Some of the greatest philosophers have adhered to the theory; Bruno, Kant, Schelling, and Fichte accepted it. Hume himself says: "The soul, if immortal, existed before our birth. Metempsychosis is the only system of immortality that Philosophy can hearken to." Schopenhauer's philosophy included palingenesis as one of its cardinal principles; he calls it "the natural conviction of Man so soon as he reflects freely." Lessing defends it in his *Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts*; Herder professed it; Goethe's *Erdgeister* sing of it.

Among poets especially the belief has been very prevalent. Whittier, Aldrich, Longfellow, Lowell, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Rossetti, Coleridge, Browning, Shelley, Emerson—these are but a few who

have hearkened to its call. We may well close our survey of its extent with America's greatest poet, who sings:

As to you, Life, I reckon you are the leavings of many deaths.
No doubt I have died myself ten thousand times before.
I know I am deathless.

In the face of this imposing array, we can better appreciate the importance of the solution Wilbrandt gives to the problem of death. It is one of the great answers of the ages, excluded from our thought only because of the force of traditional Christianity. It is coming more and more to the fore now; it has already left the domain of theoretical metaphysical speculation and appeared in popular form in *The Star-Rover* of Jack London, in the novels of Algernon Blackwood in England, in Flammarion's works in France, and here in Wilbrandt's *Meister von Palmyra* in Germany.

Upon closer examination the doctrine of reincarnation does hold forth great plausibility. The highest human spirits have demanded a something after this life. Almost without exception the great philosophers and the great poets are united in the contention that the cessation of the physical life does not mean the end of the spiritual. If you once grant any kind of immortality, it follows with logical precision that Hume was right, and metempsychosis must be adopted. If the soul is to live forever after death, it must have lived forever before birth. What is eternal life that excludes the eternity before the present? Science itself contends for it. The cardinal principle of the physical universe is the law of the conservation of energy. If we are to apply this to the spiritual realm also, it means of necessity that the vital principle exhibiting itself as consciousness must exist in some form after it departs from the body, and it must have existed before. If, on the other hand, the law of the conservation of energy does not hold in the spiritual realm, then there must be spiritual laws which do; and the strongest of these is the continuity of personality. Granted the animism on which immortality depends, reincarnation would seem to be most in accord with scientific principles.

The modern conception of life is essentially one of growth. Life absolutely static is impossible to conceive. Modern scientific thought offers us life as a progress, an evolution from lower to higher, steadily approaching an unattainable goal. And this is exactly what

reincarnation offers on the spiritual side. An ego, eternally existent, a manifestation of the Divine, what Wilbrandt calls "ein gefärbtes Glas, das der eine Geist des Lebens durchleuchtet," gradually evolves through many existences until at length it resides as the soul of a man. After the physical garment wears out, is this ego to be lifted at once to flowery beds of ease, or doomed to eternal torture? Both mediaeval conceptions are alike repugnant to modern thought. The soul must continue to progress after this life.

To exemplify this false theory of future life, Wilbrandt introduces the Christian fanatics, and, in a symbolic sense, the living death of Apelles himself. The hero realizes, at last, his folly, and cries aloud:

So wie die Geister von Gestorbenen, die
Man nicht begrub, die Todesstätte, sagt man,
Ruhlos umkreisen, so umwand'r ich, ein
Lebendig Toter!

The heaven of Zoë, the heaven which inspires the fanaticism of Herennianos, leader of the church at Palmyra, is presided over by a *Zorngott*; and Apelles says:

Das Heilige wird
In euch zum Wahnwitz, heiss wie Wüstenwind.

In fact, Wilbrandt's treatment of early Christianity is most fruitful. Its conception of immortality arose in response to a vital need of the peoples of the Roman Empire. With all initiative crushed by the repression of a vast military tyranny, life ceased to offer any attractions. Stoicism and Epicureanism arose to teach man to make the best of a very bad business; they brought escape from the outside world through withdrawal into the inner soul. Christianity, the Christianity of the Fathers, offered instead the hope of eternal happiness in another world. No wonder it far outstripped those sects which could offer only consolation in this world. So mediaeval Christianity became what Ruskin calls the great "Religion of Consolation." To the oppressed it made its appeal. They sought an escape from the world; Christianity offered them the dream of heaven. Hence the monasteries of the Middle Ages and hence their insolent criminals, their ascetic saints dreaming of eternal glory and their cruel tyrants oppressing, plundering, poisoning; hence all

of that curious religion which permitted the most unbounded evils to occur at a time when, probably, there were more spiritually minded men in the world than ever before. The Christianity of the church,

gleich dem Adler,
Der sich emporschraubt in das Blau des Himmels,
Bis er dem Aug' des Sterblichen entschwindet,

forgot the earth in contemplating heaven. Meanwhile, the Christianity of Jesus had practically died out with his disciples, overshadowed by the other and to that age greater interest of immortality introduced by the Greek Fathers; however, it is probable that without this adventitious element, Jesus himself would long ago have been forgotten. We are just beginning to realize today that the religion of Jesus has never yet been tried, and that the greatest misfortune that ever happened to Christianity has been the church and the theologians. As our own Edgar Lee Masters has said, Christ's message was just gaining headway when

Along came Paul, and nearly spoiled it all.

It is against such a deadening mediaeval conception of eternal bliss that Wilbrandt and reincarnation protest. The ego cannot die, but neither can it live statically. Any conception which takes the soul's interest from this world and makes life depend for its value on the hope of happiness hereafter, the very basis of which is false, is radically wrong, and any Christianity which depends for its support on such an erroneous doctrine is doomed. If immortality is to remain amid the simple teachings of human brotherhood and divine fatherhood which constituted the fundamentals of Christ's message, it must be in some other form than the "Christian's" heaven and hell.

What solution does reincarnation offer? It tells us that the soul, after completing one life, experiences another, and another, always rising in the scale and always approaching the ideal, in accordance with the recognized principles of evolution. Life is an opportunity for growth, a something to be grasped eagerly and experienced to the full. Just as the physical body of the child depends directly on what the physical experience of the ancestors has been, so the spiritual constitution of the reborn soul is directly affected by all the experiences of its past lives. Life is not something to escape from;

it is something to grow into. The better we live physically, the better will be the bodies of our offspring; the nobler we live spiritually, the nobler will be our characters in the next life. "Salvation" becomes, not getting saved from "original sin," but developing character, growing nobler; every man has to be "saved" from the self he is when he enters the world by leaving it a nobler being. The best way of growing is the way of Jesus: unselfish service for others.

This conception is inherently probable because it explains many hitherto inexplicable facts of life. It makes clear those intimations of a former life, which Wordsworth and multitudes of others have experienced. It explains genius and how a Mozart could compose operas at four, because of the long practice he had in former lives. But the most important problem it solves is the age-long riddle of evil. Evils and hardships are tests and formers of character; only as we live and learn can we fulfil our great duty of growing. What we are in this life depends upon what we were in the last, and what we shall be in the next depends upon what we do and learn in this.

So much for the probabilities of the case; modern philosophy tells us that no belief, such as immortality, incapable of logical or scientific proof or disproof, can be accepted if it does not pass the pragmatic test: are its results desirable? Those of the mediaeval immortality were not; hence "practical philosophy" has rejected the entire conception, in spite of the evidence in its favor. But reincarnation escapes this difficulty. It conserves the values both of a continued existence and of an intense interest in this life.

Against the old idea Apelles objects:

Ist alles,
Was wir bezeugen durch die Tat des Lebens,
Wie nicht getan?

In the play it is the old conception that leads to Zoë's martyrdom; it produces the tragedy of the fanatic Herennianos on Apelles' wife Persida. We are shown the folly to which it can lead, in theory to Apelles' living death, in practice to the fanaticism of the early Christians. Both of these difficulties reincarnation obviates; it provides a future life of growth, instead of stagnation, and it centers interest in this present life here and now, for the two are one and the same. This life is a future life for all of us, and our future life will

resemble this one. Hence, in the Life Spirit's charge to Zoë all those elements combine which would pragmatically force us to adopt Wilbrandt's theory:

Doch die du so leicht das Leben
Hingibst für den Traum des Himmels:
Dich, im Namen des Allmächt'gen,
Ruf' ich auf zu hohen Wundern,
Werkzeug du des ewigen Willens.
Wiederkehren wirst du! nicht
So, doch anders; Abbild des
Ewig neugeformten Lebens,—
Den zu führen, zu belehren,
Der in sich verharren will.

Reincarnation, then, as the belief of the majority of mankind, in the past and in the present, as the scientific, evolutionary conception of immortality, as the most probable solution of the great problem of evil, as the explanation of many of the questions which science gives up in despair, finally, as that belief which pragmatically unites all the values accruing from a belief in immortality with all the values resulting from the belief that our life must be measured by its activity in this world—reincarnation may be said to have a fairly strong case in its favor.

For purposes of illustrating his point and because of the inevitable limitations of the stage, Wilbrandt has, of course, narrowed down his conception to an impossible degree. There is no probability that even if souls should return to other bodies there could ever occur five successive reincarnations so close together in time or in space. Indeed, the probability, if we should accept the theory, is altogether against any soul ever returning to this particular world at all. The important part of Wilbrandt's message is not that we are likely to meet once more in other guises our lost loves, or to revisit the scenes of other lives; it is the fundamental consideration that any future life must be a life of growth, in conditions at least approximating those found on this globe.

Perhaps the best comment on the entire subject is that which Wilbrandt puts into the mouth of one of his characters, old Saltner, in his novel *Adams Söhne*: "Ob er recht hat mit seinem Glauben? Wer weiss es? Ich weiss nur, dass es gut ist, so zu leben, als hätte er

recht: uns so reif zu machen, wie wir irgend können, so menschlich, so gut zu werden, als in uns gelegt is."

We have thus far treated *Der Meister von Palmyra* purely as a philosophical work, as the exemplification of a powerful but somewhat strange idea. It is right that we have done so, for it is primarily for its philosophical interest that Wilbrandt wrote his drama and that it interests us. But there is also a second side to it, more important to some readers than the first: the *Meister von Palmyra* is also a work of art. Only extraordinary artistic ability could have made it the dramatic success that it has proved to be. Plays of so philosophic a nature are understood by few and appreciated by still fewer, so that the success it achieved is a triumph for Wilbrandt's technical skill.

There are immense difficulties in the plan as Wilbrandt conceived it. A play extending over a hundred years demands a large and confusing cast and is likely to lose interest. Each act is a small drama in itself, requiring an exposition, a plot, and a climax. There is the constant danger that the similarity in the acts, in each of which a new figure must be introduced and carried off by Pausanias, will become too monotonous. The author is more to be congratulated on the wonderful ease with which he has avoided these pitfalls incident to his self-imposed limitations than to be assailed for the essentially undramatic nature of his plot. Its very novelty and hazard lend it a charm. There is no preaching and no arguing on the stage. He hints at his thought, and develops it by illustration, but he gives no formal arguments. The reader is left to draw his own conclusions; the only place where the philosopher too far overshadows the poet is toward the end of the last act.

The scene is laid in Palmyra, the "Queen of the Desert," a most fitting and romantic locality for such a tale. The time, too, gives opportunity for introducing the many changes in life and religion which contrast with Apelles' static existence. Embracing the reigns of Diocletian, of Constantine, of Julian the Apostate and his successor, it shows us empires rising and falling, religions changing and persecuting, while the Master of Palmyra lives on unmoved.

The action opens after the city has been rebuilt, following its destruction by Aurelian, by the famous architect Apelles, "*Meister von Palmyra*." He is at the heyday of his fame; young, healthy,

happy, he enjoys life as only the true Greek can. He loves his fond mother and his native city, and is proud to live as its leader.

The scene opens near a cave in the desert just outside the city. Here dwells a powerful spirit who can dispense life at will. Occasionally, however, those who seek life from him are met instead by the Spirit of Death, Pausanias or *der Sorgenlöser*. Thither comes an aged couple, who, despite all the evils of life, despite blindness and decrepitude, still desire the boon of living. Thus at the very outset Wilbrandt introduces the theme of the play, the struggle of man against death, and hints at the solution. It is Pausanias who comes and asks the couple why they seek to prolong their miserable existence. But the old woman answers:

Man lebt doch, Herr, so gern. Und sterben ist
So schaurig.

And Pausanias gives the true answer to the longing for continual life here on earth:

Fallen muss das welke Laub,
Damit andres keim' und wachse!

This small incident at the very outset epitomizes the drama.

To this cave comes a young Christian, Zoë, bent on gaining a martyr's crown at Palmyra. She represents the ideal which would give up this world for another.

Apelles, the conquering hero who finds life sweet, in all the abandon of youth comes to beg that his joyous existence be made eternal. His companion, Longinus, already a thoughtful youth and a budding philosopher, warns him that fortune may change, but Apelles will listen to nothing; he wants Life, and will have it. The Spirit of Life, whom he evokes, also warns him:

Doch gib acht!
Leben ohne Ende kann
Reue werden ohne Ende.
Drum gib acht!

but he grants his request. Apelles is confident;

Arbeit und Genuss
Sind Zwillingsbrüder, eins im andern lebend;
Ich leb' in beiden, und sie hüten mir
Die Lust des Daseins.

The Spirit, having granted his wish, dooms him to eternal life:

An der Stirn gezeichnet wirst du
Wachen ohne Schlaf des Todes—
Allen Kindern dieser Erde
Du ein Bildnis, du ein Beispiel,
Das des Todes Lehre predigt,
Das des Lebens Rätsel lichtet.

He then connects Zoë's doom inextricably with Apelles:

Folg ihm nach!
Deinen Todesweg zu wandeln,
Ihm zu künden sein Geschick.—
Wandre du von Form zu Form,
Strebend leichtbeschwingte Seele!
Irre wandelnd, vorwärts schreitend,
Und in jeder deiner Formen
Ihm belegend, neu und fremd,
Unbewusst dem Unbewussten—
Bis sich Gottes Werk vollendet,—
Folg den Männern nach Palmyra,
Geh zu sterben!

This first scene is really the prelude to the play: it introduces the problem and the chief characters and forecasts the solution. There follow five separate actions, centering around the martyrdom of Zoë, the infidelity and death of Apelles' mistress Phoebe, the tragedy and death of his Christian wife Persida, the death of his grandson Nymphas in defense of the old gods; and, finally, the postlude, in which Zenobia meets the now world-weary Apelles and gives him death. In each act Pausanias appears, in one guise or another; until the last Apelles resolutely repels him. As time goes on the master is increasingly conscious of the identity of the five figures he loves, till in the last scene the truth bursts upon him. Like the Wandering Jew, doomed to walk the earth unceasingly, he finally comes to long for death, but only after all his friends have died and his grandson has been killed. Unlike the Wandering Jew, he does not sink to rest as a refuge from life forevermore, but drinks of the waters of Lethe only to return again in some other form:

O Wunderrätsel du, das meinen Weg
So oft verwandelt kreuzte; holde Flamme
Des vielgestaltigen Lebens! Nun erfass' ich

Des hohen Meisters Meinung,—ach, zu spät.
 Eng ist des Menschen Ich, nur eine kann es
 Von tausend Formen fassen und entfalten,
 Nur eine Strasse geh'n; drum tracht' es nicht
 Ins lebenswimmelnde Meer der Ewigkeit,
 Das Gott nur ausfüllt!—Sollt' es dauern, müsst' es
 Im Wechsel blüh'n, wie du! von Form zu Form
 Das enge Ich erweiternd, füllend, läuternd,
 Bis sich's in reinem Licht verklärt. So könnten wir
 Vielleicht, allmählich, Gott entgegenreifen.

The first episode, at the end of Act I, introduces to us a number of characters who pursue their course throughout the play, dying off one by one according to their respective ages. The most interesting is Apelles' steward Timolaos, whose shrewd insight and biting wit have earned for him the name of *die Nessel*. His wit is the only humor in the play; and it is generally too acrimonious to approach the comical. His remark on the Roman captain Saturninus, after he has just been most lavish in his praise of Apelles and Palmyra, aptly hits the point: "Ein kluger Mann, dieser Saturninus. Wie herablassend er uns schmeichelt. Kluge Schufte, die Römer!" And he well characterizes the two ambitious and selfish men whom we shall meet later: "Der ehrgeizige Julius Aurelius Wahballath mit dem neid-sauren Lächeln, und der schöne Septimius Malku, in dessen schmale Hand so viel Gold hineingeht und so wenig heraus—seine Freunde, die auf seinem Adlerrücken mit emporgefliegen sind."

Pausanias appears in the latter part of this scene, disguised as the minstrel whom Apelles had heard in camp, and his influence soon pervades the entire action. The reader can feel his presence, though he is not mentioned by name. Once more he warns Apelles of his rash desire for life, but to no avail. The act closes with a very dramatic action in which Zoë is stoned to death. The heated arguments between the heathen and Christian leaders give opportunity for the discussion of "Christianity's" ideals in those early days; they lend a naturalness to the scene. Another homely touch, which reveals Apelles' pride, is the way in which he protects Zoë from the mob until she assails his work and prophesies the fall of his temple—that is too much! Zoë dies cursing Apelles, while taciturn Pausanias stands by and says: "Du hast nun, was du wolltest."

The second episode takes place some twenty years later. Everyone, save Apelles, has changed. Rome is at her height, Constantine is on the throne, Christianity has triumphed. Aurelius and Septimius have risen to the first places in Palmyra and now despise Apelles, the ladder by which they climbed. Longinus, in middle age, is a mature philosopher; Timolaos' words are more biting than ever. The Master has been in Rome and returned with a beautiful courtesan, Phoebe. This long introduction is effected in the most natural manner and is worthy of Wilbrandt's best technique.

Phoebe is a beautiful creature of imperial Rome, sighing for her city, pouting, longing for the wealth and luxury to which she has been accustomed. A light, frivolous butterfly, there remain in her soul traces of a nobility recollected from her previous existence. When Timolaos' stinging remarks on the vacillation of Aurelius amid the changing religions arouse the latter's ire, so that he seizes the opportunity to charge Apelles with embezzlement, the Master, with the nobility of character accorded him throughout the play, resolves to pay the unjust amount though it ruin him. Phoebe struggles between her better self and her desire to run off with Septimius, who has tempted her with luxury and Rome. A dim sense of goodness seems to come back to her; she cajoles and flatters Apelles, who has discovered the plot, and in this instant he wonders:

Und warum mahnt mich diese Schläfrin, die
Mein Herz berauscht, an jenes Kind des Todes?
Als wär's derselbe Geist in beiden Formen?

He has been thinking of Zoë.

Phoebe soon gives way to Septimius, but falls sick and is claimed by the physician Pausanias. Although bereft of loved ones and wealth, Apelles is still firm in his defiance of death. This second episode is one of the best in the play. The tender lines with which Phoebe is drawn, the noble portrayal of Apelles, the gibes of Timolaos, the "Pelican philosopher," Longinus—all make it of great dramatic interest in itself.

Episode three opens. Christianity is firm. Rome has fallen, and Constantinople is now the seat of empire. Aurelius is Wahbalath once more, Septimius is Malku; otherwise they are little changed. Timolaos, now old, has been converted. "Wir gehen alle nach

Brot," he remarks, "und das Brot wird christlich." Longinus is the wise old father of Jamlichus; Apelles is married to a Christian wife, Persida. But now the curse begins to take effect, for, fixed in bodily vigor, he is also static mentally; his whole being has stopped growing. A living death is approaching. Still clinging to the old gods, he builds basilicas for the Christians, who, outwardly honoring his talent, inwardly despise him. But he prides himself on this very fatal defect in his character:

Hier steh' ich—grau, nicht alt; im festen Bau
Unsterblich Mark, so scheint es; doch erfahren,
Beruhigt, weise—Lieb' und Leidenschaft
Dämmern so ferne—und der Zeiten Hammer
Rings um mich schmiedet eine neue Welt.

Persida is a second, matured Zoë; her experience as Phoebe has done wonders. Her husband meditates:

Wie du der Phoebe glichst; doch ernster, edler—
Doch auch ein heimlich Feuer tief im Aug'.

He seems to see Phoebe in her, she feels her kinship herself; while even her brother notices something strange about her. As she develops spiritually, she is coming to remember more and more of her past existences.

Across the story falls the black shadow of Christianity. On top now, it is persecuting in its turn; old Herennianos can flatter Apelles in one breath, while in the next he is plotting to place his daughter in a cloister, take away his wife, and kill him himself. The clash comes when Apelles wishes his Christian daughter to marry the pagan son of his old friend Longinus. Herennianos interferes, and the struggle in Persida between love for Apelles and devotion to the fanatical ideal of the church kills her. She is conquered by Pausanias, but Apelles keeps his Tryphena and defies death to his face:

Gespent des Abgrunds!—
Du auch hier? Rabe, der das Opfer wittert?—
Bin ich unsterblich, bin ich stark wie du,
Bin Herr des Todes! Nieder, Höllegeist,
Auf deine Kniee!

The irony is all the more poignant because the death he despises is the living death which stares him in the face; actual death is the true *Sorgenlöser*.

The best of the third act is the stirring scene where the fanatic mob seeks to tear Tryphena from Apelles' arms. Amid the most dramatic action Wilbrandt brings out the base ends to which the theological immortality of the church can descend.

In the fourth episode Longinus alone, of all Apelles' friends, is left, now a hoary graybeard. The Master, a goatherd now in the mountains, is still happy: "Zeitlos leben, wie wir, ist des Menschen Glück! Streit und Not hatten wir genug; lange, ruhlose Irrfahrt durch der Menschen Länder! Hier krächzt uns die Sorge nicht an, und die Wünsche schlafen." He has come to the Stoic ideal. At the same time he has almost realized the true form of eternal life:

Seit ich wie die Adler lebe, die Welt von oben betrachte, besuchen mich in stillen Nächten wunderliche Gedanken. Nicht wiederkommen? Warum? Die Weisen in Indien sagen: wir werden sein—und sind schon gewesen! Langsam, sagen sie, reift der Menscheng Geist, nicht in Einem Leben. Um gottähnlich zu werden, muss er durch viele und mannigfaltige Gestalten gehen. . . . Warum könnt's nicht sein?—Wenn ich zuweilen daliege und mir sage: Wer war wohl jene Zoë, mit dem Geisterblick? Und Phoebe, und Persida—wanderte in ihnen Zoës Seele weiter? Und du, mein Nymphas, mein Liebling—hätte ich auch dich schon gekannt?—Zuweilen ist mir, als hätte ich dich schon gekannt.

Nymphas, Apelles' grandson, is the form that the reincarnated soul takes this time. Young, fresh manhood is his, as charming in his way as Zoë and Phoebe were in theirs. He is all fire, vigor, idealism. All of Apelles' love is concentrated in this boy; but Pausanias, now a Greek musician, appears, and we know that he is doomed. *Der Sorgenlöser* sings:

Also will's der ewige Zeus: du musst nun
Niedersteigen under die blühende Erde,
Musst die dunkle Persephoneia küssen,
Schöner Adonis.

Julian the Apostate is on the throne; the old gods are about to be restored. With all the fire of youth Nymphas enters into the plot. Apelles, grown wise, asks: "Kind! O Kind! Wollt ihr das Rad zurückdrehen?" Julian dies, the spirited attack fails, and Nymphas is killed in Apelles' arms. At last he turns to death as a solace:

So will ich sterben! So verfluch' ich
Dies Leben, das nicht endet!—Tod! wo bist du!

Zeig' mir dein Angesicht! Kannst du ihn töten,
 So töte mich mit ihm!—Heran, ihr alle;
 Hier biet' ich euch die unbewahrte Brust—
 Hier, hier! stosst zu!

But it is useless; he cannot die.

In the fifth episode Apelles has become a second Wandering Jew. He passes mournfully among the ruins of the once proud city of Palmyra, and in a long and impassioned address begs release from the troubles of life:

Longinus starb,—ich nicht! Die Müden sterben,
 Die Weinenden, die Lachenden—Geschlechter
 Und Völker sterben—Tempel stürzen nieder—
 Ich nicht! Ich nicht! Wie Mond und Sterne rollt
 Mein Leben weiter; hoch am Himmel steht
 Geschrieben: "ewig!" und durchflammt die Nacht,
 In der ich ruhlos wandre.

Pausanias appears to taunt him with his former defiance, but Apelles answers:

Nur der kann leben, der in andern lebt,
 An andern wächst, mit andern sich erneut.

But Pausanias cannot help him; only the woman who damned him can unseal his doom.

She appears as Zenobia, a Christian saint, surrounded by worshippers. At last the two souls recognize each other. "Intimations of immortality" flit through Zenobia's brain; and at length all is clear to Apelles. He realizes that true life must be progress upward, in varying forms and under varying guises. The theme of the play receives its last expression, and Zenobia releases Apelles finally to the waiting Pausanias.

There is one charge that has been brought against Wilbrandt, that he should have made Apelles receive eternal happiness together with health and strength, and converted him to a longing for death purely by the monotony of a static, timeless, subjective existence. Unfortunately, this mode of treatment would be impossible on the stage. As it is, I think Wilbrandt has made his point sufficiently clear. Apelles is happy until he drifts out of the onswEEPing stream of mankind. It is his inability to advance to Christianity that causes

his first real unhappiness, while the culminating blow is merely the fact that he has outlived all his friends. How, I should like to ask, could Apelles wish death if he never became unhappy or dissatisfied with life?

I think I have sufficiently pointed out the beauties and value of *Der Meister von Palmyra* as a piece of dramatic literature. I trust that I have made it clear why, at least, Wilbrandt could have believed in the theory of reincarnation so strongly as to write a play upon the subject. But even if we do not sympathize with his solution of the world-old problem of life and death, *Der Meister von Palmyra* will still hold a great message for us. It is possible to interpret the play in a sense entirely symbolical. Life is constant, progressive activity. Apelles then symbolizes the false idea of life, which seeks to isolate itself from all others, to live for and in itself, to drift out of the on-flowing current of mankind and live in a static condition. Such a life would be truly death. Zoë and her successive changes, on the other hand, can be taken to typify the true life, always a growth and a progress, ever-changing, ever taking on new forms, never at rest but always active. Only so far as life is growth and offers something toward which to move is it of any value. As Browning's Andrea del Sarto says,

Ah, but a man's reach must still exceed his grasp!

Taken in either sense, Wilbrandt's drama will well repay careful study and become a constant source of delight. But I cannot help feeling that it only reaches its truest and greatest appeal and becomes of the utmost value to mankind when we recognize, besides the merely symbolic wealth at our disposal, the doctrine of reincarnation itself as the sanest, the most appealing, and the most helpful solution to the age-long mystery of the Whence and the Whither.

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STUDIES IN THE MIND OF ROMANTICISM

- I. ROMANTIC MOTIVES OF CONDUCT IN CONCRETE DEVELOPMENT—*CONCLUDED*
2. THE DETERMINING FACTORS IN THE ACTIONS AND STRUCTURE OF KLEIST'S DRAMAS

Literary composition becomes now the principal expression of Kleist's life. The direct self-interpretation conveyed through letters, which are addressed henceforth almost exclusively to his sister Ulrike, is fragmentary and generally limited to external conditions.

The part of our problem which still remains is whether the extreme Romanticism reached on the Aar island is really the final conclusion of his development, or the turning-point which marks the beginning of a reaction toward greater objectivity. This problem presents itself concretely as the question whether and in what particular respects the motives which spontaneously determined the mind and will of Kleist in the crucial period of his development remain the decisive motives also of his principal creative characters and the determining factors in the actions and structure of his dramas.

"PENTHESILEA"

Issuing from their remote and mythical home in Themiscyra, armed forces of youthful Amazonian maids, led by their young queen, Penthesilea, appear upon the plains of Troy, at the time of the Trojan War, in order to capture mates for themselves. Achilles and Penthesilea meet and are at once seized by an uncontrollable passion for each other, which attains to the extremes of tenderness and humility and of pride and ferocity. Achilles finally defeats Penthesilea, and while she lies unconscious takes her prisoner. Warned by Prothoë, her companion, he tries to save her pride by pretending that he is the one vanquished and captured. After a love scene of great beauty and variety, Penthesilea is rudely undeceived by a sudden turn of the battle. She succumbs to madness, and in a new encounter proposed by Achilles, who comes unarmed, intending

to yield after a mock duel, she murders her lover and mutilates his body in a bestial manner. On recovering her senses and realizing her deed, she kills herself by the mere act of willing to die.

THE MOTIVES

The action of the tragedy is ruled by one exclusive passion, which actuates equally both heroes but reveals its greatest richness and intensity in Penthesilea. The principal motives and steps in the progress of this passion are the following:

The Greeks, puzzled by the indiscriminate direction of the Amazons' attack, send an embassy to the latter, with Achilles as leader and Ulysses as spokesman. Penthesilea, at sight of Achilles, with a "convulsive" movement, casts a sinister glance at him. She is completely absorbed, so that she does not hear Ulysses' address. Suddenly, turning to Prothoë, her attendant, she exclaims:

"Otrere,

My mother, never met a man like him."

Achilles gently suggests that she owes Ulysses an answer. Her eye, "intoxicated," rests on "Achilles' radiant form." She blushes, "with rage or with modesty." Then "confused, wild, and proud," suddenly freeing herself from her trancelike state, she replies that she will send her answer from the quivers of her warriors.

After the resumption of the three-cornered battle between Amazons, Trojans, and Greeks, just as Penthesilea and Achilles have encountered each other, Deiphobus, the Trojan, aims a dangerous blow at Achilles, who has eyes only for Penthesilea. The latter, pale, for a moment motionless with horror, strikes Deiphobus down. Then Achilles and Penthesilea join battle with the utmost fierceness. Achilles, caught at a disadvantage, extricates himself by a clever maneuver which upsets Penthesilea's mount, and returns to his anxious comrades. His conduct is like hers. He is absorbed, speaking in brief sentences, more to himself than to his questioners. In a lengthy speech, which is like a monologue in their midst, he declares:

"What she, the god-like one, desires, I know:
Enough of wingèd wooers did she send,
Whose deadly whispers bore to me her wish."

They are both from the beginning ruled by a contradictory passion, in which tenderness is combined with murderous ferocity. Achilles understands his state of mind. Penthesilea is unconscious of hers.

The Amazons have accomplished the end of their expedition. Having captured enough young men they wish to celebrate the Festival of the Roses, the marriage ceremony, and return home with their mates. But Penthesilea, forgetting that she herself, before meeting Achilles, had given the orders for the festival, now in a sudden fury forbids them to speak of return while Achilles is free. She interprets the wish of the others for the festival as selfishness and lewdness, rebuking Prothoë thus:

“Accursed the heart, immoderate and prone.”

Asteria, one of the leaders of the Amazons, who, owing to her late arrival, has had no part in the fighting, prompted by military ambition, belittles the success of the victory and supports Penthesilea. By her selfishness and obvious insincerity she serves to emphasize the paradoxical ingenuousness of Penthesilea, who, obsessed with her passion for Achilles, sincerely misunderstands herself. In a paroxysm of fury Penthesilea heaps renewed reproaches on Prothoë.

She orders her army for a new attack, demanding resumption of the war in a speech compassing the extremes of combative fierceness and the melting ardor of love. She threatens with death anyone who should harm Achilles.

The passion of Penthesilea and Achilles has risen to its first climax. In the sixth scene the tension is relaxed in a lovely, brief intermission. The Amazon maids, blessed by the High Priestess and the Priestesses of Diana, their tutelar goddess, crown their captives with wreaths of roses. A feeling of relief, playfulness and love-making, and happy anticipation holds sway. But this gentle idyl, like a sunlit, flowery valley under the approaching gloom of a thundercloud, lies under the tragic threat of Penthesilea's plan, known only to the audience.

The next phase begins gradually. Penthesilea's contradictory behavior awakens in the assembled Amazons the suspicion, voiced in the seventh scene by one of their captains, that her heart is pierced

“By the most poisonous of Cupid's darts.”

Her passion, the sole motive of her conduct, of which she is still unconscious, now, by revealing itself to her people, becomes the concrete motive of a minor counteraction, which, while leading to no material consequences, serves to set her main motive into a clearer light. According to the law of the Amazons the warring maids must not follow individual passion in choosing their future mates, but must each accept the captive whom the chance of the general battle offers to her. Penthesilea thus sets herself in opposition to the objective order of her state, sanctioned by the divine and public law. Though unconscious of her true motive, she is at fault because her unconsciousness is the result, not of her ignorance or the obscurity of her conflict, but of her obsession and blind self-absorption. She is unconscious of the nature of her action, not because she is not aware of her desire, but because she pays no heed, because by her nature she is incapable of paying heed, to the objective, ethical bearings of her desire.

The storm breaks with a sharp, dramatic clash. The battle goes against the Amazons. Achilles strikes down Penthesilea, who is saved by her attendants from immediate capture. The victor, on seeing her fall, casts away sword, shield, and armor, and unarmed follows her through the fleeing Amazons. He is preserved from harm at their hands by Penthesilea's recent injunction.

Penthesilea, among her attendants, now reveals another, greatly intensified instance of the extreme polarity of passion, which is one of the principal forms in which her motives develop. Abruptly rousing herself from her prostration, she cries:

"Loose hounds against him! Elephants, at him!
Whip him with fire brands! Chariots, dash at him,
Mow the luxuriant glory of his limbs
With whirling sickles!"

Immediately after, her mood flies to the extreme opposite of self-pity and tenderness, the latter of which embraces Achilles as well as Prothoë, whom, a little before, she has repulsed and abused with immoderate violence. She complains:

"This bosom he could shatter, Prothoë;
As who would crush with cruel heel a lyre
That to the night-breeze loving whispers made
O' his name."

Upon this follows the richest and most varied series of violent fluctuations found in Kleist's works. The changes of mood succeeding each other in abrupt and rapid sequence are consistent with her nature and full of dramatic interest and force. The ninth scene is unequaled by any similar scene in the Romantic drama, rich as that is in linking motives by means of spontaneous fluctuations of mood. She avows her love for Achilles. But no external consideration, no ethical motive influences her; no faintest sense of objective relationship to her environment stirs in her. The passion shaking her whole being brings no moral conflict to the surface, but works itself out in a purely temperamental tempest. She pleads:

"Nought I desire, Ye Immortal Gods! Nought else
Save him: to draw him down onto this breast."

Again rebounding into savage fury, she accuses, in extreme terms of loathing, the other Amazons of lewd ardor because they are still making ready for the festival. She curses the spring with its roses. Suddenly, with another abrupt rebound, she calls upon the goddess of love. Next she succumbs to a moment of extreme languor:

"Ah me! My soul is stricken unto death!"

Passing quickly beyond this mood, she arrives at utter abjectness. She determines to await Achilles without making an effort to save herself:

"Let him come,
To set his steel-clad foot—it suits me well—
Upon this neck. These cheeks, though like twin-flowers
In rosy bloom, why should they now be parted
From the vile mud whence barely they were plucked!"

Let him drag me with horses (like Hector!), she continues, or throw me to his dogs. She ends with this significant line, which reveals pride of passion as an additional motive:

"Dust rather than a woman without charm."

She now gives way to a state of feeble despair, submitting to the ministrations of faithful Prothoë. At this point the High Priestess expresses the objective judgment upon her. Penthesilea's self-recovery, according to her, is

"Impossible
For her, by nought *outside her* swayed, *no fate*,
Nought but her foolish heart."

Prothoë in reply defines the fundamental principle of Romantic motivation:

"Fate that to her!

Steel bands, to thee, may seem beyond our strength,
Yet she might break them, she, so powerless
Before *the feeling* which thou deemest weak.
What rules within her, who can know but she?
'T is the inward heart, fore'er a keyless riddle."

Once more Penthesilea arouses herself to a flight of passion which rises above any previous climax. In a half-visionary state of exaltation she struggles for a renewed and a greater resolution. In language of surpassing splendor she identifies her desire with an aspiration to a supreme goal of godlike bliss shining beyond the immensity and the glory of the heavens. She is almost delirious. Achilles appears to her as Helios, the god of the sun, whom she

Draws down to her by his golden-flaming hair.

With a sudden, final emotional rebound she falls unconscious.

Achilles appears. The Amazons flee. Prothoë alone remains with the prostrate form of her friend. Achilles, after disposing in a most cavalierly fashion of the solicitude of his comrades, and especially of Ulysses¹ and Diomedes, whom he treats as if they were officious porters, turns his attention to Penthesilea and Prothoë. The latter, fearing for Penthesilea's pride, proposes a ruse. When Penthesilea regains consciousness Achilles is to pretend that she has been victorious and he is her prisoner. There follows, in the fourteenth and fifteenth scenes, a prolonged, exquisite love idyll between the two principal characters, which is marked by a great variety and richness of fluctuations of happy moods. With the same abandon with which she surrendered before to the fierceness and desperation of her passion, Penthesilea, deceived by the story of the two loving conspirators, now gives herself to the full happiness, tenderness, generosity, and resourcefulness of jubilant love. But this radiant surrender, which she believes the voluntary gift of the

¹ It is characteristic of the Romantic attitude toward objective reality that Ulysses, the traditional prototype of clear reasoning, the favorite of Homer and of Sophocles, in whose *Ajax* he is the chosen spokesman of Pallas Athene, the goddess of wisdom, and in whose *Philoktetes* he represents the large righteousness of the statesman, is in Kleist's drama conceived, in contrast to Achilles, as a stupid and odious chatterer.

victor, is shot through with constant hints of a tragic threat. Again and again we perceive momentary flashes of the consuming flames of her passion and pride, which are beyond the control of any objective force.

The fortune of the battle is again reversed. Before her lover can prepare Penthesilea for the revelation, fleeing Greeks, pursued by Amazons, come streaming over the scene. Achilles, in an access of battle rage, dons his armor. Penthesilea, suddenly and brutally awakened from her dream of bliss, now enters upon the final stage of her passion.

In the ninth, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth scenes Penthesilea has attained to the farthest limits of the aspiration and tenderness, of the desire for the complete possession and surrender, to the highest degree of the positive energy, of love. A continuation in this direction could only lead to an anticlimactic abatement of the intensity of her passion. But her nature, by sheer temperamental force of its impulse, subject to no objective restraint or modification, converts every new obstacle into an incentive to a greater exertion of emotion. To her only one way lies open to the third and final climax.

Abruptly her love turns into destructive madness. Achilles, in order to win her by saving her pride, challenges her to single combat. He intends to surrender after a sham duel. Without armor, carrying a spear only for appearance's sake, he advances. She murders him and horribly mutilates his body.

In the last scene she gradually recovers her reason. Her passion is now dead and with it all vital impulse. After realizing what she has done she kills herself by the mere act of willing to die. Her last words, though cast in an overelaborate metaphor, are illuminating as an interpretation of Kleist's conception of the inner will in its relations to external physical reality:

"Now I descend into my bosom's depth
As down a shaft, to mine there, cold as ore,
Of Death *a feeling*. In the flames of grief
This ore I harden into steel; now drench it
In bitter-biting poison of repentance.
Then on the anvil of eternal hope

I point and sharpen it into a sword;
 And to this sword I give my willing breast:
 Thus, thus!—And yet once more, thus! . . .
 Now 'tis well."
 (*She dies.*)

This concluding climax of the tragedy is universally condemned.¹ But the condemnation is currently based on the false ground of inconsistency and inadequacy of internal motivation. The scene is intolerable through the ghastly horror, the bestiality, the obscene sadism, of its result, but not through any lack of unity or harmony in its motives. On the contrary, it presents the most complete and consistent working out, in its extreme form, of the fundamental Romantic article of faith, which asserts the exclusive rule, the fateful necessity, and spontaneous primacy of the inner, non-objective, non-moral, solely temperamental impulse. The fatal flaw in the conclusion of the tragedy, the destruction, by the very motives of its seeking, of the prize sought, is not to be traced, as is supposed by the critics of Kleist, to lack of technical skill or to the inadequate vision of the individual poet, but to the general foundations of the Romantic view of character. Given any two lovers endowed with extreme intensity of passion and limited to the motives of that sole passion, the same consequences are inevitable.

Single-mindedness in the Romantic sense is thus the badge not of virtue but of uncontrolled self-seeking. The sum of Romantic conduct is: He that seeketh self loseth it.

Exclusive subjectivity of impulse is non-morality of motive. And non-morality of motive is immorality of action.

STRUCTURE

Penthesilea exhibits a simplicity of structure unequaled in the history of the drama. In one act of twenty-four scenes, in one continuous sweep, solely determined by the inner development of the single passion which is its motive, it completes the full course of the traditional five acts of tragedy.

This simplicity repeats both the virtues and the defects of the inner action. It is the fitting external garment of a purely tempera-

¹ See Otto Brahm, *Heinrich von Kleist*. Berlin: F. Fontane & Co., 1892.

mental motion in its three forms of continuous intensification, rhythmic fluctuations, and spontaneous rebounds of mood.

The action proceeds in three principal propulsions, successively intensified and joined together by scenes which represent the conditions of rebound and relaxation from the succeeding, and of recovery for the ensuing, emotional effort. The last of these scenes combines the functions of the traditional descending action, catastrophe, and catharsis. The movement of the whole is that of a single billow rising in three ascending waves and breaking in one colossal crash.

Owing to the exclusively temperamental basis of its action the tragedy fails to produce the classical catharsis, the tragic elevation of the mind, which wins from the contemplation of great aspiration, crime, and ruin wider and deeper visions of the moral immensity of life. A fate wholly bounded by temperament is devoid of the truth, the grandeur, and the superhuman sovereignty which alone can sustain the tragic awe.

AN ORIGINAL FORM OF THE STRUCTURE OF REVELMENT

The identification of passion with fate in *Penthesilea* tends to cross the structure proper to a play of action with that of a play of revelment. The latter structure is concerned not with the marshaling of the forces of coming actions but with the dramatic communication of actions already past. In a sense one might define the action of a drama of revelment as setting in after the climactic consummation of a preceding dramatic action.

The recognition of Penthesilea's passion, first by the audience, then gradually by more and more of her people, and finally by herself, is a minor and conventional instance of this structure, which aims chiefly at intensification of the pathos.

In two parts of the initial action, however, Kleist has succeeded, by an original combination of the structure of revelment with that of progressing action, in inventing a very effective device, by which he introduces the beginning of the main action as itself the climax of a continuous preliminary action. In the first scene we learn, through the account of Ulysses to the Greek generals, expository events of recent date. Through the entrance of a captain the narrative is intensified by being brought up to the immediate past. In the following

scene those present see the continuation of the actions reported proceeding before their eyes, and convey them by their accompanying comments to the audience until the very moment, in the fourth scene, when Achilles, the hero of the events observed, bursts upon the stage. An almost exact parallel of this occurs a little later, with Penthesilea as the center of interest. In the seventh scene we are told of Penthesilea's command to resume the battle. Presently the assembled Amazons see the progress of the battle, which continues to the moment when, at the beginning of the ninth scene, Penthesilea, defeated, is led upon the stage.

The extreme unification of the structure with the content of this drama in one seething tide of emotion, intensifying, fluctuating, turning in explosive clashes upon itself, but always rising until the swift cataclysmic conclusion, relates this form structurally very closely to the symphonic poem, the somewhat later Romantic simplification and intensification of the symphony.

STYLE

The style of this drama, which in intensity, Homeric magnificence, heroic splendor, range of image and phrase, sweep of rhythm, excels every other German drama, bears throughout, in its symbolic identification of the inner impulses with the ultimate forces of the universe, the impress of the Romantic totalism. It is the supreme stylistic flight of Romanticism, combining the extremes of its self-absorbed disregard of reality with the extremes of the consuming fervor of its aspiration toward absolute self-realization into a flaming unity of utterance.

ROMANTIC LOVE

In *Penthesilea*, Kleist has fixed the extreme ideal of Romantic love in modern literature. This love, conceived as the primary passion, absorbs in a single impulse every idea, every vital motive, every sense of reality and of value, every power of being, so completely that it is identical with life itself. It is the essence of being. With the end of this passion life itself must cease. The manner of Penthesilea's death is the consummation and symbol of the Romantic ideal of love.¹

¹ An arbitrary but common critical disposition toward allegorical interpretation has selected this tragedy, crowded though it be with the concrete and rich details of indi-

In two works of later poets does this ideal again appear in extreme forms: in Grillparzer's *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* and in Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, and in both the action is crowned by the characteristic Romantic death. For while the latter, in *Isolde's Liebestod*, is keyed to triumph rather than to despair, and while Hero's death results not from the positive will to die but, on the contrary, from the complete cessation of the will to live, the bond of unity between the three dramas is the absorption of all the motives of life in the single motive of the passion of love.

Fouqué's *Undine*, through the exquisite symbol of the acquisition of a soul through love, and through the manner of the heroine's death, exhibits in the form of a fairy story the same unity of motive. The characters in the vast body of Romantic literature, though they stop short of the extreme consistency of these four works, yet are

vidual lives, and especially with the specific motives of the passion of a man and a woman for each other, for its favorite victim. Even Adolph Wilbrandt and Otto Brahm, in their biographies of Kleist, have succumbed to the contagion.

Kleist has left in his letters a record of the enthusiasm with which he began *Robert Guiscard*, his first important drama, and the anguish and despair in which he finally gave up the task. Upon this biographical basis the allegorists have constructed an elaborate legend. *Penthesilea*, which was written more than four years after the supposed destruction of the draft of *Guiscard*, is assumed to represent Kleist himself, and *Achilles*, Kleist's first drama. Every impulse of passion in the woman; every cry of the joy and anguish of love; every mood of playfulness, languor, abandon of love, fury of passion; every sting of hatred and pride; even her final murderous madness, are tortured into allegorical expressions of the poet's labors. *Penthesilea* and *Achilles*, whose chief distinction and poetic importance lie in their rich and vital individualization, are flattened into mere abstract personifications, the woman, of a man agonizing over a projected drama, the man, of that project. The extraordinary figurative wealth and concrete force and passion of the language, the most fiery and gorgeous speech given to love in German literature, are starved into the monotone of an abstraction. Such are the ways of the allegorizing obsession.

The mischief of this form of interpretation comes from the falsification of thought and the corruption of values involved in it. Its blindness is as ruinous as that of *Penthesilea*. It ignores all that makes the specific content, meaning, and value of the tragedy and emphasizes commonplace relations, which hold equally of the work of any writer, of whatever degree of value or worthlessness. There is no worse enemy to true literary interpretation, no worse disturber of the true literary perspective, than the allegorizing pre-occupation in the panoply of its biographical knowingness and arbitrary over-generalization.

Even in the rare cases of proved, instead, as in the case of *Penthesilea*, of assumed, discoveries of the actual origins of figures of speech, characters, or incidents, the knowledge acquired bears only indirectly, through a gain of insight into the general habits of mind of an author at a certain period of his life, but never directly, upon the significance of these details in a work of literature, because that significance is determined by the specific exigencies of the creative conception embodied in that work and from it primarily to be inferred.

Finally it should be borne in mind that *Penthesilea* represents in its conception, characters, emotions, structure, and language a far greater creative effort than *Robert Guiscard*.

distinguished by the predominance of the single motive of love, sufficiently manifest to reveal the type.

ROMANTIC REALISM

It is customary to seek the characteristic difference of Realism from Romanticism in the attention given by the former to external detail. But examination of any of the noted works of Romanticism¹ discovers that the latter, so far from falling short of Realism in this respect, often reveals a far greater sensitiveness to the external indications of personality. The true difference lies in the conception of character. Romantic natures are conceived as formed by single or predominantly single inner motives, while Realistic characters are combinations of different, harmonious and mutually antagonistic, motives, internal and objective. The resulting difference in the method of portrayal is not one of greater or less attention to external detail but a divergence and specialization of reference in the symbolic interpretation of that detail. The Romantic interpretation is one-sided and preoccupied, the Realistic more varied, circumspect, balanced, and spontaneous. Here, too, it is true that he that seeketh life, loseth it. The Romantic desire for absolute inner integrity contracts, and by contracting corrupts, the integrity of its vision.

THE THREE FORMS OF THE ROMANTIC ASSOCIATION OF MOTIVES

The exclusive dominance of subjective impulse limits the rise of the motives of conduct in the Romantic mind to three main forms: continuous intensification, abrupt rebound into the opposite state, and rhythmic fluctuations, or variations, of mood. The dependence of these processes on the mechanism of pure temperament, that is, the paradoxical ultimate sensualism of Romanticism, becomes thus manifest.

Continued intensification of an emotion, unless checked by objective modification and inhibition, or by inherent rhythmical variations, leads to obsessions and to nervous breakdown. But it also tends, in natures of great temperamental force and insufficient

¹ For instance, Fouqué's *Undine*, Eichendorff's *Taugenichts*, Chamisso's *Peter Schlemihl*, Grillparzer's *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen*, Kleist's "*Käthchen von Heilbronn*," E. T. A. Hoffmann's novels.

sense of objective reality, to bring about a gradual or, in violent natures, an abrupt reversal of an originally good impulse into its extreme opposite, producing ruin and crime. It becomes a monomania. Kleist, who himself was subject to these reversals, was fully aware of their part in the temperamental motions of impulse. He has left an essay, partly whimsical but mainly serious, entitled: *Latest Method of Education*, in which he proposes to replace the pedagogic principle of imitation and continuity by that of opposition (*Widerspruch*) as the ruling form of association. The essay reveals his characteristic, though unconscious, Romantic one-sidedness in his preoccupation with the purely temperamental rather than with the moral or intellectual processes of association. He applies this "law of opposition," not only to "opinions and desires, but much more generally also to feelings, sympathies ('Affekte'), qualities, and traits of character."

The greatest variety and interest, among these three forms, attaches to the fluctuations and changes of mood proceeding from the predominance of temperament in the sequence of motives. It is in the subtle and rich, however one-sided, marshaling of these fluctuations that Romanticism has made perhaps its most important contribution to motivation in modern literature.¹

These fluctuations, of which the ninth scene of *Penthesilea* is the best example, can proceed in two modes. Each variation may take place, as in that scene, in response or in reaction to some event or to some act or speech of another dramatic character; or it may, in monologue or pantomime, follow an exclusively inward temperamental rhythm. The former is more marked, the latter, which in its purity is most characteristic of the associative processes of musical composition, more subtle as well as more spontaneous.

Both these forms of the changes of mood are part of normal life and form a very important factor in the movement of good drama. They are the inner life of the drama. The plays of Shakespeare abound with them. Without them a play, no matter how carefully considered and well worded, is monotonous and lifeless. Milton's *Samson Agonistes* and Tennyson's *Thomas à Becket* owe their dramatic

¹ Next to Kleist, Grillparzer shows the greatest skill in this respect. See my introduction to Grillparzer's *Des Meeres und der Liebe Wellen* (Henry Holt & Co.; 2d ed., 1914), pp. lxxiv-lxxix.

woodenness largely to the absence of temperamental spontaneity. In social intercourse persons of considerable temperamental flexibility and energy are sharply distinguished from those who are flat and lifeless.

The Romantic, however, is distinguished from the normal mind by the exclusiveness of temperament in the control of these fluctuations. While in the normal character external reality joins with the inner impulse, each modifying, diverting, and at times inhibiting the other and thus producing an endless complexity of motives, in the Romantic mind objective events are at most merely the outward occasions for the release or the intensification of the self-motived inner current of volition.

THE RULE OF THE EXCLUSIVE IMPULSE IN THE OTHER WORKS OF KLEIST

The rule of one exclusive impulse over conduct, exhibited in *Penthesilea*, is carried to an equal degree of intensity in *Die Familie Schroffenstein*, and in Kleist's most important novel, *Michael Kohlhaas*. In the former the single evil passion of suspicion, unmitigated and unqualified by any other motive, constantly rising in intensity and spreading from character to character, determines the action of the tragedy. It is, as the passion of love in *Penthesilea*, the subjective fate, which converts by its maniacal touch every happening, however harmless, trivial, or indifferent, every motive, however ingenuous, into evil. One of the characters describes the motive of the play as a *Sucht*, which means "disease," "plague," and "mania," thus designating it as a force lying beyond the reach of the moral will.

"Suspicion is the black plague of the soul,
To whose diseased eye all actions wear,
Though heavenly pure, the countenance of hell."

Michael Kohlhaas is, as *Penthesilea*, the portrayal of a character, in whom a single, normally good impulse, intensified to the extreme limits of passion, turns into its opposite. A righteous man, in trying to gain redress for a flagrant and deliberate wrong, becomes, through his single passion for justice, a monomaniac and ends on the wheel as an outlaw.

In *Das Käthchen von Heilbronn*, the counterpart of *Penthesilea*, the passion of love acts through the motive of undeviating, slavish fidelity. Käthchen, a Romantic version of the Nutbrown Maid, wins her lover and every worldly triumph through doglike humility.

Hermann, the hero of *Die Hermannsschlacht*, is prompted by a patriotism so absolute that he is proof against the motives of honor, chivalry, policy, humanity, and every other mitigating or balancing motive.¹

“GEFÜHLSVERWIRRUNG”

To Kleist the sway of the single motive appeared, not as a limitation, but as the highest degree of consistency and truth. Every other motive, whether modifying or contradictory, balancing or disturbing, every secondary consideration, every qualification, is in all his greater works rigidly and anxiously excluded. Every force affecting the chief impulse is to him a corruption of the integrity and clarity of character. He abhors such interference above any other fault. His name for it is “Gefühlsverwirrung,” “confusion of feeling.” The warning cry, “Do not confuse my feeling,” which issues in varying forms from the lips of his heroes is his most characteristic motto. Kleist’s characters, like the monads of Leibnitz—there is a profound relationship between the rationalism of Leibnitz and the Romantic emotionalism, to be pointed out more definitely in a later essay of this series—have no windows.

“PRINZ FRIEDRICH VON HOMBURG”

Prince Friedrich Arthur von Homburg, general of cavalry in the army of the Great Elector of Brandenburg, a young man of an intense and self-absorbed disposition, a somnambulist, is ruled by two passions, love for the Princess Natalie of Orange, the Elector’s niece and honorary colonel of a regiment of dragoons, and ambition for military glory. He is entirely unconscious of his love. On the morning of the battle of Fehrbellin, the decisive action in the war

¹ This rule of one exclusive impulse has persisted considerably beyond the Romantic period. In Otto Ludwig’s *Erbförster* an obstinate sense of right brings about a tragic ending, in a manner resembling that of *Michael Kohlhaas*, but less interesting. Golo, in Hebbel’s *Golo und Genoveva*, the two heroes in his *Herodes und Mariamne*, and many other characters in Hebbel’s work are the victims of this peculiar one-sidedness.

between Brandenburg and Sweden, the army commanders are assembled to receive their final instructions. The aim of the Elector is not an ordinary victory but complete annihilation of the enemy. To Homburg falls the decisive maneuver. He is to hold the division of cavalry, of which he is the chief, until the wings of the enemy are pushed back to certain positions. Then, but under no circumstances before, is he to "sound the fanfare" for the attack. His instructions are couched in the most peremptory military terms. Homburg, who is in a state of extreme, trancelike self-absorption, induced by a dim recollection of a somnambulistic dream of love which had taken place the previous night, hears of all the instructions nothing except that he is to "sound the fanfare."

The battle takes its course in accordance with the plans of the general staff. Homburg, now quite himself, is informed by his comrades of his precise duties. But yielding to his heedless and head-strong ambition, he orders a premature attack. His protesting subordinates are forced to submit. A victory is won, but the decision planned by the staff is lost.

Homburg, on returning, meets Natalie, and becoming aware of his love for her, wins her.

The Elector, on hearing a first fragmentary report of the inadequate success caused by the premature attack of one part of his army, has ordered a court-martial for the trial of the guilty commander, "whoever he may be."

Homburg is found guilty and, in accordance with military law, condemned to death. On receiving the announcement he takes it at first lightly, as a mere formality promptly to be set aside by the Elector. But as the latter seems determined to let the law take its course, Homburg gradually sinks to the lowest depths of despair. Fancying that the Elector is angry with him for seeking the hand of his sovereign's niece, he releases the latter and, in a scene in which absurd vanity and abject horror of death blend, begs her to intercede for him with the Elector. She tells her uncle of Homburg's despair. The Elector, astonished, decides to let the decision rest with Homburg's own sense of justice. The offender now recovers his dignity. After a long struggle he decides that he cannot regard the verdict as unjust and himself insists on his execution.

The situation seems hopeless. The solution is found in the following way. Homburg's comrades, whose spokesman is their senior, the stern old Colonel von Kottwitz, insist that spontaneous feeling, which looks to the intentions that rule our acts rather than to the letter of the law, must decide. The Elector, in a scene in which Homburg shows his old spirit and valor, finally sets the verdict aside.

The drama concludes with the betrothal of the lovers and the glorification of Homburg as the victor of Fehrbellin and a hero who has won immortal fame.

THE MOTIVES OF THE ACTION

As in *Penthesilea* and *Michael Kohlhaas*, Kleist opposes in this, his last and most popular drama, the motives of self-absorbed passion to those of the objective order. The crucial parts of the action are the process of the Prince's self-recovery and the reasons for his final glorification.

It is generally assumed that the action embodies, in the voluntary submission of the Prince to the general law, the triumph of the objective order, represented by the Elector, and hence that there is solid ground for the inference that Kleist finally had outgrown the limitations of Romanticism.

The current account¹ of the decisive motives may be summed up as follows: The Elector, in submitting the decision of the validity of the official sentence to the Prince himself, knows the latter's true nature, temporarily unbalanced by the horror of a felon's death, so well that he is certain that Homburg, as soon as he is face to face with the stark necessity of choosing, will recover his honor and self-respect. After thus redeeming himself, the guilty man is worthy of rehabilitation.

In the words of Professor Nollen,² which fairly sum up the general opinion, Homburg's "heedless individualism and haughty defiance of the early scenes are gone. . . . In a day, he has grown from the

¹ See J. S. Nollen's edition of *Prinz Friedrich von Homburg* (Ginn & Co., 1899), Introduction, pp. lvii-lx; pp. 151 ff., 161 ff., 165 ff., and the authorities quoted by him, pp. lxxi ff. G. M. Merrick's edition (Oxford University Press, 1914), Introduction. Hermann Gilow, *Die Grundgedanken in Heinrich von Kleist's "Friedrich von Homburg,"* Progr. Berlin, 1890.

² *Op. cit.*, p. lviii.

rash youth to stanch manhood, and now the elector can and must preserve him to the state."

In this view the Elector, whose dramatic function is "psychological" and pedagogic, is necessarily characterized by infallibility of judgment, lightened by a touch of humor, forcibly read into ll. 1205/6 and ll. 1180-85, in spite of his perplexity manifested just before in ll. 1174/5.

This interpretation overlooks the serious structural implication that by putting the central dramatic conflict primarily into the keeping of the Elector it makes him instead of the Prince the hero of the second half of the play, and so destroys the unity of the action.

Moreover, the current theory contradicts itself. It unconsciously bases its argument on the reversal of its thesis; for it makes the Elector debase the objective order, the sovereignty of which he is supposed to vindicate, to the subordinate function of the apparatus for a subjective experiment. In substance the Elector establishes the culprit as the court of the highest instance upon the law of the realm. The confusion of the current argument stands forth in all its nakedness if we suppose that the Elector, in human fallibility, had erred in his estimate of the Prince's strength of character.

Finally, even in rising to the highest demands of personal honor, the Prince cannot undo the objective injury caused by his self-absorbed breach of law. The serious strategic miscarriage, for which he alone is responsible, remains, necessitating resumption of the war with all its risks to his country. He can at best be a proper object of clemency. But no stretch of generosity or sympathy can accord to him the shadow of a title to the glory, the tokens of supreme excellence, heaped upon him at the last.

Thus the current theory offers no escape from the conclusion that Kleist's mind was so completely cast in the mold of Romanticism that he could not even conceive of the objective order, except as an adjunct, a mere province, deriving its authority from the central throne of subjective impulse. On any save the Romantic interpretation of the leading motives, the final action of the drama is a piece of theatrical claptrap.

A more specific scrutiny of the motives from which the two crucial phases of the action arise, is necessary.

Natalie, after witnessing the Prince's abject terror, goes to see the Elector to plead for the life of her lover. To the Elector's perplexed question whether the latter regards the verdict as unjust she replies that the Prince has lost all self-respect, that he thinks of nothing but safety and asks nothing but mercy. The wretched man has lost all power of ethical judgment.

The Elector, deeply troubled, replies that he would not be justified in opposing himself to the "opinion" of such a warrior, that he has in his "innermost being" (*im Innersten*) the highest regard for Homburg's "feeling" and therefore must leave the decision to the latter. This is typically Romantic reasoning. In treating as a conflicting ethical judgment the Prince's plea for mercy, the abjectly personal character of which Natalie has been at pains to emphasize he himself exhibits a confusion of objective and subjective motives and values of action.

The Prince, on receiving the Elector's written message, finds it, according to Natalie's interpretation, i. 1387, in his "heart" that he cannot regard the verdict as unjust.

This resolution of the Prince is no objective act, but a self-recovery involving no more than the reawakening of the subjective motives of an honorable self-respect, which, however, promptly lead to a characteristic excess of pride. This pride dictates the terms of the passage, ll. 1748-52, which marks the final turn of the action. In these words:

"Silence! It is my inexorable will!
I am resolved to glorify the law
By a free-chosen death."¹

The Prince, cutting short all objective discussion, proposes by an exclusively self-willed act to give sanction to the law. And this arbitrary and subjective enactment of the law is the crucial factor in the Elector's decision.

We are confronted, therefore, not with the education of the Prince in objective reality, but with the conversion of the Elector to Romanticism. Nor does the contagion of the Romantic system of motives stop with him. Not a character is immune. Even the

¹ "Ruhig! Es ist mein unbeugsamer Wille!
Ich will das heilige Gesetz
Durch einen freien Tod verherrlichen."

old Colonel von Kottwitz, the senior and spokesman of the army, intended as the typical, straightforward, and sober embodiment of the objective order, plunges in his climactic speech, ll. 1569-1607, into rampant Romanticism. According to his plea the highest law is not the "letter" of the ruler's will, i.e., the written law, but "himself," in whose "breast" the law must take effect. Not the "regulations" is the ruler to follow; he is not to make a "dead tool" of the army; he is not to put his trust in the law book; but he is to follow his "feeling" (*Empfindung*, l. 1586) and his "heart" (l. 1394). All the terms and valuations of this speech are characteristic of the typical "free," i.e., exclusively subjective, soul of Romanticism.

It is not necessary to complete the tale of the triumphs of the Romantic motives except by an indication of the most important terms and passages. They are: *Gefühl*, l. 1040, l. 1129; coupled with *Innerstes*, l. 1183; *Herz*, l. 1343, l. 1388, l. 1441. *Wunsch*, l. 1206, l. 1235, l. 1261. *Meinung*, l. 1181, l. 1310. *Stimmung*, l. 1356.

There is one apparent contradiction in the course of the motives. The Elector, ll. 1613-20, in reply to Kottwitz' plea, rejects what he terms the latter's "sophistical doctrine of freedom." But he promptly, l. 1751, accepts the Prince's doctrine of freedom, which in essence is identical with that of Kottwitz. The difference between the two is merely that of a subjective qualification. According to Kottwitz, downright and incapable of subtleties of formulation, the Elector would be wrong in placing the objective law above the spontaneous feeling, while according to the Elector he is right in setting aside the objective law as soon as the Prince in the sovereign "freedom" of his "inner feeling" has sanctioned or, in the term of l. 1751, "glorified" that law.

The elaborate insistence of the dialogue leading from Kottwitz' plea to the Elector's amendment, on the Prince's absent-mindedness during the instructions on the morning of the battle serves merely to blur the real proceedings. It cannot remove the fact that the Prince was informed by his fellow-officers later on, immediately before the attack, of his precise duties.

The reason for the Elector's decision lies in the exigencies of the final scene. The situation objectively warrants no triumphant

conclusion. To emerge as the author of a superlative success and as a paragon of virtue, the Prince himself must become the embodiment of a principle of conduct higher than that which he violated. It is therefore he who must speak the decisive word.

This supreme principle must, however, make its appearance in such a guise of subjective subtleness as not to place the Elector brusquely in the wrong with regard to his previous strict adherence to the law. The sovereign is enabled to save his face only through the gradual shifting of the perspective, which is accomplished in the transition from Kottwitz' formulation of the new morality to that accepted by the Elector.

The "inner feeling" thus is the highest law in this as in all the other greater works of Kleist. The faults of this drama, the confused characterization of the Elector and Kottwitz, the blurring dialogue bridging the hiatus between the Elector's rejection of Kottwitz' doctrine of freedom and his acceptance of the same in the Prince's formulation, the false ethical valuations, and the trivial pomp of the conclusion are therefore to be accounted for, not primarily by technical or creative shortcomings peculiar to Kleist, but by the nature of Romanticism, which, in character and mind, Kleist shared with his fellows.

APPENDIX

THE FRAGMENT "ROBERT GUISCARD"

The fragment *Robert Guiscard, Herzog der Normänner*, which was published in 1808, the year of the completion of *Penthesilea*, has been the subject of much speculation. The two chief questions which arise out of the conflict of opinions concern the time of the composition of this work and the reasons for and the extent of the destruction of the manuscript.

THE HISTORY OF THE FRAGMENT

The first definite statement that he has begun composition is contained in Kleist's letter to Ulrike, dated Weimar, December 9, 1802 " . . . the beginning of my poem, which is to declare to the world my love of you, arouses the admiration of all men, to whom I impart it. O heavens! If I could only complete it."

This can refer only to *Guiscard*; for the only other work on which he was engaged at that time, *Die Familie Schroffenstein*, is called by him "a wretched piece of rubbish" ("*eine elende Scharteke*").

From Weimar, during this time, he paid several visits to Wieland's home in Ossmannstädt, situated near Weimar. From a letter to Ulrike, dated Leipzig, March 13, 1803, we learn that he had to leave Ossmannstädt abruptly, in order to extricate himself from an embarrassing situation caused by the love of Wieland's youngest daughter for him. *Guiscard* must have progressed during the interval between these two letters. He tells of taking lessons in elocution in order to recite his "tragedy." He is very hopeful about the work. He now knows, and his friends agree, that "a man [*der Mensch*] must cultivate the talent which he feels to be predominant in him."

According to his letter to Ulrike, dated October 5, 1803, he is greatly troubled with the progress of his "poem." He has been at work upon it "half a thousand continuous days" and is afraid that his task is too great for him. "Hell gave me my half-talents, heaven gives man a whole talent or none at all."

The final step in this period of the history of *Guiscard* is told in his letter to Ulrike, dated St. Omer, near Paris, October 26, 1803. The writer is in despair: "I re-read in Paris all that I had done on the work, rejected it, and burned it; and that is the end. Heaven refuses me fame, the greatest of all the goods of the earth; like a wilful child, I cast everything else after it."

This record is supplemented by a letter by Wieland, dated April 10, 1804. From this we learn that in January, 1803, when he was visiting Wieland, Kleist had written down many scenes of *Guiscard*, but that he always again destroyed his work because he was not satisfied with it. After many requests the poet recited from memory some of the principal scenes and fragments of others. Wieland was deeply impressed. He assured Kleist that if the spirits of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Shakespeare combined to produce a tragedy, *Guiscard*, provided the whole redeemed the promise of the parts recited, would be that masterpiece. This extravagant praise threw Kleist into an extreme of excitement and gratitude.

Wieland tells that he tried to encourage Kleist to complete the work. But the latter, according to the account of his fatherly friend, accomplished no more.

The time given in Kleist's letter of October 5, 1803, quoted above, fixes the beginning of the composition at the beginning of May, 1802. This date coincides almost to a day with the beginning of his stay on the island in the Aar River, of which he wrote Ulrike under date of May 1, 1802.

There is no reason against accepting this evidence as conclusive. The first conception of the drama, however, dates farther back. The passage in his letter to Ulrike, dated October 10, 1801, concerning "the ideal" which he has worked out for himself in solitude; the "song of his love," which he cannot surrender to such a rude mob as men are, who would call a "bastard" this "Vestals' child" of his—this passage is undoubtedly the first reference to *Guiscard*. Intended as a combination of classical Greek and Shakespearean art, this drama might well be called a "bastard." The term "child of my love" is in harmony with his statement, in the letter of December 9, 1802, that the "poem" shall be a declaration of his love for Ulrike before the world. The terms of extreme anticipation are appropriate only to *Guiscard*. There is no hint that he was occupied with any serious creative work until this time.

We are therefore justified in assuming that not until October, 1801, did Kleist definitely decide upon a poetic career; that *Robert Guiscard* was his first serious theme; and that not until May, 1802, did he actually begin carrying out his purpose.

THE REASONS FOR AND THE EXTENT OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE
MANUSCRIPT OF "ROBERT GUISCARD"

Robert Guiscard, as guardian of his nephew Abelard, heir to the Norman kingdom in Italy, has robbed the latter of his throne. In order to conciliate Abelard he has betrothed him to his own daughter Helena, widow of the Greek Emperor Otto, who, having been driven from her empire by a revolution, has sought refuge with her father. Guiscard, in order to restore her to her throne, has led an army against Constantinople. During the siege the pest breaks out among his forces. In meeting a deputation from the army, come to plead for the return to Italy, Guiscard himself succumbs to the disease.

The dramatic action proceeds briefly as follows:

At early morning representatives of the Norman army, accompanied by a crowd of soldiers, assemble before Guiscard's tent,

which is closed. Throughout their speeches and actions stalks the awful specter of the pest. They call for Guiscard. The latter's daughter, Helena, appears and in a dialogue with an old man, the spokesman of the deputation, tries to put them off in a manner which is just sufficiently lacking in coherence to intensify rather than allay anxiety. After her return to the tent the assembled people learn through a Norman, who has just arrived, that during the night Guiscard's body physician, disguised as an army officer, has secretly and hurriedly been summoned to Guiscard's tent. Their disquiet grows. Robert, Guiscard's son and successor, and Abelard appear. Robert arrogantly chides the people, while Abelard, suave and treacherous, full of hatred for Robert, who through Guiscard's crime is to succeed the throne rightfully belonging to Abelard, mingles with the people, spreading ominous hints regarding Guiscard's health. When the anxiety and suspicion of the people threaten to reach the point of disorder, Guiscard appears. It is manifest that he is not well. With an heroic effort he conquers his weakness and in a dialogue with the leading man tries to convince the people of his good health and give them confidence. The struggle between the malady, which is rapidly gaining upon him, and his iron resolve produces one of the greatest scenes in the German drama. His agony almost overcomes him. At one point he falters, pauses, looks about helplessly. When the tension has become intolerable, Helena, with sudden presence of mind, pushes a large army drum toward him, on which he cautiously steadies himself.

It is now evident that he is stricken with the fatal disease. The old spokesman resumes his plea for the return. Guiscard, slowly and with great effort looking around, asks those present to lead his wife, who gives signs of despair, into the tent. After a few more lines spoken by the leader of the people, the action breaks off.

This fragment, together with other parts of the drama, now lost, is generally supposed to have been burned by Kleist, in accordance with his account in the letter of October 26, 1803, quoted above. Though it is known that he was occupied with *Guiscard* in 1807, the year before its publication, the prevailing opinion leans to the more probable guess that most of it was re-written before that time, and that in 1807 Kleist made one more futile attempt to finish it.

Many conjectures have been offered as to the remaining course of the action, and unsuccessful attempts have been made even to complete the drama. The antagonism of Robert and Abelard and the situation of Helena, desiring to recover her throne and perplexed by her conflicting affections for Robert and Abelard, offer the chief motives of any subsequent action.¹

But it has occurred to no one that *Guiscard*, in the dramatic essence of its action, is not a fragment at all. It requires only one concluding scene, containing the death of Guiscard and indicating the tragic ruin sweeping over all those whose fortunes have been in his keeping. Any extended action, with Robert, Helena, and Abelard as the leading characters, would dramatically be, not a continuation of the action centering upon Guiscard, but a new drama. The analogy of unity of action preserved in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* by the succession of two different principal characters does not hold; for, apart from the fact that Caesar does not die until much later in the action, the essential difference between the two dramas is that Shakespeare's tragedy embodies primarily a conflict of two political ideals represented by the two main antagonists, whereas *Guiscard* is a tragedy of one dominating character working out his individual fate in a mighty tempest of typical passions and powers within him, like *Macbeth*. Four acts without Guiscard are dramatically no more conceivable as the continuation of the fragment than would be an analogous continuation of the first act of *Macbeth*.

Guiscard is a very interesting instance of the large group of works, common to all creative arts, the substantial completeness of which is obscured by the fragmentariness of some of its external features, a characteristic, but after all minor, fault caused by the artist's own misinterpretation of his true creative intention in laying down the fundamental lines of his initial structural draft. Such "fragments" cannot be "completed" without losing even the essential completeness achieved in them.

The clue to Kleist's theoretic misconstruction of his true creative purpose is contained in Wieland's letter. Kleist intended a combination of the drama of Sophocles and Shakespeare. The fragment

¹ Cf. Brahm, *op. cit.*, pp. 112-13.

reveals, indeed, influences of the two masters. The character of Guiscard in its magnificent force, torn hither and thither by conflicting, fundamental passions; the complexity and richness of the counteraction represented by Robert, Abelard, and Helena; the predominance of the will in all the characters; and the presentation of the conflict in the form of direct, progressing activity—these are in the Shakespearean manner. But the structural use of the people, the stalking horror of the plague, the gradual revealment of the fatal fact, culminating in the dialogue between the hero and an old man speaking for the people, are obviously borrowed from Sophocles' *King Oedipus*. And from this structural device, though great be its immediate dramatic efficacy, there arose Kleist's crucial error. He failed to perceive that Sophocles' tragedy is a drama of revealment and not of progressive action. Its entire dramatic action consists in the gradual unfolding of a deed long past. Upon its culmination in the final proof of Oedipus' unconscious past crime, it plunges to a swift and final catastrophe. Kleist's drama, on the other hand, was conceived as a developing course of action. The past crime of Guiscard, long known to all the characters, is not a crucial but merely an expository part of it. The dramatic function of the gradual publication of Guiscard's stricken condition is therefore not as the revealment in Sophocles' drama, that of the ascent, but that of the catastrophic turn of the action. *Guiscard* is not the first, but the last, act of a tragedy.

This result does not, of course, directly answer the question as to the extent of the destruction of the manuscript. But it qualifies its value by shifting the problem to a different level. It offers a basis for a comparative estimate of the values of the part preserved and that supposedly lost.

Whether we assume that Kleist's account refers literally to the entire draft which he had in manuscript, or only to later unsatisfactory attempts at a continuation of the original part much praised by Wieland, we cannot attach a tragic finality to the act of destruction. He knew by heart the sections which satisfied him, at the time of his stay in Wieland's home; and later, by his systematic exercises in recitation, he must have fixed them so deeply in his memory that a literal re-writing of them could have required only

the physical labor of the pen. As to the unsatisfactory additions, we know from Wieland's letter that their destruction was his habitual preliminary to renewed composition. It seems, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the published fragment is identical with the original draft as far as it satisfied Kleist.

In any case, the main argument leaves little doubt that in the fragment we have all that really matters of Kleist's first tragedy.

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EARLIER AND LATER VERSIONS OF THE FRIENDSHIP-THEME. I

"DAMON AND PYTHIAS"

The ideal and touching friendship exemplified by the Pythagorean disciples commonly known as "Damon and Pythias"¹ has found its most effective literary treatment in Schiller's ballad "Die Bürgerschaft." The numerous references by ancient writers² to so notable an example of fidelity and constancy have failed to inspire and arouse the creative imagination of the world's greatest poets save that of Schiller.

For many centuries the subject itself seems to have been ignored until, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, its moral and ethical significance came to be recognized by a monkish writer. Religious didactic literature, both prose and verse, was then well developed, and among the forms in which the material came to be presented the allegory was both common and popular. Chief among the moralizing works of this sort was the *Gesta Romanorum*,³ which was most widely known among the clergy and which became a favorite source of sermon literature. The fact that among the various kinds of games both chess and cards⁴ were treated symbolically speaks for the general familiarity with, and the popularity of, this sort of pastime among the better classes.⁵ It is in connection with one of such symbolical works that we find the appearance of the Damon and Pythias account in mediaeval literature.

¹ Critical investigation shows "Pinthias" to be the correct form. It is to no purpose to discuss here how or when the current name "Pythias" came to be accepted. It may be noted, however, that the names of the two friends are not uniformly given by the earliest writers. Valerius Maximus writes "Phintias" on the basis of Greek sources which have *Φυρίας*. Cicero *De off.*, gives "Pynthias," while Hyginus, Schiller's source, has the two names of "Moeros and Selinuntios."

² Iamblich. et Porphy. *Vit. Pythagor.*; Diodor. Sic. x. 4; Plutarch *De amic. mult.* 2. Cicero *De off.* iii. 10. 45; Tusc. v. 22; Maximus *Memorab.* iv. 7. ext. i.

³ H. Oesterley's ed. (Berlin, 1872), under No. 108 gives the Damon and Pythias story. For additional references to other versions see the notes on this story.

⁴ Breitkopf, *Urspr. d. Spielkarten*, p. 9, asserts that the card game was of French origin; its introduction into Germany dates from about 1300. A symbolical treatment of the cards was by Brother John, a monk, entitled *Ludus cartularum moralisatus*, 1377.

⁵ On the origin and popularity of the game of chess, cf. F. Vetter, *Das Schachzabelbuch Kunrats von Ammenhausen*, Frauenfeld, 1892, cap. 2. Symbolical treatment of the subject appeared as early as 1180 in *De naturis rerum* by Alexander of Neckham, and in Joh. Gallensis' *Summa Collacionum*, Paris, about 1260. Among the many later works cf. Benjamin Franklin, *The Morals of Chess*, 1787.

The work in question is that of the Lombard monk, Jacobus de Cessolis (Casalis, Cassolis, Casulius, Cessola, so named from his supposed birthplace in Picardy), master at Rheims. His moral adaptations of chess in which the various chess-figures symbolized the different classes of society, and the movements of the figures served to illustrate all sorts of relations and conditions of men, were first in the form of sermons, but were later put into verse. The effect of this didactic work was increased by the interlarding of tales and illustrative material from ancient or biblical sources. Among the mass of material so used by him was the story of Damon and Pythias. His entire treatise appeared in Latin in the forepart of the fourteenth century.¹

Two notable translations into French were made in 1347 by Jean Ferron, and before 1350 by Jean de Vignay. The last-named work was the basis of Caxton's English version which appeared between 1475 and 1480.²

More of the nature of adaptations to the work of De Cessolis³ were the various elaborations of ecclesiastical writers in Germany during the early fourteenth century. Their aim at popularizing their didactic efforts resulted in writing the "Schachbücher" or "Schachzabelbücher." The earliest of these was the *Schachzabelbuch* (1338) of Kunrat (Konrad) von Ammenhausen,⁴ a parish priest of Stein on the Rhine. While this is a free adaptation of De Cessolis, the work of Heinrich von Beringen⁵ (about 1300) seems to be more closely related to the original work of De Cessolis. Both writers incorporate the story of Damon and Pinthias.

The spread of the work to Northern Germany is seen in the elaboration of the *Pfarrer zu dem Hechte* (1335).⁶ The account of the "Bürgschaft" here contains three rather interesting lines:

¹ *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium super ludos scacchorum*. There are about 80 manuscripts in Latin; the oldest existing is that of Milan, 1479.

² *The Game of Chess* by William Caxton, reproduced in facsimile by V. Figgins, London, 1860; W. Blades, *The Biography and Topography of William Caxton*, England's first printer, 1877.

³ For bibliography of the various versions cf. Vetter, p. xli, note.

⁴ Cf. Vetter, *Das Schachzabelbuch*, Frauenfeld, 1992; also Kürschner, *DNL*, XII, Introduction. Konrad's work was excerpted and plagiarized by Jakob Mennel of Constance in his *Schachzabel* of 1506. Konrad's source was a manuscript of 1365, now in Heidelberg.

⁵ Cf. *DNL*, XII, ed. by Zimmermann (*Lit. Ver. Stuttgart.*, Vol. CLXVI).

⁶ *DNL*, XII, 142, ed. *Zfd. A.*, XVII, 162 f.

der liz he den gesellin
dem Kunge do czu burgin
vor sinuz halsiz wurgin,

which find a parallel rhyme in Schiller's lines:

Ich lasse den Freund dir als Bürger,
Ihn magst du, entrinn' ich, erwürgen.

In each of these accounts referred to, the tyrant Dionysus, in keeping with Valerius Maximus' recital, which Jacobus de Cessolis seems to have followed, makes request to be adopted into the friendship of these two men ("Eosque insuper rogavit, ut in societatem amicitie ad tertium gradum sodalicii reciperent"). But the introduction of elements of danger as obstacles to a speedy return which gives added interest and suspense to the story is unknown in these as well as in the oldest references except that of Hyginus.

A departure from the story by the preceding is taken up in the work of Meister Stephan of Dorpat (about 1350), who wrote in Low German.¹ Here the one friend bears the name of "Physius," and the punishment to which he is condemned is that of hanging.

In addition to the "Schachbücher," the incorporation of the "Damon and Pinthias" motive is also found in the work *Blumen der Tugend*, written in 1411 by a Tyrolese nobleman, Hans Vintler.² Curiously the names of the two friends are given there as Amon, a youth, and Physioia, a woman. The latter becomes the hostage for her friend, who has been condemned to death by decapitation. Aside from these peculiarities the account fails to mention the adoption of the tyrant into the friendship of the two.

The omission of the last-named element, which is one of the essential parts of the original account, is also a characteristic of the moralizing tale of the fifteenth century entitled *Der Seele Trost*, by Joh. Moritz Schulze.³ The subject material seems to have been divided according to the order of the ten commandments. The

¹ DNL, XII, pp. 1 and 5 f. Ed. M. Stephan's *Schachbuch*, Dorpat.

² Zingler (*Zfd. Philol.*, II, 185) believed that it was the oldest German treatment of the subject, a view no longer tenable, since Konrad's work antedates it by seventy-four years. The manuscript is in the British Museum. An old edition published in Lübeck, about 1489, is now in the library at Lübeck.

³ Kürschner, *loc. cit.*, p. 477. Excerpts in *Zfd. Mdarten*, I, 174 f.; II, 1 f.; II, 289 f. Frommann's *D. Mda.*, I, II, 9.

story itself does not refer to any desire on the part of the tyrant to join in their friendship after the exhibition of fidelity and vicariousness on their part; he merely pardons the offender.

Barring Caxton's¹ translation, previously referred to, in which the account of Damon and *Phisias* is briefly told, there seems to be no evidence to show the treatment of this motif in England prior to Elizabethan times. To Richard Edwards belongs the distinction of having utilized the theme for dramatic presentation in his *Damon and Pithias*,² which the prologue declares to be a "tragicall-comedie." A cast of twelve characters presented this play before Queen Elizabeth, we are told, and aimed to show how these friends were

All one in effete, all one in their goynge,
All one in their study, all one in their doynge,

and how

true love had joyned in perfect amytie.

The moralizing intent of the play appears in the epilogue in which the author emphasizes

no friendship is sure, but that which is grounded
on vertue.

The plot of the play shows Damon and Pithias as travelers in the tyrant's city. A sycophant, to whom Damon had addressed a few inquiries, by false accusation causes Damon to be arrested as a spy. The furious tyrant condemns him to die "by the sworde or the wheele the next day" or to have his head "stroken off."

The condemned man requests time to set his worldly things in order. Pithias offers himself as a hostage, whereupon two months are granted, after which time Pithias is to "hang" or "lose his head."

The introduction of a rough scene in which Stephano, the servant of Damon, gives the false accuser of his master a sound drubbing may have been a concession to popular taste. After Damon has

¹ The impression made on the King, and the moral given in Caxton's work: "the Kyng was gretely abasshyd. and for the grete trouthe that was founden in hym/he pardenyd hym and prayed hem bothe that they wold receyue hym as theyr grete frende and felowe. lo here the vertues of loue/that a man ought not to doubte the deth for his frende/lo what it is to doo for a frende. and to lede a lyf debonayr/and to be wyth out cruelte. to loue & not to hate/whyche causeth to doo good ayenst euyl. and to torne payne in to benefete and to quenche cruelte."

² Published in 1571 and in 1582. Reproduced in R. Dodsley, *Old Plays*, London, 1825, I, 157-262.

returned, each beseeches the other to permit him to offer himself as a sacrifice. The King is much affected and pardons Damon, after which he hears a harangue on friendship. At the conclusion of the play the tyrant is adopted into their friendship.

A dramatic version of the story also appeared in France from the pen of Samuel Chappuzeau¹ (1625-1701), a minor dramatist who, like most of his contemporaries, drew largely from Latin sources. His recognition as a writer does not rest merely on the fact that the Elzevirs published one or two of his comedies—Molière is indebted to him for several plots. His poverty led him to change the titles of his works in order to have them reprinted and thus gain a new source of revenue. Thus we have *Damon et Pythias*² and its reprinted form, *Les Parfaits Amis, ou le Triomphe de l'Amour et de l'Amitié, Tragi-comédie*. The drama was first acted in Paris toward the end of 1656.

Chappuzeau's plot:³ Damon and Pythias, two young Thessalian nobles, each find at Syracuse the lady of their love, and are happy in anticipation of their marriage. A jealous rival attacks Pythias and is killed. Dionysius condemns the murderer, but grants him three months' grace to set his affairs in order, while Damon becomes hostage for him. The action begins with the last day of the three months allotted for Pythias' return. Sophrosyne is less anxious for Pythias' return, while Doride, for love of Damon, reproaches Pythias. Damon is constant and hopeful, and his loyalty to his friend conquers his love. "L'honneur plus que l'amour tous les grans coeurs maitrise" (Act III, sc. 2). Pythias, mindful of his obligation, hastens his return and appears, despite obstacles and chicanery of friends, in the nick of time. The tyrant's heart is softened and he liberates both, saying:

Votre amitié me charme et je pretens moy-même
Dans le commerce aimable entrer comme troisième.

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[To be concluded]

¹ Fournel, *Les Contempor. de Molière*, Paris, 1863, pp. 357 f.; S. Chappuzeau, *Le Théâtre français*, Paris, 1876; Friedr. Meinel, *S. Chappuzeau*, dissertation, Leipzig, 1908.

² The first edition appeared at Amsterdam in 1657, the second in 1672 without place or publisher's name; a third edition appeared in Amsterdam in 1705.

³ Chappuzeau claims Cicero and Valerius Maximus as his sources.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Georg Rudolf Weckherlin, The Embodiment of a Transitional Stage in German Metrics. By AARON SCHAFFER. (Hesperia.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1918.

The title of this study is not quite comprehensive enough, since the whole first half of the slender volume is devoted to a summary of the development of German metrics from earliest times down to Weckherlin. Of course such "running starts" are necessary in almost any historical study, especially in one which is dealing, as this one does, with a particular stage in a *development*. One wonders, however, if Mr. Schaffer's work would not have been unified and strengthened if he had condensed very considerably this first half and referred us to Saran and his other sources for particulars.

The "transitional stage" of the title refers to the progression from the *irregularly alternating* technique of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to the *regularly alternating-accentuating* technique of the seventeenth century. It is the going over from the metrical practices of the "short rhyme-pair," as in the earlier native didactic poetry—practices which allowed many accentual "conflicts"—to those of the later foreign-influenced Renaissance poetry, where such "conflicts" were decidedly taboo.

Wherein Weckherlin is the "embodiment" of this transitional stage becomes clear if we peruse the second half of Mr. Schaffer's study. His argument is somewhat as follows: On examining Weckherlin's early verse it is found that he "consistently employed the irregularly alternating technique of the 'kurze Reimpaare.'" This technique appears in such verses as:

Der sternen gewöhnlichen dantz.

Three decades later the poet revised, for a new edition, many of these earlier poems, and in doing so removed a large number of the accentual "conflicts" and thus left the verses in question comparatively smooth. The verse I have cited above, for instance, appears in the revised edition of 1648 as:

Der sternen wunderreichen dantz.

It is thus, in his progress from sixteenth-century practices toward the Opitzian standards in metrical technique, that he is looked upon by the author as an embodiment of the transitional period.

Thus far Mr. Schaffer has emphasized a point which has been recognized, though less clearly, by students of Weckherlin's technique and of that of his period. But in one other point the author's work has yielded an even

more distinct contribution. Weckherlin did not, in revising his earlier poems, remove all the apparent accentual conflicts. Schaffer contends, however, that the poet removed the serious ones, and that the remaining conflicts become much less violent, in fact quite justifiable, when correctly read. To the aid of their correct interpretation he summons the rhythmic principles of "hovering" and "secondary" accent. Hovering accent relieves, the author believes with Franz Saran, the apparent conflict in series of "syllables possessing equal, or almost equal, duration and stress." And how? By distributing the stress "evenly over the entire group of words, with the syllables in [metrical] arsis [position] receiving the emphasis [or heft?] and those in thesis the higher pitch; in this way the verse receives a slower movement which makes possible the smoothing out of any apparent accentual conflict." This principle applies to, and is instrumental, the author contends, in the smoothing out of, such verses as the iambic:

Berg, thâl, feld ûnd wald widerhallen.

Further and more important relief in the case of apparent conflict between rhythmical and metrical accent is offered by what the author calls an extension of the principle of "secondary accent" as announced by Professor Bright. That is, Mr Schaffer would extend the principle which would normally give, in such verses as,

Thy terrible hushed laughter, stranger still,

to the *-ble* a thetic value; so as to cover also those instances even where there is no intervening light syllable between primary and secondary accent. In such verses therefore as,

Hat euch als ihr kunst-stück erdacht,

the syllable *-stück*, which has in prose normally simply a secondary accent, is quite usable in a thesis position. That is, if we are careful to give to *kunst* the higher pitch (as also in the case of hovering accent) and to *-stück* the metrical heft. Thus far and even farther the author carries the application of the principle of secondary accent, and with success. I feel, however, that he extends it too far when he applies it to relieve such *Versungetüme* as,

Abèr disè süssè gothèit,

in which the inflectional endings *-se* are deemed worthy of appearing in a thesis position. It is hard for me to believe that this verse is "by no means harsh sounding." A critic may be warranted in going great lengths in interpreting sympathetically, and in strengthening thereby, the apparently weak spots in the technique of a great poet. Weckherlin would however hardly come into this category.

Nevertheless Mr Schaffer has, I feel, thrown his weight in the right scale. He has sided in the main with Saran and other recent students of

real rhythmic phenomena—students who are sometimes called “metrical anarchists”—and against those who fail to use their ears, and to whom the rigid *metric scheme* of verse is the tyrannical alpha and omega. And he has thus helped to throw light where the elder metrists have left us in darkness.

One thing, however, I wish the author had omitted—the attempt, even though a modest one (in his short treatment of Weckherlin’s position in German literature), to magnify the poet’s literary importance. How can a *Fürstenknecht*, one who aped the frills of foreign verse and completely neglected all that was *volkstümlich* in his native art, one who tried to introduce the exotic sonnet, elegy, and ode and even helped Marinism into Germany—the agonizing Germany of the Thirty Years’ War—how can such a one be looked on as anything but a detractor? How can we construe his work as a “contribution,” in any sense, to the racial poetic wealth? If such standards of contribution had prevailed, there would have been indeed no room in German art for the Heines, the Schuberts, and the Wagners.

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STUDIES IN BALZAC

III. HIS GENERAL METHOD¹

Probably the most severe indictment ever penned against the author of the *Comédie humaine* is that, if Parisian society were half as bad as he represents, it must long ago have ceased to exist.² But Paris is still there—and so is the *Comédie humaine*. The indictment mentioned is simply one variation of the usual Anglo-Saxon protest against the depiction—with a certain artistic heightening—of malodorous or sinister realities. I say “artistic” designedly, knowing well that many people see in Balzac only a clouded mirror of “the flux,” a world that is without form and frequently void. Yet it is possible to demonstrate that in technique at least the Frenchman knew perfectly well what he was about.

The present writer has believed for some time that the apparent naturalistic welter of Balzac really flows along lines of a set pattern. As in Mr. James’s story, there is a “figure in the carpet,” though here the design is not so recondite. Above all other novelists, Balzac created his own world—or half-world—and culminating in his own *recherche de l’absolu*, he has his own cosmology. We can trace the lines of this through people and landscapes, slums and *châteaux* and whole sociologies, to an apex whose vertiginous lure I will not anticipate. To his uncanny force and knowledge, Honoré de Balzac

¹ Previous studies in this series can be found in *Modern Philology*, August, 1915, and November, 1918.

² L. Stephen, *Hours in a Library* (2d ed.), I, 299–348.

certainly adds conscious method, and the two mainsprings of his method are *accumulation* and *harmony*.

In description, character, and plot the novelist accumulates his points along a given line; everywhere he harmonizes his data to accord with a definite keynote, a central unifying trait. Let us choose, in each field, a few instances out of hundreds.

With regard to the description of persons, M. Emile Faguet¹ has recently shown how the denizens of the famous *pension* in *Le Père Goriot* are described in terms of one main characteristic, reinforced by the mass of the details. For example: the villain Vautrin is a sinister (*inquiétant*) individual, as evidenced by his disturbing gaiety, his strength, his familiarity with locks and with women, his penetrating and profound gaze. Old Goriot himself, the modern Lear, is the incarnation of "moral and physical wretchedness," which formula is concretely detailed through several pages: it is also, incidentally, the commonest keynote, whether for persons or places, in the *Comédie humaine*.

Similar illustrations of cumulative harmony, in personal description, may be found in every Balzacian novel. César Birotteau is throughout a large, naïve, sanguine son of a peasant. His physique and costume are presented in terms of size, from his abundant head of hair, through his big back, to his coarse extremities—and even to those of his daughter. "The costume he had adopted *agreed with* his manners and physiognomy"; size is still the keynote, and his large white muslin cravat is the characteristic detail. The miser, Gobseck, is on the other hand appropriately done in shades of reduction and smallness; lips, eyes, hair, and voice are consistently lessened, while his nose glides away almost to a vanishing-point; his speech, his apartment, and his actions are cautiously narrowed and controlled. Madame de Mortsauf, in *Le Lys dans la vallée*, is, like that lily, symbolically white in person and in costume; the word *blanche* is repeated not unlike a Wagnerian *motif*.

One special feature of this synthesizing which well illustrates the author's conscious purpose is the use of what may be called animalism. In his *Avant-propos*, Balzac semi-scientifically stressed the analogies which he saw between people and animals, but the extent to which

¹ Balzac (Grands Ecrivains Français), 1913.

he carried this idea into practice has hardly been sufficiently observed. For instance, Marche-à-Terre, the Breton peasant in *Les Chouans*, is spoken of some fifty times as a kind of animal; and the madwoman in *Adieu*, reverting to nature, is again and again likened to bird or beast—over a dozen times in all. There are cases where this kind of keynote is made the dominant of an entire story. *Une Passion dans le désert* reposes for its whole cumulative effect on the sustained and jarring metaphor by which a panther is throughout presented as a woman.

Similarly, *Le Colonel Chabert* offers, though not in the direction of animalism, another case of a sustained keynote, which, proceeding from personal description, dominates a character as well as a story. Perhaps here it will be best to show how the details mass, item by item, before the reader's eyes. It is the Enoch Arden type of story, with the difference that the unscrupulous wife will not acknowledge the returning soldier as her husband.

The very first sentence—"Allons, encore notre vieux carrick!"—indicates that the colonel wears an old-fashioned cloak. Before the clerks of the lawyer Derville, he has a humility of gesture, a forced smile which fades away, and his mien is regularly qualified as "impassive, immobile." One of the clerks significantly remarks that "he looks like a corpse," and another says that he has a *fameux crâne*, which is either skull or headpiece. In response to the question, "Are you the colonel who died at Eylau?" Chabert answers: "The same."

At the lawyer's house the old soldier again evinces that stupidity of expression, that immobility which completes the *ensemble* of a *spectacle surnaturel*. His description includes a lean figure, a mysterious brow, a glazed eye, a livid countenance which "seemed dead." His body is partly in the shadow, producing the effect of a silhouette, together with a total absence of color, movement, warmth. His mutilated skull suggests that his brain escaped through the scar, and again he answers that he is "the man who died at Eylau."

All this indicates the keynote of the colonel. He is a *revenant* in both senses—a ghost who presently admits to his wife that it was a mistake to come back. The later action of the story reinforces this idea of a man who is now inept for life. In spite of a momentary

flicker induced by the lawyer's encouragement, he shows in his submission to his wife's wiles, his sequestration, his subsequent misfortunes and imbecility, an increasing fecklessness and estrangement from the ways of the world. The conclusion is identical with Der-ville's suggestion: "Let him stay dead!"

Balzac's descriptions of place often develop similarly from a definite central idea. Repeated illustrations can be found in any story. The atmosphere of mystery in *La grande Bretèche*—a companion piece to Poe's *Cask of Amontillado*—of ruin in the castle of La Vivetière, of "loudness" in the red parlor of the Rogrons, of meanness in the yellow parlor of Mlle Gamard, are cases in point; in each the items are co-ordinated to one clear result. There is the wistful charm of the Loire Valley, always described as the proper setting for its lily. There is the description of the Pons collection around the keynote of magnificence. There is the note of disorder, as frequently found in the offices of lawyers and the like. In such passages, *résumés*, repetitions of the motive and of appropriate adjectives are cannily used to drive the point home. Between places, as between persons, the device of set contrast is not uncommon.

The treatment of character in the large moves along the line chosen for the physical portrait. The latter is usually made the basis for an elaborate scaffolding of moral and environmental data, all piled up according to one principle of ruling symmetry. No expressions occur more often in Balzac than the phrase *en harmonie* and the verb *s'accorder*. The details of Madame Vauquer's person "are in harmony with that dining-room which oozes misfortune." The atmosphere of her boarding-house is denoted by the repetition of such words as *malheurs* and *misère*, which recur throughout, just as "blood" and "fear" form the scarlet thread that runs through *Macbeth*. Therefore the mistress is made to "explain the *pension*, as the *pension* implies her person." Her old woolen skirt sums up the various rooms, "announces the kitchen, and gives you a guess at the boarders." French logic will not shrink before this Ultima Thule of ratiocination. Workings of the same spirit can be found in Boileau, in Voltaire, and especially in Hippolyte Taine.

The latter's great article on Balzac (1858)¹ has been a main factor in the fame of both men, partly because Taine's own method would

¹ Republished in the *Nouveaux Essais de critique et d'histoire*, 1865.

dispose him to the appreciation of Balzac's. The historian accumulates his points in a definite direction, uses his conclusion as *motif*, and parallels the keynote in character by what he calls the *faculté maitresse* of a man or period. The objections to such systematizing have been abundantly made; just here we are interested rather in the critic's account of the novelist's procedure. He began, says Taine, not like an artist, but like a *savant*. Balzac would first examine and record all externals: the character's town, his street, and his house; the façade, structure and general appearance of the house would come next; then the distribution of apartments, with the furniture and finishing of various rooms. The clothes of each character would be detailed in connection with his anatomy, we are told the size and appearance of each feature, and the total effect is substantiated by individual gestures and marks. The history of a person would include his origin, ideas, habits, particularly his financial position; we learn his *milieu* and his tastes. Then only, after indorsing the reports of many specialists, did the scrupulous artist let his imagination take fire from the mass of documents.

There may be two opinions as to where the creative fire began with Balzac, but there can be no doubt as to the "incomparable solidity" attained by this progression. The exposition of *Le Père Goriot* falls mainly in the line of the above analysis, and still more evidently does *Eugénie Grandet*, which, point by point, might have served as Taine's model. In this novel the general keynote is melancholy, starting in the streets of Saumur, passing through Grandet's house, ending in the heart of Eugénie. The intensive force of the method, its *vraisemblance* rather than its whole truth, constitutes its justification; also it is only by some such natural selection that the characters can be made to rise up above the mass of their material surroundings.

More in detail, one may see the harmonizing and accumulative process applied to a person's name, to his dress and physique, to his gestures, voice and speech, to every *tic* and "gag," and usually to his psychology and actions, if he be truly alive.

As to names, César Birotteau is so called because his first name implies his *grandeur et décadence* and his last name is connotative of his character. Grandet means the "little great man." In *Le Curé de Tours*, Balzac discusses the name of the Marquise de Listomère, whose

suggestive syllables he would have accord with Sterne's *cognomologie*. There is a whole group of people whose names end in "ot," and these are generally of the Parisian *bourgeoisie*, of definite pursuits and standing.

As regards costume, apart from Chabert's *carrick*, we have the case of one old woman's plumes, her *barbes*, which serve to express her would-be stateliness. The *spencer* of Cousin Pons gives us at once his keynote; he, like the colonel, wears an old-fashioned coat because he is an *homme-empire*, out of date, doomed to misfortune.

The matter of gestures, looks, physiognomy, is to Balzac of paramount importance. Inspired by Gall and Lavater,¹ he consistently makes every physical attribute revealing. The accumulation of significant gestures in the *Comédie humaine* would astound a Neapolitan. Whether from vivacious southerners or languid ladies, they have a wealth of specific meaning. "Un de ces regards" is a favorite phrase. The penetrating glance of Vautrin or of Gobseck is mentioned over and over to express the character and impress the beholder. The exchange of glances is frequently the *coup de foudre*, which starts love at first sight. The stoical mask of such an old Roman as Pillerault is no less informing than the yellow bilious complexions of half a dozen villains. The acme of this process seems to be reached when the short thick neck of Michu, in *Une Ténébreuse affaire*, is made prophetic of the guillotine.

The *tic*, or small physical mania, and the "gag," used quite in the manner of Dickens, are similarly employed and multiplied. The childishly vain César perpetually rises on tiptoe and repeats his phrase about the Legion of Honor and the steps of Saint-Roch; while Crevel, the old dandy, strikes his Napoleonic pose throughout *La Cousine Bette*. Grandet has a habit of stammering, not as an infirmity, but in order to practice on the infirmities of others and make them impatiently commit themselves. A like purpose is served by the Alsatian French of the banker Nucingen. The whole speech of such a woman of the people as Madame Cibot is redolent of character, as is the boisterous lingo of such a drummer as Gaudissart, a type which Balzac particularly affected.

¹ F. Baldensperger, *Etudes d'histoire littéraire*, II, 1910.

The frank direct soldier type is another of his favorites. This kind is thoroughly harmonized, whether his name be Hulot, Chabert, or Genestas, and his language is always illuminating. It is picturesque and figurative, and the figures of speech, as also with Balzac's peasants, are suitable to the calling concerned. In *Les Chouans*, the slang of the soldiers abounds in animal metaphors, of which there is a deliberate accumulation.

The careers of most characters, it has already been suggested, will issue logically from the preliminary data. François Birotteau, that lightweight of Tours, is introduced to us in terms of his small material preoccupations, and his rise and fall depend wholly upon the coupling of these with his family trait of naïveté. Michu and Nanon are carefully prepared as specimens of faithful service; the rest of their fictional existence is, in each case, one long devotion. Cousin Bette fulfils the requirements of her nature as a revengeful peasant, and Rubempré those of his education as a spoiled youth.

A character in action is of course an essential part of the plot and the two in alliance furnish the best examples of the cumulative process. Tap upon tap the Balzacian plot is driven to its conclusion, which is often enforced by a last resounding blow, a final turn of the screw. The "taps" are variously expressed: by accretion of character items, by significant *mots de caractère* or pregnant sayings, by the piling up of deeds, of money, of people. Such architectonics can also be seen in part of a plot, for example, a busy day of César Birotteau or of Lucien de Rubempré, where enterprises, financial or Bohemian, are pyramided through dealings with an Indian file of people. But the most striking cases are those where Balzac uses throughout a story either a monomaniac character or a plot of martyrdom.

To take the monomaniacs first, these supermen or "monsters" have incurred much critical comment, and Taine gives a list which comprises Claës, the Baron Hulot, Grandet, Goriot, Frenhofer, Gambara, etc. What has been less noted is the way in which every ruling passion piles up its manifestations to what seems almost an impossible height. Take for instance the miser Grandet. Apart from the exposition which catalogues every phase of his background and personality, apart from the fact that the women are mainly

recorded as reflections of the plethora of his power, one may, in the more vital action, select a series of "taps," deliberately driving home the iron nail that is Grandet.

The first might be the salient trait of his "atrocious" and inoperative pity for Nanon. The second is where he warns Cruchot about selling his wine, "in a tone which made the President shudder." The horror of his heartlessness increases through the scene where, with a banal remark, he carefully folds up the letter telling of his brother's suicide. A newspaper account of this is submitted to him, and he freezes Cruchot again by saying that he already knew about it. Madame Grandet pities Charles, the suicide's son, and cries: "The poor young man!" "Yes, poor," says Old Grandet, "he hasn't a cent." This is almost a *mot de caractère* and clearly we have that device in the next hard tap where the miser tells Charles that death is nothing, disgrace is nothing, the important thing is that "you are without money"—and then mutters to Eugénie: "Ce jeune homme n'est bon à rien, il s'occupe plus des morts que de l'argent."

Eugénie is horrified and begins to judge her father from that moment; this illustrates the favorite *procédé* of emphasizing a tap by its effect. Grandet presently blasphemes against the "bon Dieu" of his wife. He makes an outrageous scene when he learns that Eugénie has parted with her gold. When Madame Grandet is at death's door, her husband wants to know what the drugs will cost. His own death, as often, displays the ruling passion with the effect that I have termed the last turn of the screw. One seems to have reached the limit and yet an added grimness is attained when Grandet avariciously clutches at his bed covering and tries, in extreme unction, to seize the gilded crucifix of the priest. Truly as he had told Eugénie, "la vie est une affaire."

A similar wringing of the last drop from death scenes is to be found in the finish of nearly all Balzac's martyrs. Deathbeds are frequently the *dénouements* in this essentially dramatic progression.

Plots that pile up the money interest are, of course, common enough. *César Birotteau* is one of the most symmetrical illustrations, since the growing expenses of that hero's *grandeur* are closely paralleled by the successive discomfitures, particularly the presentation of bills, in his *décadence*. This rise-and-fall plot, by the way, is found in

Balzac since the early *Scènes de la vie privée*. A financial case more nearly allied with the development of character is that of Balthazar Claës in the *Recherche de l'absolu*.

Claës is a monomaniac, though not of the baser sort. He is a monomaniac of genius, like Gambara the musician and Frenhofer the artist. Whether excesses spring from genius or vice, observes Balzac, the effect on one's family is much the same, and that is what Balthazar's search for the chemical absolute is made to illustrate. It is scarcely necessary to set down the taps in detail. They begin with the savant's fits of absent-mindedness, which suggest his keynote; they take form in an increasing neglect of his family, of which the crowning instance and the great *mot* is his reproach to his half-killed wife—"I was about to decompose nitrogen"; they are made financially concrete by the mention, bill after bill, of what his chemistry cost him—and these taps are really the vertebrae of the plot; finally the deterioration of his physique, his character, and his household are marked by similar and corresponding stages.

Baron Hulot and Cousin Pons are also monomaniacs; the book named after the last character portrays in fact an army of types, each obsessed by his or her fixed idea. The taps by which the action develops take the form of fresh alignments of people, a series of mistresses for Baron Hulot, of persecutors for Cousin Pons. The latter, when he calls at Madame Camusot's house, is badly treated by that lady, by her daughter, by her companions, and by her servants. When he meets his superior relatives on the boulevards, he is cut or berated by one after another. Taking to bed as a consequence of this, he is assailed by the prowling jackals of the quarter—*concierge*, *shyster*, doctor, Jew—who are presented *seriatim*, then in combined attack.

La Peau de chagrin furnishes an obvious example of concrete taps, since the plot concerns the shrinking of the talisman every time its possessor makes a wish. He too is a kind of excessive superman, for his repeated keynote is an imperious imagination, romantic and voluptuous. The turn of the screw here is a loathly struggle between love and death. The character of Rastignac, in *Le Père Goriot*, also develops concretely from his initial description as an ambitious Méridional. Thereafter his social rise is given in stages of

money, luxury, dress, carriages, women of fashion. One may count some forty distinct moves in the game, concluding with Rastignac's melodramatic defiance to Paris from the tomb of Goriot. His passionate pride impels him over each difficulty and the gloomy background of the *pension* sets off his successes. On the other hand, Goriot's repeated losses and donations of money, corresponding with his physical break-up and his "hard mounting of other people's stairs"—even to the garret—are in fact so many regular steps downward.

His case brings us to a consideration of the plots of martyrdom. This kind is complicated with the type of the conspiracy-novel, a frequent Balzacian form. The persecution of Cousin Pons, as already outlined, is a capital instance. Others are found in *Le Curé de Tours*, *Pierrette*, and *Le Colonel Chabert*. Martyrs mainly self-impelled are Goriot, Véronique in *Le Curé de village*, and Madame de Mortsau in *Le Lys dans la vallée*. In nearly all the above, the suffering victim is done to death by successive people or circumstances, plus temperament, and the actual deaths are vividly detailed as so many turns of the screw for final effect. *Pierrette* may be cited as a very complete and typical case.

In this story, Balzac himself skeletonizes for us the three main phases in the victimizing of the girl: the first months of her stay with her mean relatives, who are keynoted as mechanical people with an ugly acquisitiveness; the era of small persecutions and restrictions; the final phase of active physical and moral torture, culminating with her death. The teapot-tempest intrigues of the village work toward the same martyring end. The whole plot, item after item, amounts to a search for instances of persecution. Finally, *Pierrette* is actually disinterred in order that the autopsy may establish the nature of her wounds and justify her relatives.

A Balzacian plot is not always of this simple character, but more often than not it is a question of repeated blows in one or more directions. The plot may be double, as in the rise-and-fall type already mentioned, or as in the conflict type. In the latter case—*Les Chouans*, *Le Lys dans la vallée*—there will be rival interests, each of which demands its detailed exploitation.

In the principal elements of his fiction, then—detail, description, characterization, plot—it is seen that Balzac, as a rule, accumulates

and co-ordinates, from a given point, along a given line. His clumsy style shows the effect of this accumulation; the tripartite sentence is not infrequent and the habit of amassing details produces at times almost a Rabelaisian catalogue effect.

The further question is: Does a like accumulation appear in the wider aspects of his work—his sociology and his general ideas? Here the field is too broad to allow more than a few general hints.

It is evident that, according to his manifesto in the *Avant-propos*, he intends to be the "secretary of society," which he holds to consist of "men, women, and things." That his attention to things, materialistic as it may be, is often an organic part of his work has been sufficiently stressed. Hence obviously a large part of his descriptions of furniture, costumes, places: they are harmonized around a common keynote. But material objects are also developed for their own sake. Hence the importance given to things as pivots in the plot: the costume of Rastignac or of Vandenesse, the crucifix in *La grande Bretèche*, the musical instruments of Gambara, the fan as a symbol of the great lady. In love affairs, flowers are emphasized as the material symbol, and the collection of Cousin Pons is made a protagonist in the drama, in a manner recalling Hugo's vivification of Notre-Dame, Zola's pet procedure, and Hardy's Egdon Heath.

The men and women, forming the rest of society, are largely distributed into types. What Balzac thought his great discovery, though Diderot partly anticipated him, was that humanity, like animal zoölogy, has its species, divisible according to profession and habitat. A consideration merely of his titles will show that some thirty stories are announced as sociological studies—*Etudes de mœurs*, as he called them. Such titles indicate either a social category, a social institution or a social stage, and they may be divided into these three groups. In the first group may be listed: *La Femme de trente ans*, *Le Curé de village*, *Le Médecin de campagne*, *Les Parents pauvres*; in the second, *Le Bal de Sceaux*, *Le Contrat de mariage*, *Le Cabinet des antiques*, *La Maison Nucingen*; in the third, *Un Début dans la vie*, *Mémoires de deux jeunes mariées*, etc.

Each of these stories largely fulfils the promise of its title and furthermore many others might be given similar titles: for instance, *La Maison Claës*, *La Maison Vauquer*, and perhaps even *La Maison*

Grandet. It will readily be seen that Balzac is primarily occupied with classes of society, as Molière was before him. If it be asked whether this French tendency to universalize hurts the individualities of the *Comédie humaine*, I think the answer will generally be in the negative. They are too thoroughly worked out, in both directions, for any such weakness. The miser type appears in Grandet, Gobseck, Graslin, etc., but surely Grandet and Gobseck are none the less individual. There are several individual old maids, but they agree in certain common marks of the type, and the type, as seen by many side remarks, is Balzac's constant preoccupation.

Finally, in the realm of general ideas, how does this writer collect and master his world? There are three main ideals which he is continually applying: the family, the monarchy, and the church. The early *Scènes de la vie privée* chiefly record the romances and misfortunes of young people who leave the parental wing and go out of their class to marry. The decay of the monarchy is in Balzac's mind the cause of much latter-day mediocrity and confusion. The church is still the center of morality and spirituality. His modern Inferno, curiously enough, was still to be dominated by the ruling ideas of Dante's; and enough has been suggested to indicate that Balzac's shaping mind sought to impose an order, not infrequently artificial, upon his naturalistic chaos.

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[To be continued]

THE SOURCES OF ROUSSEAU'S EDOUARD BOMSTON

A study of the sources which aided Rousseau to portray in the *Nouvelle Héloïse*¹ the Englishman, Lord Edouard Bomston, leads to an inquiry as to the author's attitude toward England and the manner in which his conception of English character was formed. To the first of these questions Rousseau himself offers answers, characteristic in their contradictions. "Je n'ai jamais aimé l'Angleterre ni les Anglois," he wrote in the *Confessions* for the year 1762;² and for 1765 is this other similar passage: "Je n'avois pas naturellement de penchant pour l'Angleterre, et . . . je ne voulois prendre ce parti [d'y aller] qu'à l'extrémité" (p. 167). On the other hand, he wrote to Mme de Boufflers in the very 1762 just mentioned: "J'ai cent fois désiré et je désire encore voir l'Angleterre."³ This passage, anterior to the prejudices caused by the unfortunate English journey (1766-67)⁴ and by the break with Hume, receives the valuable corroboration of one written much later, after the cooling of those same prejudices permitted a more unbiased viewpoint than is to be found in the *Confessions*, which were written while the disappointments of the English journey were still fresh in his mind. Rousseau wrote: "Choisir un Anglois pour mon dépositaire et mon confident seroit, ce me semble, réparer d'une manière bien authentique le mal que j'ai pu penser et dire de sa nation. On l'a trop abusée sur mon compte pour que j'aie pu ne pas m'abuser quelquefois sur le sien."⁵ Were further argument needed to show that it is the two passages last cited which represent Rousseau's real attitude, we should need only to recall his sympathetic treatment of the character of Bomston to be sure that, up to and including the time of composition of the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, Rousseau, far from having an antipathy toward England, viewed it with interest and esteem.

¹ Including also the short additional episode called *Les Amours de Milord Edouard Bomston*.

² *Œuvres complètes de J. J. Rousseau* (Paris: Hachette, 1862-64), VI, 132.

³ Letter of August, 1762; *Œuvres*, VII, 274.

⁴ Rousseau left Calais for England January 10, 1766; he arrived at Calais on his return May 22, 1767. Cf. Louis J. Courtois, "Le Séjour de J. J. Rousseau en Angleterre," *Annales J. J. Rousseau*, VI, 13, 95.

⁵ *Œuvres*, VI, 237-38, note.

It is interesting, as well as significant, that Rousseau's first great impulse toward study came from a book conceived almost wholly under the inspiration of England, one whose subject in fact was the government, the customs, and the literature of that nation. Curiously enough, the author of the work which thus aroused Rousseau from his lethargy was in later years to be his great opponent in the philosophic movement. Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques* first appeared in France in the year 1734. Rousseau read them, and from that time his mind was awake and active.¹

A few years later (1737-41) Rousseau was already pleased to pass himself off as an Englishman.

Je ne sais par quelle bizarrerie je m'avisai de passer pour Anglois; je me donnai pour jacobite, on me prit pour tel; je m'appelai Dudding et l'on m'appela M. Dudding. Un maudit marquis de Torignan qui étoit là, malade ainsi que moi, vieux au par-dessus et d'assez mauvaise humeur, s'avisa de lier conversation avec M. Dudding. Il me parla du roi Jacques, du prétendant, de l'ancienne cour de Saint-Germain. J'étois sur les épines: je ne savois de tout cela que le peu que j'en avois lu dans le comte Hamilton et dans les gazettes; cependant je fis de ce peu si bon usage que je me tirai d'affaire: heureux qu'on ne se fût pas avisé de me questionner sur la langue angloise, dont je ne savois pas un seul mot."²

Rousseau had, then, read Hamilton's *Mémoires du chevalier de Grammont*, which were first published anonymously, in 1713. Their account of the court of Charles II seems to have served him a good turn in this instance, though surely it was not much political history that he learned from them. Since at this time he knew no English, of the "gazettes" only the French periodical publications were accessible to him. As an enthusiastic admirer of the novels of the Abbé Prévost,³ Rousseau may well have been a reader of the former's weekly periodical, *Le Pour et contre*,⁴ which was appearing at this time and which gave much space to things English. From it he could have obtained some general knowledge of English character and manners and a slight smattering of English literature, enough

¹ "Rien de tout ce qu'écrivoit Voltaire ne nous échappoit. Le goût que je pris à ces lectures m'inspira le désir d'apprendre à écrire avec élégance, et de tâcher à imiter le beau coloris de cet auteur, dont j'étois enchanté. Quelque temps après parurent ses *Lettres philosophiques*. Quoiqu'elles ne soient assurément pas son meilleur ouvrage, ce fut celui qui m'attira le plus vers l'étude, et ce goût naissant ne s'éteignit plus depuis ce temps-là" (*Œuvres*, V, 464-65 [*Confessions*]).

² *Œuvres*, V, 490 (*Confessions*).

³ *Œuvres*, IV, 248 (*Le Verger des charmettes*, 1736); *Œuvres*, V, 469 (*Confessions*).

⁴ Paris, 1733-40, twenty vols.

perhaps for the purposes of this embarrassing moment. At this same time the *Bibliothèque britannique*¹ offered similar information, though in rather less interesting form.

A little later during the same period, Rousseau boarded at Montpellier with an Irish doctor named Fitz-Moris. There he found several Irish students, from whom he tried to learn some English. Evidently he did not wish again to be caught unprepared. At Venice in 1743-44 he came in contact with Englishmen and found the acquaintance agreeable. They were men of intelligence and passionately fond of music.² This last characteristic is one emphasized by Rousseau later in Bomston. It may well be that the germ of the character of Edouard is to be found here in the fond memories which Rousseau preserved for years after and finally noted down in his *Confessions*. It is unfortunate that there are not further details. At Paris not long afterward Rousseau met for the first time the companion of his future years, Thérèse le Vasseur. At the same table were several Irish priests, but Rousseau was not attracted to them.

Rousseau knew Boissy, the author of several comedies, among them *Le François à Londres*, which dates from 1727 and which is distinguished by its favorable attitude toward the English.³ Whether or not Rousseau had read the play, it is at least possible that he had heard Boissy speak of the English, a subject of increasing interest to the public in general. But this is only a hypothesis and, even if true, would connote but little influence upon Rousseau. With Diderot, however, we come to a man big in his century and big also in the life of Jean-Jacques. His importance, especially from the point of view of contact with England, is emphasized by Joseph Texte in these terms: "Diderot, dont Rousseau avait fait la connaissance dès sa première arrivée à Paris, en 1741, resta pendant seize années—les années décisives de la vie de Jean-Jacques, celles de l'élaboration des chefs-d'œuvre—son confident littéraire. . . . Or—peut-être ne l'a-t-on pas assez noté—de tous les écrivains du dix-huitième siècle, Diderot est le plus curieux de littérature étrangère,

¹ La Haye, 1733-47, twenty-five vols.

² *Œuvres*, V, 496, 534, and 546 (*Confessions*).

³ Cf. C. F. Zeek, Jr., *Louis de Boissy* (Grenoble, 1914); *Confessions*.

et spécialement anglaise. Il est 'tout anglais,' a écrit excellemment M. Brunetière (*Epoques du théâtre français*, p. 295)."¹ The absoluteness of this pronouncement should perhaps be somewhat modified,² but its essential truthfulness remains. Diderot translated Shaftesbury, read Mandeville, even his *Encyclopédie* owes its origin to Chambers' *Dictionary*. In his drama Diderot was influenced by Lillo and by Moore, in his novel by Richardson and by Sterne. Hume and other Englishmen were among his friends.³ We can, therefore, be very sure that Rousseau had with Diderot many a conversation which turned upon England or the English, but the amount of Diderot's contribution must remain uncertain. We can hardly doubt that, in view of his great intimacy with Jean-Jacques, this influence must have been considerable.

Rousseau was intimate also with the Abbé Prévost, one of the few acquaintances whom he praises highly and whom he places at the head of the "amis d'élite," who met at the home of his relative Mussard. Rousseau calls Prévost "un homme très-aimable et très-simple, dont le cœur vivifioit ses écrits, dignes de l'immortalité, et qui n'avoit rien dans l'humeur ni dans la société du sombre coloris qu'il donnoit à ses ouvrages."⁴ This passage treats of the period 1750-51, when Prévost had already written the *Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité*, which contains interesting remarks on England; *Cléveland*, whose hero is an Englishman; *Le Pour et contre*, a periodical which made a speciality of catering to the growing Anglo-mania; the *Doyen de Killerine*, whose hero is an Irish priest; and, among others of lesser importance which need not be mentioned, the *Mémoires de M. de Montcal*, the scene of which is laid in England and Ireland. Already also Prévost was the translator of Richardson's *Pamela* and was about to publish *Clarissa Harlowe* (1751). How great is the importance of England in the work of the Abbé Prévost is thus evident. Since Rousseau came in contact with Richardson through Prévost's translations and since he held the Abbé personally in such esteem, it is hardly to be doubted that the two must have

¹ Joseph Texte, *J. J. Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire* (Paris, 1895), p. 133.

² Cf. Loyalty Cru, *Diderot and English Thought* (New York, 1913).

³ Texte, *op. cit.*, p. 135.

⁴ *Œuvres*, V, 578* (*Confessions*).

often talked together of the country and the people across the channel. Prévost was a charming companion, courteous and moderate in the expression of opinion, an intelligent and fair-minded, if not a profound, observer; his words could not fail to attract and to impress. Moreover, we know that Rousseau had been profoundly affected by the reading of *Cléveland* of which he wrote, in the *Confessions*, as follows: "La lecture des malheurs imaginaires de Cléveland, faite avec fureur et souvent interrompue, m'a fait faire, je crois, plus de mauvais sang que les miens" (p. 469). Something of the character of Cléveland has, in fact, passed into that of Edouard Bomston, but of this we shall have more to say later.

In Rousseau's reading we find as representative of English literature: Addison's *Spectator*,¹ Locke's *Essay*,² Samuel Clarke,³ Richardson,⁴ Pope,⁵ Lillo's *London Merchant*,⁶ the less-known *Oroonoko* by Southerne,⁷ probably Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*,⁸ and something perhaps of Milton,⁹ familiar to him were also the names at least—and perhaps more—of Barclay,¹⁰ Newton,¹¹ and Dryden.¹² This list gives an idea of what he had read up to the time when the *Nouvelle Héloïse* was written. In general he did not go farther than most of the cultivated public of the time. His interest in English literature and his knowledge of it are, however, evidently such as to show that he was far from being hostile to the spread of English ideas, much as some passages of his might make us think the contrary.

An illuminating comment is the following: "L'Anglois ne va guère demander aux autres l'hospitalité qu'il leur refuse chez lui. Dans quelle cour, hors celle de Londres, voit-on ramper lâchement

¹ "Le Spectateur surtout me plut beaucoup, et me fit du bien" (*ibid.*, p. 389).

² *Ibid.*, p. 481. Cf. also *Œuvres*, IV, 271 (*Le Verger des charmettes*).

³ *Œuvres*, II, 59-60 (*Emile*).

⁴ *Œuvres*, III, 351, note (*Nouvelle Héloïse*).

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 295, 310.

⁶ Rousseau calls Lillo's play "une pièce admirable, et dont la morale va plus directement au but qu'aucune pièce françoise que je connoisse" (*Œuvres*, I, 215, note [*Lettre à D'Alembert*, etc.]).

⁷ *Œuvres*, VI, 112 (*Confessions*).

⁸ Rousseau calls himself "un nouveau Robinson" (*Œuvres*, V, 521 [*Confessions*]). As Defoe's novel was much read in France, it is probable that Rousseau's knowledge was at first hand.

⁹ *Œuvres*, II, 216 (*Emile*).

¹⁰ *Œuvres*, IV, 248 (*Le Verger des charmettes*).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹² *Œuvres*, I, 50, note (*Réponse à M. Bordes*).

ces fiers insulaires? Dans quel pays, hors le leur, vont-ils chercher à s'enrichir? Ils sont durs, il est vrai; cette dureté ne me déplaît pas quand elle marche avec la justice. Je trouve beau qu'ils ne soient qu'Anglois, puisqu'ils n'ont pas besoin d'être hommes."¹ For a man who had "never loved either England or the English" the tone of this passage indicates rather strong admiration. Yet Texte seems to go too far when he says that the excuse for the praise that Edouard lavishes upon his country lies in the fact that "c'est Jean-Jacques qui parle par sa bouche et qui lui fait dire toutes ces belles choses."² When, for instance, Edouard calls the English "la seule nation d'hommes qui reste parmi les troupeaux divers dont la terre est couverte"³ he is completely in character and merely bears out the current idea of the period that Englishmen were extremely chauvinistic. Rousseau himself puts us on our guard with the statement that Edouard has "une étrange prévention pour son pays."⁴ Moreover, even before the unfortunate English journey, Rousseau admired only with certain important reservations. This is made clear by two passages which date from 1762, one from *Emile*, the other from the *Contrat social*. Rousseau says: "Je sais que les Anglois vantent beaucoup leur humanité et le bon naturel de leur nation, qu'ils appellent *good naturel people*; mais ils ont beau crier cela tant qu'ils peuvent, personne ne le répète après eux."⁵ The second passage reads: "Le peuple anglois pense être libre, il se trompe fort; il ne l'est que durant l'élection des membres du parlement; sitôt qu'ils sont élus, il est esclave, il n'est rien. Dans les courts momens de sa liberté, l'usage qu'il en fait mérite bien qu'il la perde."⁶ It is evident that one must be careful not to overestimate the degree of Rousseau's admiration for England; we can, however, be sure that, shifting and changing with the whims and prejudices of the moment, this admiration did nevertheless exist in him, not only before, but also after the English journey.

But if Rousseau learned much about the English from the conversations of his friends and acquaintances, if he received perhaps

¹ *Œuvres*, III, 263, note (*Nouvelle Héloïse*).

² Texte, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-31.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 124 (from Rousseau, *Œuvres*, III, 482).

⁴ *Œuvres*, III, 263, note 1 (*Nouvelle Héloïse*).

⁵ *Œuvres*, I, 533, note (*Emile*).

⁶ *Œuvres*, II, 633 (*Contrat social*).

even more influence from the atmosphere of Anglomania which had existed in France increasingly for the last thirty years, yet it is no less true that the conception of the character of Lord Edouard Bomston is due primarily to two sources. These two sources are the Abbé Prévost's *Cléveland*, to which reference has already been made, and the *Lettres sur les Anglois et sur les François* written about 1695 by the Swiss, Bêat Louis de Muralt, but not published till 1725.

We have referred to the deep impression made upon Rousseau by *Cléveland*.¹ "La lecture des malheurs imaginaires de Cléveland, faite avec fureur et souvent interrompue, m'a fait faire, je crois, plus de mauvais sang que les miens."² The memory of the character of Cléveland lingered long with Rousseau. Prévost's hero has, in accord with Jean-Jacques' ideal, contributed doubtless even to form it, and thus furnished Rousseau, probably quite without his knowing it, the general conception of a man who believes himself a philosopher, but who in reality is guided by his *âme sensible* rather than by his reason. Notice the numerous points of similarity between Cléveland and Bomston. The two dominant characteristics of both are that they are *vertueux* and *sensible*.

CLÉVELAND

"Mon cœur a toujours suivi par inclination la vertu et la sagesse" (V, 430-31).³

"Un cœur infiniment sensible" (V, 361).

"Le cœur le plus tendre et le plus sensible que la nature ait formé" (VI, 25).⁶

BOMSTON

"Les principes stoïques de ce vertueux Anglois" (III, 640).⁴

"Au plus vertueux des hommes" (III, 264).⁵

"On dit, milord, que vous avez l'âme belle et le cœur sensible" (NH [= *Nouvelle Héloïse*], III, 225).

"Il avoit l'âme sensible" (*ibid.*, III, 200).

"Un homme sensible" (*ibid.*, III, 239).

¹ *Le Philosophe anglois, ou Histoire de Monsieur Cléveland, fils naturel de Cromwell, 1731-39. Œuvres choisies de Prévost, Vols. IV-VII (Paris, 1810-16).*

² Rousseau, *Œuvres*, V, 469 (*Confessions*).

³ Prévost, *Cléveland*, V, 430-31.

⁴ Rousseau, *Œuvres*, III, 640 (*Amours de Milord Edouard*). The Roman numeral indicates the volume of Rousseau's *Œuvres*, and not a part of the individual work.

⁵ Cf. III, 200, 227-28 (*Nouvelle Héloïse*), pp. 642, 648 (*Amours*).

⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 126, and C (= *Cléveland*), IV, 68, 139, 185-86, 223, 224, 233; V, 59, 92, 122, 520, 527, 586; VI, 38, 329; VII, 403.

Other characteristics common to both are strength, tempered by weakness due to the overmastering power of the emotions; frankness and sincerity; ardor; the possession of strong passions; eagerness to seem *philosophes*; a certain lack of polish in manners, which in Cléveland is later removed by contact with society; a strong sense of duty; and finally, a feeling of being unique or extraordinary, set apart from other men by their virtue and by their sensibility.

CLÉVELAND

BOMSTON

Strength

"La résolution que je pris donc en ce moment de me rendre maître de tous les témoignages extérieurs de ma peine devint une règle que j'ai suivie depuis avec une incroyable constance" (V, 190).¹

"Vertueux et ferme" (NH, III, 200).

"Il me paroissoit avoir l'âme grande et forte" (III, 201).

"Il demeura ferme; il l'avoit promis" (A [= *Amours*], III, 646).

Emotional Weakness

"Si je suis foible par quelque endroit, c'est par le cœur" (V, 88).

"Tel étoit l'excès de ma faiblesse: j'étois le jouet de l'amour et de mon propre cœur" (V, 590).

"Son cœur, épuisé par tant de combats, s'est trouvé dans un état de faiblesse dont elle [Laure] a profité" (NH, III, 553).

"Il passa plusieurs années ainsi partagé entre deux maîtresses; flottant sans cesse de l'une à l'autre; souvent voulant renoncer à toutes deux et n'en pouvant quitter aucune" (A, III, 647).

Frankness

"Ma franchise ordinaire" (IV, 196).

"Je n'ai point honte de me laisser voir tel que je suis au public, et de lui faire l'aveu ingénu de mes fautes" (V, 430).

"Ne leur cachez rien de ce qui fait honneur à mon digne ami, même à mes dépens" (NH, III, 575).

Ardor and Passion

"Une ardeur que nul autre que moi n'a jamais sentie" (V, 63).

"Edouard pénétré se livroit à ses transports; son âme émue et sensible

¹ Cf., IV, 149, 179; V, 36, 274, 276, 363, 398.

CLÉVELAND

"J'étois tendre et passionné" (V, 92).

"Philosophes"

"J'ai tiré en effet de la philosophie tout le secours qu'elle peut donner" (IV, 234).

"Je m'étois cru philosophe" (V, 422; cf. p. 489).

Bad Manners

"Mes manières simples, et peut-être un peu grossières" (IV, 118).

"J'apprenois à monter à cheval et à me servir de diverses armes; je me formois à la bonne grâce du corps; je devenois civil, prévenant, attentif à obliger" (IV, 135).

Strong Sense of Duty

"C'étoit assez que j'eusse reconnu mon devoir, pour ne pas demeurer un moment indéterminé à le suivre" (IV, 147).

Uniqueness

"Je suis peut-être le seul individu de ma malheureuse espèce" (V, 36).

"Non-seulement il ne se trouvera personne qui ait senti des maux tels que les miens, mais à-peine se trouvera-t-il quelqu'un qui les puisse comprendre" (V, 190; cf. p. 490, and VI, 16).

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 146-47, and C, V, 541.

BOMSTON

s'exhaloit dans ses regards, dans ses gestes; il ne disoit pas un mot qui ne fût l'expression de la passion la plus vive" (A, III, 641).

"Toujours ardent, vif, passionné" (A, III, 647).

"Il se pique de philosophie" (NH, III, 200).

"Un homme sensible qui croit n'être qu'un philosophe" (*ibid.*, III, 239).

"C'est le chemin des passions qui m'a conduit à la philosophie" (*ibid.*, III, 249).

"Il met plus d'énergie que de grâce dans ses discours, et je lui trouve même l'esprit un peu rêche" (*ibid.*, III, 199).

"Un Anglois naturellement peu prévenant" (*ibid.*).

"Je sais ce qui convient, m'a-t-il dit brusquement" (*ibid.*, III, 225).

"Quoique je n'aie plus aucun crédit dans le parlement, il me suffit d'en être membre pour faire mon devoir jusqu'à la fin" (*ibid.*, III, 575).¹

"Une générosité sans exemple" (*ibid.*, III, 257).

"Vos vertus héroïques" (*ibid.*).

"Son âme sublime est au-dessus de celle des hommes" (*ibid.*, III, 265).

"Cet homme extraordinaire" (*ibid.*, III, 471).

The correspondence in many of the traits of Cléveland and of Bomston is noteworthy, but, striking as it is, it does not necessarily warrant the conclusion that Rousseau consciously set out to imitate Prévost. On the contrary, the fact that the character of Cléveland is portrayed only by slight indications scattered through all the four volumes of the novel would make such servile imitation more difficult and less probable. Moreover, the points of correspondence are characteristics either possessed or admired by Rousseau himself. Some of them, such as *sensiblerie*, lie also in the general trend of the period contemporary with Jean-Jacques. These facts are against any theory of direct imitation of Prévost by Rousseau in this instance. They do not, however, exclude the generally admitted influence of *Cléveland* upon Jean-Jacques, both directly through his reading and indirectly through his milieu. Each reader may determine for himself how much should be attributed to influence of Prévost upon Rousseau and how much to correspondence in the character and ideals of the two authors.

We come now to the other chief source employed by Rousseau, namely, Muralt's *Lettres sur les Anglois et sur les François*.¹ In the *Nouvelle Héloïse* the name of Muralt is mentioned six times;² the reason for this is that Rousseau read these *Lettres* during the very period when he was composing his novel,³ that is to say, toward the end of 1756 or during 1757.⁴ It is therefore not strange that Muralt should be fresh in his mind at this time; it is in fact hardly possible

¹ The references *infra* are to the second edition of Muralt's *Lettres* (Cologne, 1727).

² Rousseau, *Œuvres*, III, 276, 279, 293, 296, 301, 597.

³ Rousseau's friend, Alexandre Déleyre, gives us a hint of this in a letter to Rousseau from Paris, November 2, 1756: "Quant aux *Lettres sur les Anglois et sur les François*, je les ai; mais outre qu'elles sont à emprunt, et que je veux les acheter, une page lue me les fait lire toutes, et comme j'ai d'autres envois à vous faire, je partage celui-ci, pour avoir le plaisir de vous écrire deux fois" (G. Streckeisen-Moultou, *Rousseau, ses amis et ses ennemis*, I, 149).

⁴ Begun in 1756; Rousseau, *Œuvres*, VI, 23 (*Confessions*). Rousseau says the novel was not finished till the winter of 1758-59 (*ibid.*, p. 74), but elsewhere, in a letter of September 13, 1758, to the publisher Rey, Rousseau declares the work is already finished and in six parts (Streckeisen-Moultou, *op. cit.*). It is, moreover, nearly certain that it was finished even before this date. As early as October 1, 1757, Rousseau wrote to Mme d'Houdetot: "Dès que j'aurai fini ma copie de la *Nouvelle Héloïse*, je commencerai la vôtre." This implies that he was at least approaching the end. Furthermore, on November 30, 1757 he wrote her again to the effect that he was preparing her copy (Buffenoir, *La Comtesse d'Houdetot, sa famille, ses amis*, 1905). It is scarcely probable that the work was then unfinished.

to doubt that Rousseau read him deliberately in order to inform himself more definitely about English character and to be able to give more accuracy to his portrayal of "Milord" Edouard.

Let us compare Muralt's account of English characteristics with Rousseau's description of Bomston.

MURALT

BOMSTON

Generosity

"L'avarice n'est pas le vice des Anglois, et ils donnent plus volontiers dans l'excès opposé" (p. 18).

Edouard offers a third of his property to Saint-Preux (*NH*, III, 230).

Bounty

"De la prospérité, de la magnificence chez les grands" (p. 2).

"Edouard, n'oubliant pas la magnificence angloise" (*A*, III, 644).

Frankness

"Il seroit du moins à souhaiter qu'il y eut de ces Anglois répandus dans le monde pour dire aux hommes les vérités que personne n'ose leur dire" (p. 56).

"Edouard, passant en revue toutes mes fautes, me remit devant les yeux un tableau qui n'étoit pas flatté" (*NH*, III, 547).

Interest in Humanity

"J'étois plus curieux d'hommes que de battimens" (p. 99).

"Bientôt je vis avec plaisir que les tableaux et les monumens ne lui avoient point fait négliger l'étude des mœurs et des hommes" (*ibid.*, III, 200).

Bravery

"La bravoure des Anglois est établie partout" (p. 4).

"Leur mépris de la mort" (p. 19).

"Imagines-tu le brave Edouard voyant fuir les Anglois, et fuyant lui-même? . . . Jamais, jamais! . . . il se fût fait tuer cent fois" (*ibid.*, III, 563).

Intellectual

"Ils aiment à faire usage de leur raison" (p. 9).

Edouard "est plus fort que moi [Saint-Preux] de raisonnement" (*ibid.*, III, 553).

MURALT

BOMSTON

Independence

"Les Grands tiennent peu à la Cour" (p. 5).

"Les conseils ne peuvent rien sur eux" (p. 19).

"Ils dépendent fort peu du public et ne se laissent guère tyranniser par la coutume" (p. 56).

"Vous savez que la cour ne me [Edouard] convient guère" (*ibid.*, III, 390).

"On ne gagne rien avec lui par les discours" (*ibid.*, III, 553).

"Cet intrépide amour de la vertu, qui lui fait mépriser l'opinion publique" (*ibid.*, III, 122).

Pride

"Une espèce de fierté que les gens qui en sont incommodés appellent volontiers insolence" (p. 2).

"Ils ont une forte prévention pour l'excellence de leur nation" (p. 3).

"Un air fier" (*ibid.*, III, 226).

Edouard says of his country: "Passé chez la seule nation d'hommes qui reste parmi les troupeaux divers dont la terre est couverte" (*ibid.*, III, 482).

Austerity

"Ils sont un peu durs" (p. 18).

"La dureté philosophique et nationale" (*ibid.*, III, 228).

Bad Manners

"La plupart négligent les manières et les agréments; mais ils cultivent la raison" (p. 15).

"Il se pique de philosophie ... il dédaigne les petites bienséances" (*ibid.*, III, 200).

Lack of Delicacy

"D'ordinaire le délicat et le naïf leur manquent" (p. 10).

"Dans son intègre probité, Edouard manquoit de délicatesse" (A, III, 644).

Violence

"Leur manière violente et emporté" (p. 3).

"Lorsqu'ils deviennent amoureux, c'est avec violence" (p. 42).

"Je le crois vif et emporté" (NH, III, 200).

"Vous connaissez sa violence" (*ibid.*, 553).

"Edouard pénétré se livroit à ses transports; son âme émue et sensible s'exhalait dans ses regards, dans ses gestes; il ne disoit pas un mot qui ne fût l'expression de la passion la plus vive" (A, III, 641).

MURALT

BOMSTON

Extreme

"Il me semble que pour l'ordinaire ils ont de grands vertus, ou de grands défauts, et assez souvent l'un et l'autre" (p. 14).

"Ils sont charitables et ils sont cruels" (p. 19).

"Un petit reste de férocité qui est le fond de leur caractère" (p. 19).

"Cet homme . . . extrême et grand en tout" (*ibid.*, III, 640).

"L'humanité naturelle" (*NH*, III, 228).

Brutality with Laure (*A*, III, 642).

Intemperance

"Ils boivent comme des Saxons" (p. 19).

"Bomston, à demi ivre" (*NH*, III, 217).

Thus it is evident how great is the correspondence between the character of Muralt's Englishmen and that of Rousseau's Edouard. There is, however, an important characteristic of Bomston which is not to be found already emphasized in Muralt's description. This is "sensibility." It is a trait which derives both from the character of Rousseau himself and from the trend of the century. La Chaussée, Richardson, Diderot, Prévost, and others less prominent, all aided in its development. It is by all means to be expected that Rousseau would make this addition to Muralt's picture of the English. Another important difference is that Muralt portrays the English as really following their reason, while Rousseau's Edouard only imagines he is doing so. In reality he finds the source of all his virtues in his "heart."¹ This we have already found to be a fundamental part of the character of Cléveland. It is also exactly what we might expect in view of the general tendency of Rousseau himself in his later years to oppose the philosophic movement of his time. The virtuous Bomston is a direct and concrete protest against those who wish to enthrone reason in the supreme position.

¹ There is a striking similarity between this important characteristic of Milord Edouard and what Rousseau says is one of the traits of Mme de Warens. "Au lieu d'écouter son cœur, qui la menoit bien, elle écouta sa raison, qui la menoit mal" (*Œuvres* V, 452 [*Confessions*]). Of course this indicates merely the primacy accorded by Rousseau to the heart over the reason. Cf. also Rousseau's description of himself as "vrai, maladroît, fier, impatient, emporté" (*Œuvres*, VI, 34). The same adjectives, with perhaps the exception of "maladroît" which is, however, implied in Edouard's lack of tact and finesse, are frequently applied to Bomston.

That Rousseau has described Edouard with such predilection is due also in large part to the fact that at this time Jean-Jacques had almost completed his own successful struggle to win through to the life of virtue. He says:

Jusque-là j'avois été bon: dès lors je devins vertueux, ou du moins enivré de la vertu. Cette ivresse avoit commencé dans ma tête, mais elle avoit passé dans mon cœur. Le plus noble orgueil y germa sur les débris de la vanité déracinée. Je ne jouai rien: je devins en effet tel que je parus; et pendant quatre ans au moins que dura cette effervescence dans toute sa force, rien de grand et de beau ne peut entrer dans un cœur d'homme, dont je ne fusse capable entre le ciel et moi. . . . J'étois vraiment transformé; mes amis, mes connoissances ne me reconnoissoient plus. Je n'étois plus cet homme timide, et plutôt honteux que modeste, qui n'osoit ni se présenter, ni parler; qu'un mot badin déconcertoit, qu'un regard de femme faisoit rougir. Audacieux, fier, intrépide, je portois partout une assurance d'autant plus ferme, qu'elle étoit simple, et résidoit dans mon âme plus que dans mon maintien.¹

Much of the essential of Edouard's character, in its strength as well as in its weakness, is to be found in the Rousseau of this period, thus swept along by a new-born passionate love for a life of virtue based upon the enthusiasms of a "sensitive" spirit. In Edouard, Rousseau has sounded a glorification, not merely of the English character, but also of the *cœur sensible*.²

To sum up: it seems to us that, when Rousseau began to write the *Nouvelle Héloïse*, one of his aims³ was to apotheosize the virtue so recently won in his own life. Into his character, Edouard Bomston, he put a great deal of himself, but it was a self in general firmer and more energetic, more what he himself would fain be but was not; he chose for this purpose an Englishman, partly because he admired the

¹ *Œuvres*, VI, 12 (*Confessions*). Cf. the conclusion of *Les Amours de Milord Edouard Bomston*: "Mais sa vertu lui donnoit en lui-même une jouissance plus douce que celle de la beauté, et qui ne s'épuise pas comme elle. Plus heureux des plaisirs qu'il se refusoit que le voluptueux n'est de ceux qu'il goûte, il aimait plus longtemps, resta libre, et jouit mieux de la vie que ceux qui l'usent" (*Œuvres*, III, 648). With this passage cf. the following from the *Confessions*: "Je sentis, et j'ai souvent senti depuis lors, en y repensant, que, si les sacrifices qu'on fait au devoir et à la vertu, coûtent à faire, on en est bien payé par les doux souvenirs qu'ils laissent au fond du cœur" (*Œuvres*, V, 511).

² "Il est un âge pour l'expérience, un autre pour le souvenir. Le sentiment s'éteint à la fin; mais l'âme sensible demeure toujours" (*Œuvres*, III, 123 [*Nouvelle Héloïse*, Seconde Préface]).

³ Of course another of equal importance at the beginning was the satisfaction, through self-expression in the novel, of his sentimental longings then returning with especial force.

English people, partly because at this time the character was suited to please particularly the French public, then so enthusiastic over the nation across the channel, perhaps also because he still remembered with pleasure the agreeable and intelligent Englishmen he had known in Italy.¹ Crowding back into his mind came former conversations with Diderot and other friends, and with these memories came also impressions from his reading of Locke, Pope, Richardson, and perhaps many more. Then, Prévost's *Cléveland*, still so vivid in his mind, was there to furnish almost a model of what he wished to do: namely, to portray an English *philosophe* virtuous by the excellence of his *cœur sensible* rather than by the deistic principles he imagined himself to be following. Finally, Muralt, read at the very period of composition, furnished the details needed to give accuracy to the portrait and to make it accord in general with the type figure familiar already to the reading public in France.

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¹ See above, p. 15.



A COMMONPLACE IN CORNEILLE'S *MÉLITE*: THE MADNESS OF ÉRASTE

The plot of *Mélite*, the first play of Pierre Corneille, is well known: Éraсте, who loves Méлите, introduces to her his friend Tircis, who thereupon supplants him in the young lady's affections. The first lover, in despair, resolves to get Tircis out of his way by preparing forged love letters from Méлите to Philandre. At first his trick seems to succeed. When Tircis sees the forged letters in the hands of Philandre he believes that Méлите is untrue to him and runs away, speaking of committing suicide. When Méлите hears this she swoons. Éraсте is now informed of the tragic consequences of his forgery. He goes mad with love and remorse, and believes himself in the infernal regions, where he hunts for his Méлите. His ravings continue through several scenes of the fourth and the fifth acts. Finally he comes to his senses and learns that his supposed victims, Tircis and Méлите, are still alive and have resolved upon their marriage. He confesses his guilt, obtains his pardon and the hand of Tircis' sister, Cloris.

In his *Examen de Méлите* of 1660, Corneille confessed that the madness scenes of his first play were not original: "La folie d'Éraсте n'est pas de meilleure trempe. Je la condamnois dès lors en mon âme; mais comme c'étoit un ornement de théâtre qui ne manquoit jamais de plaire et se faisoit souvent admirer, j'affectai volontiers ces grands égarements."¹

During the quarrel of the *Cid*, one of Corneille's bitterest opponents, Claveret, wrote: "Ceux qui considérèrent bien vostre fin de Méлите, c'est à dire la frénésie d'Éraсте, que tout le monde avoue franchement estre de vostre invention, et qui verront le peu de rapport que ces badineries ont avec ce que vous avez dérobé, jugeront sans doute que le commencement de la *Mélite* . . . n'est pas une pièce de vostre invention."² This statement is clearly ironical.³

¹ Corneille (ed. Marty-Laveaux), I, 139.

² Gasté, *La Querelle du Cid*, p. 309.

³ Marty-Laveaux took this statement literally: "Bien que Claveret ne conteste pas à Corneille l'invention de la frénésie d'Éraсте," etc. (I, 227, n. 1).

Claveret means that everyone was aware of the imitations of Corneille in the "frénésie d'Éraste." Marty-Laveaux pointed out that three or four verses of the ravings of Éraste bear a certain resemblance to some verses in the pastoral play *La Climène* of De la Croix;¹ and, more recently, Ulrich Meier has tried to demonstrate that Corneille took the idea of the madness of his supplanted lover from *L'Hypochondriaque* of Rotrou.² In both these plays the resemblances of the madness scenes to Corneille's Éraste run along general lines, so that a direct influence of either one is very problematic, the more so since similar outbursts of madmen on the stage constituted one of the commonplaces of the literature in the time of Corneille's youth. The purpose of this article is to show the extensive use of the madness device in the early seventeenth-century literature, and to point out some resemblances between Corneille's mad hero and similar heroes in the pastoral plays and the tragi-comedies of the time.

It was, in fact, the most natural thing in the world for a hero of pastoral or of tragi-comedy to become mad, attempt suicide, rush through the infernal regions, or retire to a far-off desert, when refused by, or separated from, his sweetheart. The episode was so overworked that it was the source of no little satire, such as, for example, these verses of *Les Visionnaires* of Desmarets de Saint Sorlin (1637):

Je suis de mille amans sans cesse importunée,
Et croy qu'à ce tourment le ciel m'a destinée.
L'on vient me rapporter: Lysis s'en va mourir;
L'amour de Lysidas s'est tourné en folie;
Eurylas s'est plongé dans la mélancolie;
Si Corylas n'en meurt, il sera bien malade; . . .

[Act I, scene 2].

It would be highly repugnant to our modern taste to hear on the stage a madman, who, in well-balanced verses, invoked all the deities of the infernal regions and continued his ravings through one or two acts, as it not infrequently happened about the time of Corneille. We would condemn especially the use of madness for comic effect, such as one finds, for example, in the *Sylvanire* of Honoré d'Urfé,

¹ Played in 1627-28; editions, Paris, 1629, 1636, 1637. The play was plagiarized from the *Isabelle* of P. Ferry, 1610.

² Ueber Pierre Corneille's Erstlingsdrama *Mélite*: Festschrift des Gymnasiums zu Schneeberg, 1891, pp. 54-73.

or the *Climène* of De la Croix. But the writers of pastoral and of tragi-comedy, about 1600-1630, were sanctioned by the taste of their time and authorized by the examples which they found in antiquity and in the tragic poets of the latter part of the sixteenth century. They apparently did not feel the enormous distance, which, aesthetically speaking, separates the ravings, for example, of the Hercules of Seneca or the Saul of De la Taille, and those of a love-mad shepherd. The *Mélite* of Corneille shows this same lack of taste. Éraсте is presented as a young Parisian gentleman of about 1630. For three acts we can picture him in his light-green costume à la *Céladon*, paying to Mélite his exaggerated compliments. But when he has lost his senses, his ravings resemble those of a Greek demigod.

The succession of the incidents in the madness scenes of the *Mélite* is as follows: (1) Éraсте believes that the lightning from Olympus has burst the earth and that he is in the underworld. (2) He inquires of the Styx and of the shades if they have not seen Tircis and Mélite, whom he tries vainly to find in the infernal regions. (3) He takes his helper, Cliton, for Charon and jumps upon his back to be carried over the Styx, and in this posture is carried off the stage. (4) He fights with gods and the shades; they flee and in their haste the Parques forget their scissors. His appearance has thrown frightened Hades into confusion. (5) He takes Philandre for Minos and confesses his guilt. Finally he believes the old nurse is his mistress, Mélite, and makes ardent declarations of his love to her before he happily recovers his senses. Corneille, having entitled his play a "pièce comique" (edition of 1633), clearly tried to obtain comic effects from these ravings of Éraсте.

For the first part of his madness scenes Corneille seems to have been influenced more or less by the numerous madness scenes in the contemporary literature, and perhaps more directly by his reminiscences of Hardy's *Alcméon ou la Vengeance féminine*. In the latter play Alcméon becomes insane under the influence of a poisoned jewel. The first developments of the ravings of Éraсте and of Alcméon are almost identical:

ALCMÉON: Dieus, He! quelle voix de l'Erèbe m'appelle?

D'où viennent parmy l'air ces flambans tourbillons? [Hardy.]

- ÉRASTE: Quel murmure confus! et qu'entends-je hurler!
Que de pointes de feu se perdent parmi l'air? . [Corneille.]
- ALCMÉON: J'oy le choc d'un combat, je voy fondre un tonerre
Du faite de l'Olympe au centre de la terre. [Hardy.]
- ÉRASTE: Les Dieux à mes forfaits ont denoncé la guerre;
Leur foudre décoché vient de fendre la terre. [Corneille.]
- ALCMÉON: Mais la terre mugit sous mes pieds se fendant. [Hardy.]¹
- ÉRASTE: La terre à ce dessein m'ouvre son large flanc. [Corneille.]

Another point of identity between the play of Hardy and that of Corneille is that both Alcméon and Éraсте draw their swords and pursue the fleeing spirits. The former, attacking the ghosts with his sword, exclaims:

S'il faut que ma fureur contrainte se redresse,
L'épée au poin, je puis, je le puis et le faut,
Soutenir, repousser et vaincre cet assaut.
Donnons, donnons sans crainte à travers de ces ombres
Renvoyons-les, mon bras, en leur cavernes sombres.
Couards, vous fuyez donc, vous ne m'attendez pas!²

Éraсте, who, in the earlier editions of the *Mélite*, is represented "l'épée au poing," declaims:

En vain je les rappelle, en vain pour se defendre
La honte et le devoir leur parlant de m'attendre,
Ces laches escadrons de fantomes affreux
Cherchent leur assurance aux cachots les plus creux.

Éraсте describes his appearance, which has thrown all the underworld into confusion. The shades and the gods fear him and have fled:

Ma voix met tout en fuite et dans ce vaste effroi,
La peur saisit si bien les ombres et leur roi . . .
Tisiphone tremblante, Alec-ton et Mégère,
De leurs flambeaux puants ont éteint la lumière,
Et tiré de leur chef les serpents d'alentour,
De crainte que leurs yeux fissent quelque faux jour, . . .
Éaque épouvanté se croit trop en danger,
Et fuit son criminel au lieu de le juger;
Clothon même et ses sœurs, à l'aspect de ma lame,
De peur de tarder trop, n'osant couper ma trame,
À peine ont eu loisir d'emporter leurs fuseaux,
Si bien qu'en ce desordre oubliant leurs ciseaux . . .

[pp. 230-31].

¹ *Œuvres de Hardy* (ed. E. Stengel), V, 224-25

² *Ibid.*, p. 225.

For this part of the poetic madness Corneille did not lack examples in contemporary plays. *La Rodomontade*, a tragedy by Charles Bautier, i.e., Meliglose (1605), transports its hero to the underworld, where his shadow frightens the spirits and where Charon refuses to take him aboard. This detail is reproduced in other plays, in similar circumstances, and in the *Mélite*, where Éraсте, taking Cliton for the infernal ferryman, exclaims:

Quoi! tu veux te sauver à l'autre bord sans moi!

In *La généreuse Allemande* of A. Mareschal (1630) a scene is found, also intended as comical, where a similar description is given of the terror which the mad hero pretends to inspire in the infernal regions:

Dieux! tout est en allarme en ces demeures sombres;
Un Hercule nouveau trouble encore les ombres;
Les foudres ont trouvé le chemin d'icy bas;
Les Tytans dechainez font de nouveaux combats;
Les Parques sont aux mains; le desordre s'augmente;
Cerbère s'est caché de peur chez Radamante,
Qui sous un corps fumant de souffre & de vapeur
Fuit luy-mesme, & se met sous les lois de la peur;
Icy tombe de crainte Ichare en l'onde noire;
La Tantale en fuyant passe l'eau sans en boire . . .

[Seconde journée, Act III, scene 2].

In the third act of *Les travaux d'Ulysse*, a tragi-comedy of J. G. Durval, printed at Paris without date in 1630-31, and with date in 1631, Ulysses frightens the underworld in the same way:

Les fantomes affreux ont secoué leurs fers,
Et sont tombez de peur dans le fond des enfers . . .
Les ombres de tous ceux que Cloton precipite
Dans le creux Acheron, ou dedans le Cocyte,
Et les esprits errants sur l'ardent Phlegeton,
Sont tombez de frayeur en l'Orque de Pluton . . .
J'ay fait boire Charon, qui dessus le rivage
De ses fleuves vouloit m'empescher le passage:
Et troublant de Cloton l'ordinaire repos,
J'ay rompu de despit le mestier d'Atropos.
J'ay cassé les fuseaux des parques filandières [Act III, scene 2].

After the mythological outbursts described above, Corneille's mad hero takes the old nurse for the beautiful *Mélite*. The eagerness

to recognize their mistress, or occasionally another person, in strangers or ghosts is a current trait in the portrayal of love-mad characters on the stage of the time. It is as general as the descent to the underworld in all the plays where madness was introduced as an "ornement de théâtre." Take, for example, the *Bergeries* of Racan (1618). Alcidor, the insane lover in this play, thinks that he is dead and already among the shades, as does Éraсте in *Mélite*; he is frightened by approaching demons or ghosts, one of whom he takes for his mistress; like Éraсте he recovers his sanity. The following passage is typical:

ALCIDOR: En quel lieu m'a conduit la cruauté du sort ?
 Suis-je en terre ou dans l'eau ? suis-je vivant ou mort ? . . .
 Que de phantosmes vains en ces rives s'amassent !
 Sont-ce morts ou démons qui s'approchent de moy ?
 Tout fait peur à mes yeux ; Dieu qu'est ce que je voy ?
 Belle âme, le miroir des âmes les plus belles ;
 Avez-vous donc quitté vos dépouilles mortelles ?
 Quels tourmens douloureux, quels funestes remors,
 Vous ont fait ennuyer dedans un si beau corps ?
 Quoi ! voulez-vous encor, o ma chère infidelle,
 Traverser mon repos en la nuit éternelle ? . . .¹

The similarity of Corneille's method is evident if one reads these lines of the *Mélite*:

ÉRASTE (*seeing the ghosts*):
 Vous donc, esprits légers, qui, manque de tombeaux,
 Tournoyez vagabonds à l'entour de ces eaux,
 A qui Charon cent ans refuse sa nacelle,
 Ne m'en pourriez vous point donner quelques nouvelles ?
 (*He takes the nurse for Mélite*)
 Je vois déjà Mélite. Ah ! belle ombre, voici
 L'ennemi de votre heur qui vous cherchoit ici. . . .

With both these examples may be compared the following verses from the fifth act of the *Sylvie* of Mairet, which is of 1628 (privilege of 1627):

FLORISEL: Mais n'est-ce pas ici le royaume des morts ?
 Nos esprits n'ont ils pas abandonné nos corps ?
 (*Takes a ghost for his father*)
 N'es-tu pas satisfait de nos travaux soufferts,
 Sans nous venir troubler dans les enfers ?
 O père sans pitié, ton âme criminelle,
 Vient-elle icy nous faire une guerre éternelle ?

¹ *Œuvres de Racan, Bib. Elzév.*, pp. 80-81.

In Hardy's pastoral play *Alphée*, the mad shepherd, Euriale, has a similar vision. In Pichou's *Folies de Cardenio*,¹ Cardenio maddened by love, takes the barber for his mistress, Luscinde. In the *Pirame et Thisbe* of Théophile de Viaud, the hero, temporarily bereft of his reason, exclaims:

Tu viens donc, inhumaine, en ces bords malheureux,
Pour espier nos esprits amoureux?

In the *Hypocondriaque* of Rotrou (played in 1628), the hero Cloridan believes he is dead, and tries to find his Perside among the souls in the underworld. He takes Cléonice at first for his sweet-heart and later for a dryad. Many more examples of this traditional scene can be found in the literature which was in fashion when the young Corneille wrote his "coup d'essai." Other parts of the *Mélite*, for example, the recovery of Éraсте from madness, follow closely the convention of the stage of the time.

Although scenes of madness are to be found in the French tragedies of the sixteenth century, the fashion seems to have reached its highest point between 1610 and 1635. In the sixteenth-century tragedies, they owed their presence especially to the influence of classic example, and particularly of the *Hercules furens*, the *Medea*, and other plays of Seneca. This theme, with all its opportunities for turgid declamation, made a very strong appeal to the Renaissance poets. Various examples can be pointed out, such as the *Saul furieux* of De la Taille (performed in 1562), or the *Aman* of André de Rivaudeau (1561). In 1603, the Rouen printer, Theodore Reinsart, published a tragedy, *Ulysse*, by Jacques de Champ-Repus. In the final scenes, Télégon, crazed with remorse over his accidental killing of his father, exclaims:

Sus donc, monstres hideux, qui tenez le rivage
De l'enfer Averno, plein d'horreur et de rage,
Vivez, tournez, riblez à mes funestes cris,
Et venez sans tarder des antres plus noircis,
Grondans, jappans, hurlant d'une façon terrible,
. . . Accablez-moy ici [*Œuvres* (ed. 1864), p. 70].

The tragedy of J. de Schélandre, *Tyr et Sidon*, in its first form (1608) ends with the madness of the unhappy king, Tiribaze, whose ravings are similar to those in the passage cited above. Other tragedies too are adorned with this "ornement de théâtre."

¹ Privilège of 1625.

The writers of tragi-comedies and pastoral plays appropriated quite naïvely these conventional madness scenes from the tragedies. Since by definition their works must end happily, they gave to these scenes a happy dénouement. Whereas the hero of the tragedy, recovering from his attack of frenzy, found around him the bleeding bodies of his victims and immediately turned to thoughts of suicide, in the tragi-comedies and the pastoral plays he suddenly recovered his reason and nothing more fatal than a marriage resulted. In 1569, François de Belleforest published his *Pastorale amoureuse* in which the shepherd, Sylvie's reason is affected by the excessive grief caused by the rejection of his advances on the part of the fair shepherdess, Camille. In 1567 Pierre le Loyer published his *Le Muet insensé, comédie en cinq actes*, in which a lover receives a charm from a magician, but through a misuse of it becomes mad. He is, in the end, happily cured. Mad lovers are especially prevalent in the plays which appeared about the time that the *Mélite* was being composed, or soon after the representation of the play, so that they may have been acted before Corneille's play. Reference has already been made to the *Bergeries* of Racan, the *Folies de Cardenio* of Pichou, plays of Hardy, the *Sylvie* of Mairet, the *Hypocondriaque* of Rotrou, and the *Généreuse Allemande* of Mareschal. In *Sylvanire ou la morte vive* of Honoré d'Urfé (privilege dated 1625), the shepherd, Adraste, becomes insane through love for the shepherdess, Doris. The anonymous play *La Folie de Silène* (1624) shows the servant of the old Polite insane, and, taking his old master for a nymph, pursuing him with ridiculous love declarations. The conventional situation also occurs in a play printed in Rouen in 1625 with the following formidable title: *Le Guerrier repent, pastorale tragique et morale en laquelle les passions de l'homme sont manifestement représentées avec le contentement de la vie solitaire de l'hermite Hysipille; les aventureuses rencontres de la belle nymphe Rosymène, entre lesquelles reluyt le flambeau radieux de sa chasteté parmi les erreurs du Guerrier Phallacie qui, enfin touché d'un saint remord de ses meurtres sanglans, se réduit a la vie religieuse et solitaire avec Hysipille dans les déserts. Par maistre Jacques le Clerc, prestre indigne, précepteur des lettres Latines à Saint Vallery sur Somme.* In *La Carline, comédie pastorale* of Antoine Gaillard, Sieur de la Portenille (Paris, 1626) we find a shepherd, Nicot,

who is guilty of a crime of the same nature as that of Éraсте; this is also followed by scenes of remorse and insanity. *Philine ou l'amour contraire*, *Pastorale par le sieur de la Morelle*, which seems to have been played about 1628 (printed at Paris in 1630) presented the madness of Amaranthe. Liridas is a victim of this same love madness in the *Climène* of the Sieur de la Croix (1628); the same thing occurs in the *Pastoral tragi-comédie* of Caritée (Paris, 1627) and in *Cléonice, ou l'amour téméraire* (Paris, 1630). According to the *Mémoire* of Mahelot, the titles of three lost plays of Hardy are: *La Folie de Clidamante*, *La Folie d'Isabelle*, and *La Folie de Turlupin*. One might also compare the mad outbursts of Hérode in the *Mariamne* of Hardy, and those in the *Mariamne* of Tristan l'Hermite.

In *La Folie du Sage* of Tristan (1645) we find another form of madness: the book-and-knowledge madness. In the *Hôpital des fous* of Charles Beys, various madmen are put on the scene: a philosopher, a musician, an advocate, a soldier, an alchemist, and an astrologer. This play was first published in Paris in 1629, and is the same play as *Les Illustres fous* of 1652. As a variety we find mad ladies: for example, in *La Pèlerine amoureuse* of Rotrou (printed in 1637) imitated from the *Pellegrina* of Girolamo Bargogli, Bélie pretends to be mad to escape from a detested marriage. In the third act of the *Cléomedon* of P. du Ryer (1633 or 1634) Cléomedon, being prevented from marrying Célanire, loses his intelligence, recovers, and marries his sweetheart. In the same way Policandre loses Basilie and his reason, and regains both in the *Les Aventures de Policandre et de Basilie*, *tragédie par le sieur du Vieuget* (printed in 1632, played probably in 1630).

Thus the number of plays in which the mad lover was put on the scene about the time of the composition of Corneille's *Mélite*, taken in connection with the examples given in the first part of this paper, show how thoroughly the madness of Eraste in the *Mélite* conformed to a prevailing fashion in the literary production of about 1630.

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ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GRAIL ROMANCES. I

THE DATE OF THE *PERLESVAUS*

The purpose of the following pages is to establish, as far as the evidence permits, the date of the Grail romance *Perlesvaus*; incidentally it is also to set in a clearer light than before the Glastonbury associations of the work. When Tennyson says in his well-known idyll through the mouth of the monk:

. . . . From our old books I know
That Joseph came of old to Glastonbury.
And there the heathen Prince, Arviragus,
Gave him an isle of marsh whereon to build;
And there he built with wattles from the marsh
A little lonely church in days of yore,
For so they say, these books of ours. . . .

he is reciting—somewhat freely, it is true—not a mere pious fiction but an established tradition going back at least to the end of the twelfth century. This fact is familiar enough. What is less familiar is the manner in which the history of the abbey was interwoven with the Grail legend—recalling vividly the identifications with *loca sancta* which M. Bédier has shown to be characteristic of the *chansons de geste*. Previous material on the subject will be found in MODERN PHILOLOGY, I (1903), 255 ff., and in the [North Carolina] *Studies in Philology*, XV (1918), 7–14. I have brought this and additional evidence together here with the hope of settling not only the *terminus a quo* of the *Perlesvaus*, which is certainly 1191,¹ but also its approximate *terminus ad quem*.

In the Potvin edition the *Perlesvaus* concludes with the following words:

(a) Li latins de coi cist estoires fust traite an romanz fu pris an l'ille d'Avalon, en une sainte messon de religion qui siet au chief des mores [Hatton

¹ See *Studies in Philology*, loc. cit.

82: mares] aventureusses, là où li roi Artus et la roïne Guenièvre gissent, par le tesmoing de prodomes religieux qui là dedanz sont, qui tote l'estoire en ont, vraie dès le comancement tresqu'à la fin.

(b) Après iceste estoire, commence li contes si comme Brians des Illes guerpi le roi Artus por Lancelot que il n'amoit mie et comme il aséura le roi Claudas, qui le roi Ban de Bénoic toli sa terre. Si parole eis contes comment il le conquist et par quel manière, et si com Galobrus de la Vermeille Lande vint à la cort le roi Artus por aidier Lancelot, quar il estoit de son lignage. Cist contes est mout lons et mout aventureus et poisanz; mès li livres s'en fera ore atant trus [tres] qu'à une autre foiz.

(c) Por li seingnor de Neele fist li seingnor de Cambrein cest livre escrire, qui onques mès ne fu troitiez que une seule foiz avec [avant] cestui en roumanz; et cil qui avant cestui fust fez est si anciens qu'à grant poine an péüst l'an choisir la lestre. Et sache bien misires Johan de Neele que l'an doit tenir ceste conte cheir, ne l'an ne doit mie dire à jent malentendable; quar bone chose, qui est espendue outre mauveses genz, n'est onques en bien recordée par els.

Only one of the MSS of the romance, namely that of Brussels (B), which Potvin has printed, contains the three statements just given. Statement (a), however, occurs also in Hatton 82 (O) of the Bodleian library at Oxford, and although the other MSS of the romance are too fragmentary to establish whether they possessed it or not, it belongs without doubt to the original text, as subsequent facts will show. As to statements (b) and (c), there is no positive evidence whether they belong to the original or are peculiar to B; both are lacking in O (in general, the best and completest text), the late Welsh translation of the *Perlesvaus* lacks the entire passage given above, as do the incunabula published in Paris in 1516 and 1523, and the fragmentary MSS also throw no light on the question.¹ The fact, however, that (b) and (c) are lacking in O, which is otherwise more complete than B,² at least argues against their presence in the original MS.

Leaving statement (b), to the effect that the romance was to be followed by another story,² for later consideration, we may confine our attention to (a) and (c) respectively. In (a), then, we find the first problem to be discussed.

¹ See my *Study of the Old French Grail Romance Perlesvaus*. Baltimore, 1902.

² See below, p. 166.

I. THE GLASTONBURY CONNECTIONS AND THE *terminus a quo*

As I have previously shown (*Modern Philology*, I, 255 ff.), the assertion that the *Perlesvaus* was translated from the Latin is secondary to the claim that the original came from "the Isle of Avalon, from a holy house of religion that standeth at the head of the Adventurous Moors, there where King Arthur and Queen Guenevere lie, according to the witness of the worthy religious men who are there." No Latin original has yet been found for any of the Grail works; but under the date of 1191 the *Chronica Majora*¹ and Giraldus Cambrensis² both relate the finding of Arthur's body: the one *apud Glastoniam*, the other *in insula Avallonia, quae nunc autem Glastonia dicitur*; and whereas the former speaks only of the *inclitus rex Arturus*, the latter adds *cum Wennevereia uxore sua secunda*, whose golden hair he cannot forego the pleasure of mentioning. Baist, Lot, Thurneysen, Newell, and Fletcher have all discussed the question of Arthur's tomb in connection with the *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae* of William of Malmesbury, and further details will be noted presently. It is sufficient to state now that among the extravagant claims made by the Glastonbury monks in their struggle for the primacy of their abbey, situated as it was on the borderland of Wales, was that of possessing the remains of Arthur and his queen. The report of this discovery came as the climax of nearly a century of skillfully managed propaganda. It would be interesting to know the extent to which the *Perlesvaus* shared in this movement.

In addition to statement (a), the romance contains the following traces of Glastonbury influence:

1. As in Robert de Boron's *Joseph* 3128 (*Le fil Alein atendera*), the father of the Grail hero is Alain (Chantilly MS); the latter's father, however, is Glais li Gros, who has twelve sons:

Cil qui fu chiés du lignage de par son père ot nom Nichodemus. Glais li gros de la croix des hermites fu peres Alain. Cil Alains ot.ix. freres, mout

¹ See the fundamental article of W. W. Newell, *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XVIII (1903), 505.

² *De princ. instruct.* (Rolls Series, 1891), VIII, 126. For bibliography on the entire question see Newell, *op. cit.*, to which should be added Fletcher, *Harvard Studies and Notes*, X (1906).

bons chevaliers autresint comme il fu. . . . Alains li gros fu li ainez, Gorgalians fu après, Bruns Brandalis fu li tiers, etc.¹

Compare the passage on Glast, the eponymic founder of the abbey, in the *De Antiquitate*, and Lot's discussion (*Romania*, XXVII [1898], 531) on his twelve descendants, erroneously given by William of Malmesbury as his "brothers":

Nomina autem fratrum inferius adnotantur: Ludnerth, Morgen, Catgur, Cathmor Glasteing. Hic est ille Glasteing, qui per mediterraneos Anglos per inviam et aquosam viam sequens, porcellos suos juxta ecclesiam de qua nobis sermo est lactentem sub malo invenit.

And, as Lot points out, in William's source the name is given as Glast, so that the kinship of the two passages is obvious.

2. The introductory episode of the romance (Potvin, pp. 4 ff.) is an edifying account of King Arthur's visit to the Chapel of St. Austin in the White Forest, whence he returns to Cardoil with the fresh resolve to do honor and largess, and to lead an active, chivalric life. Accordingly, Arthur holds a plenary court on St. John's Day at Pannenoisance (Penzance), *qui siet sor la mer de Gales*. At this point the romance proper begins.

This introductory episode (for the details of which see *Modern Philology*, I, 248) recurs as a separate tale, quite apart from any Perceval or Grail story in *Johannis Glastoniensis* (fifteenth century); it is also found—this time with a direct reference to the *Graal*, *le lyvre de le seint vassal* (our romance)—in the verse-portion of *Fulk Fitz-Warin*, a fourteenth-century prose redaction of a French poem, apparently written during the last quarter of the thirteenth century.² The author of this poem is unknown, but he identifies the White Forest with Shropshire, the scene of Fulk's exploits:

Quar chescun de vous deit estre ensur
Qe en le temps le roy Arthur
La Blanche Launde fust appelee
Qe ore est Blauncheville nomee.
Quar en cel pays fust la chapele
De Seynt Austyn

¹ Potvin, *Perceval le Gallois*, I, p. 3.

² See *Fulk Fitz-Warin*, now edited by A. C. Wood (London, 1911), p. ii. Miss Weston (*Romania*, XLIII [1914], 420 ff.) deals with the passage. I am far from following her, however, in her conclusions; they seem to me to go too far. She is mistaken, moreover, in giving me credit for first mentioning the *Perlesvaus* reference in *Fulk*; it had been mentioned by Evans in his translation of the *Perlesvaus* (*High History of the Holy Graal*, II, 290).

Thus, whether or not the introductory episode was part of the Glastonbury records *before* it appeared in the *Perlesvaus*,¹ it obviously was borrowed from a MS of our romance in the thirteenth century by one who was glorifying Fulk, an outlaw knight of Shropshire, a country lying to the north of Glastonbury and bordering on Wales. The fact is singular, if not significant.

3. The *Perlesvaus* records various visits to Avalon (Glastonbury). The most detailed of these is that of Lancelot (Potvin, p. 261):

Il chevauche tant qu'il est venuz . . . à une grant valée où il avoit forest d'une part et d'autre, et duroit la valée .x. granz lyeues galesches. Il esgarde à destre desus la monteigne de la valée et voit une chapele novelement feste, qui mout estoit bele et riche, si estoit couverte de plonc et avoit par derrière .ii. coinz qui sanbloient estre d'or. Dejuste cele chapele, avoit .iii. messons moult richement herbergiées, et estoit chascune par soi et ainz (tenant) [*Hatton* 82: si joignoient] à la chapele. Il avoit mout biau cimetire à la chapele environ, qui clos estoit à la ronde de la forest, et descendoit une fontaine, moult clère, de la hautece de la forest, par devant la chapele, et coroit an la valée par grant ravine; et chascune des messons avoit son vergier, et li vergier son clos. Lancelot oï vespres chanter à la chapele, il vit .i. santier qui cele part tornoit; mès la monteigne estoit si roiste que il n'i pot mie aler à cheval, ainz descendi, si le trest par la rène après lui tant qu'il vint près de la chapele.

Here he meets three hermits, who tell him that the place is Avalon. The chapel is richly decorated in the interior and contains two tombs. When Lancelot asks whose they are, he is told:

Por le roi Artus et por la réine Guenièvre.—Ja n'est mie morz li rois Artus, feit Lanceloz.—Nenil, sire, se Dex plest; mès li cors de la réine gist an cest sarquex devers nos, et an l'autre est li chiés son fill, trèsqu' à icele hore que li rois soit finiz . . . mès la réine dist à la mort que l'an méist le cors dejuste le suen quant il fineroit. De ce avons-nos les lestres et son sèel en ceste chapele, et cest leu fist-ele renoverer an tel manière ançois que ele morust.²

Lancelot prays all night in the chapel, in front of one of the images of Our Lady, and returns the next day to Cardoil.

¹ Baist (*Zeitsch. für roman. Phil.*, XIX, 344) says: "Der vierte Artikel dieser Reihe wird zeigen, wie im letzten Viertel des 12 Jh. in Glastonbury, eine fromme Arthur-geschichte erfabelt ist, welche die Romane, insbesondere den Perceval verwertete, Joseph u. die klostergründenden Eremiten in höchst phantastischer Beziehung zum Arturkreis brachte." This article of Baist was never published, but the implication is clear.

² In the Welsh *Seint Greal*, I, 679, the chapel is on "a small round mountain."

Finally, a visit of Arthur to Guenevere's tomb is briefly described in Potvin (p. 270):

Li rois Artus et misires Gauvains ont tant chevauchié qu'il sont venuz en l'île d'Avalon, là où la roïne gist. . . . Mès vos poez bien dire que li rois ne fust mie joieus, quant il vit le sarquex où la réine gissoit et celui où li chief de son fuiz gissoit; adonc li renovela ses deus, et dist que cest seint leu de cele seinte chapele doit il plus amer que touz les autres de sa terre.

It was, however, Arthur himself who had the "head" of his son, Lohol[it], placed in Avalon (Potvin, p. 222):

* Mes, ainçois que li rois s'an partist, fist-il le chief porter en l'ille de [A]valon, en une chapele qui estoit de Nostre Dame, où il avoit un seint hermite preudome qui mout estoit bien de Nostre Seigneur.

From these accounts it is clear that our author thought of Avalon as situated in a fertile valley surrounded by forests (and by swamps or moors), with a chapel dedicated to the Virgin on a rather steep hill. The chapel can hardly be on the summit, as there is a swift stream that descends in front of it and it is contiguous to three monastic buildings, each of which has its own orchard, while the chapel itself has an adjoining cemetery.¹ The chapel contains the tomb of Guenevere and another containing the head of Loholt and reserved for the king when he shall die. Twice the text refers to its being renovated or rebuilt. A priori, there can be no doubt that the writer had in mind the twelfth-century Glastonbury with its hill or Tor and its well-known Lady-chapel. A glance at the chronicle sources is instructive.

In the certainly authentic part of the *De Antiquitate*, William of Malmesbury tells of the foundation of St. Mary's, locally known as the Old Church, which was rich in relics of the utmost sanctity. Naïvely he accepts the extravagant forgeries as to its antiquity, and speaks (in his *Gesta Regum*, p. 37) of its being *in regno Britanniae* . . . *prima, et fons et origo totius religionis*, leaving no doubt as to what he thought of its primacy in Britain. Various accounts

¹ In *Studies in Philology*, XV, 12, I failed to note that the text does not actually place St. Mary's on the top of the hill but allows one to think that it was on its slope. At least there is no reason for taking the expression *desus la monteigne* in too literal a sense. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. "Glastonbury" says: "The town lies in the midst of orchards and water-meadows, reclaimed from the fens which encircled Glastonbury Tor, a considerable height once an island, but now, with the surrounding flats, a peninsula washed on three sides by the river Brue." An excellent idea of the topography is to be found in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, I (2d engraving).

exist as to its foundation. One of these, at the beginning of the *De Antiquitate* (according to Newell by the hand of an interpolator, about 1191), ascribes the foundation to twelve disciples of the apostle Philip, who apparently under the direction of Joseph of Arimathea came from France to Britain, where they obtained from the king the concession of a swampy and forest-girt island (*silvis, rubis, atque paludibus circumdatam*), known to the natives as Iniswitrin (as the text explains, the Welsh word for Glastonbury or Avalon); after a time, these saints were visited by the angel Gabriel, who admonished them to erect, in a certain spot, a church, which they constructed of boughs and dedicated to the Virgin.¹ On the other hand, in the *Gesta Regum*, pp. 23, 24, William gives an alternative account of the founding of the church by nameless missionaries, sent by Pope Eleutherius to Lucius, king of Britain, although in the same breath William affirms that a "reputable document" assigns the act to the disciples of Christ (i.e., Philip and his followers). In any case, both views were certainly current by 1191 and concur in affirming the sanctity and primacy of St. Mary's; indeed, the *Gesta Regum* adds that the church became a chosen residence for men of letters and religion, "the antiquity of which renown is shown by the fact that Gildas, to whom the Britons owe their credit with foreigners, was attracted to the holiness of the place, where he remained for many years."²

According to the Glastonbury records, however, the bodies of Arthur and Guenevere were not found in St. Mary's but in the cemetery outside. The *De Antiquitate* (pp. 42-44) states:

Quantum vero Glastoniae ecclesia fuerit etiam primatibus patriae venerabilis, ut ibi potissimum sub protectione Dei genetricis operirentur diem resurrectionis, multa sunt indicio quibus pro cautela fastidii, abstineo. Praetermitto de Arturo, inclito rege Britonum, in cimiterio monachorum inter duas pyramides cum sua conjuge tumulato, de multis etiam Britonum principibus.

To be sure, Newell assigns the last sentence of this passage to the "recast" and not to the *De Antiquitate* proper. But since the

¹ Newell, *op. cit.*, p. 466.

² Newell, p. 478. See F. Lot, *Mélanges bretonnes* (Paris, 1907), p. 267, for an account of how the insular *Vita Gildae* (Mommson, *Mon. Germ. Hist.*, XIII, 107-10) by Caradoc of Llancarven connects Gildas' fame with the abbey.

"recast" was made before the year 1200 and probably in the very year of Arthur's supposed disinterment (Newell, p. 510), this fact need not disturb us here. Both the *Chronica Majora*¹ and Giraldus Cambrensis give 1191 as the date of the disinterment. Giraldus, who writes as an eyewitness (*De princ. instruct.*, VIII, 126), has the more interesting account:

Arthuri quoque Britonum regis inclyti memoria est non supprimenda, quem monasterii Glastoniensis egregii, cujus et ipse patronus suis diebus fuerat praecipuus et largitor ac sublevator magnificus, historiae multum extollunt. Prae cunctis enim ecclesiis regni sui sanctae Dei genetricis Mariae Glastoniensem ecclesiam plus dilexit et prae caeteris longe majori devotione promovit. . . . Hujus autem corpus, quod quasi phantasticum in fine . . . his nostris diebus apud Glastoniam inter lapideas pyramides duas, in coemiterio sacro quondam erectas, profundius in terra quercu concava reconditum, et signatum miris indiciis et quasi miraculosis, est inventum, et in ecclesiam cum honore translatum marmoreoque decenter tumulo commendatum. Unde et crux plumbea lapide supposito, non superius ut [nostris] solet diebus, [sed] inferiori potius ex parte infixas, quam nos quoque vidimus, namque tractavimus litteras has insculptas et non eminentes et exstantes, sed magis interius ad lapidem versas continebat: "Hic jacet sepultus rex Arthurus cum Wenneuereia vxore sua secunda in insula Aualonia."

Giraldus makes the further statement that the find came as the result of a long search on the part of Abbot Henry, who was guided by documents, by semi-legible letters on the two pyramids, and by the vision of monks. How came it that the author of *Perlesvaus*, so close to this account in other respects, omits the disinterment story? The question is not hard to answer.

In the twelfth century, Glastonbury possessed three churches: that of St. Mary, the oldest; that of the apostles Peter and Paul, which was much larger; and that of St. Michael de Torre, a dependent church, which stood on the Tor, outside of Glastonbury proper. In 1184 a terrible fire destroyed all the buildings of the monastery, except a camera and a bell tower. Henry II intrusted the task of reconstruction to his chamberlain Radulf. The Church of St. Mary, with its venerable tradition, was rebuilt first in its former position and dimensions, but was now connected with the larger church in the manner of a Lady-chapel. It was rededicated in 1186.

¹ Cf. Newell, p. 505, note.

Owing to lack of funds, however, the larger church was not finished; in fact, it remained incomplete until the fourteenth century.¹ If, therefore, St. Mary's was the Glastonbury church *par excellence* before the fire, such was now the case more than ever; and the reference to it in the *Perlesvaus* as a Lady-chapel tallies with the situation after the fire and not before it (*si joignoient à la chapele*). Further, since Arthur had to be kept alive for the purpose of the romance, the author contented himself with the account of Guenevere's death and the mention of the tombs in the Lady-chapel, which the text says was lately renovated (*renoveler*). This, it is true, renders the work unique among Grail stories in that it sacrifices the continuation of Lancelot's intrigue with the queen, but since a sacrifice in the interests of Glastonbury was necessary, the death of Guenevere was the best to make, especially as it conformed to the ecclesiastical character of the work in general. Incidentally let it be said that thus is removed the objection commonly brought against the early dating of the *Perlesvaus* on the ground that the death of Guenevere in the course of the story contradicts the Grail-Lancelot cycle; for, if my view be correct, the Grail-Lancelot cycle did not yet exist. Finally, Giraldus' statement, *prae cunctis enim ecclesiis regni sui sanctae Dei genetricis Mariae Glastoniensem ecclesiam plus dilexit*, finds its echo in our author's remark that Arthur loved this place and this church *plus que touz les autres de sa terre*.

4. The *Perlesvaus* again and again refers to the scribe or recorder of the Latin original as Josephus. *Josephus le mist an remembrance*, says the first paragraph, *par l'anoncion de la voiz d'un ange, por ce que la vérité fust seue par son escript de bons chevaliers et de bons preudesommes*. Potvin (p. 2) reads: *Josephus nos raconte ceste seinte estoire*; and at the close of the last branch: *Joseph[us] par cui il est an remembrance done la beneicon Nostre Seingnor a toz cex qui l'entendent et l'honorent*. He is known as *le bon clerc* and *le bon hermite* (Potvin, p. 79), and it was he who celebrated the first mass (Potvin, p. 113). Who can this person be? Heinzel (*Französische Gralromane*, p. 107) suggests that it is no other than Josephus Flavius, the Jewish historian. "Die Auffassung des Josephus Flavius,"

¹ Newell, p. 464; Goodall, *Guide to Glastonbury* (5th ed.), p. 64, says that the churches were united by forming a "galilee."

he says, "als christlicher Priester wurde ausser durch seine Gelehrsamkeit vielleicht noch dadurch befördert, dass nach der Meinung der Jacobiten und überhaupt der Syrier der Priester Caiphas sich nachmals bekehrt und unter den Namen Josephus (Flavius), wie er schon früher hiess, die bekannten Werke geschrieben habe." What makes this hypothesis extremely plausible is the fact that for the passage on the apostle Philip, cited above, the *De Antiquitate*¹ refers us to Freulf: *ut testatur Freulfus, libro secundo, capitulo iiii.* According to a catalogue of the year 1247,² Glastonbury Abbey possessed two MSS of Freulf, bishop of Lisieux (822); and Freulf, in the chapter cited and the chapters that follow it, adduces the authority of Josephus Flavius, whom he calls by the single name of Josephus.³ Supposing that the author of the earliest redaction of the *Perlesvaus* was associated with Glastonbury, the choice of Josephus as sponsor for his work could easily have been inspired by Freulf, inasmuch as Freulf was mentioned as authoritative in the standard work on the antiquity of the abbey.

In the light of these facts, we are justified in accepting the view of Baist, expressed in 1892 and in 1895 (though without the evidence), that the *Perlesvaus* was composed in the interest of Glastonbury Abbey. Further, it is certain that the work was not composed until 1191 and probably within a reasonable time after this date, inasmuch as the text dwells on the presence of Guenevere's and Arthur's tombs within the Lady-chapel, *novelement feste (cest leu fist-ele renoveler)*—a phrase which can only refer to an event still fresh in the minds of contemporaries. The obvious religious purpose of the romance,⁴ its conception of the Grail as a relic of the cruci-

¹ Newell, p. 471.

² *Johannis Glastoniensis* (Ed. Hearne), p. 434; cf. Lot, *Romania*, XXVII, 542.

³ Cf. Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CVI, 1140 ff.

⁴ I have enumerated most of these in my *Study of the Perlesvaus*, pp. 43-48. Pending the publication of the Hatton MS, with critical notes, I may here add the following details.

The slaying of Arthur's squire, Chaos, by invisible hands, should be compared to Pseudo-Wauchier, vss. 19810 ff., and especially to the *Huth Merlin*, I, 275, this being a common induction motive; see A. C. L. Brown, "The Bleeding Lance," *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXV (1910), 43. The Black Knight whom the king vanquishes carries a burning lance, the flame of which can only be quenched in blood, and the king's own wound must be cured with the Black Knight's blood. This is a clear parallel to the two stories treated by Brown and to the healing of Pelles in the *Demanda* (Brown, p. 48), though in our text Arthur is not wounded *letaliter* as in Geoffrey. As Brown has pointed out, the Irish Luin of Celtchar was such a burning weapon. That the candlestick

fixion,¹ the monastic arrangements it describes,² the topography of the story—with Wales, Pannenoisance and Tintagel in the foreground—the prominence given to Loholt (Welsh Llacheu), son of

which is the original reason for the Black Knight's dispute has ritualistic significance is altogether probable (cf. Peebles, *The Legend of Longinus*, p. 67, and Weston, *Romania*, XLIII [1914], 408); Arthur presents the candlestick to the newly founded Church of St. Paul in London.

At the Chapel of St. Austin [Augustine] Arthur is urged to *esfacier la mauvaise loi et essaucier la loi qui est renouvelée par le crucefiement du seint prophete*. This gives the keynote to the entire work and explains its proselyting character; whence it is eminently fitted to serve as an exhortation to a crusader like Jean de Nesle (see below). This spirit is apparent also in Arthur's visit to the Grail (Potvin, p. 250). Here the King is welcomed by Perceval and is instructed concerning the "chalice" and the "bell," which the text says were previously unknown in Britain. The "bell" is explained as a gift brought from the *terra repromissionis* by priests who bear the name of Gregory. Thus by a series of hints Gregory, St. Augustine, and St. Paul's in London are linked up with Arthur and Glastonbury, and the British conversion story is made complete.

Although the Lance is inferentially that of Longinus (whose name does not occur, Potvin, p. 2), and the Grail sword is identified with that with which St. John was beheaded, it is all the more noteworthy that the Grail itself is not yet the cup of the Last Supper, as in Robert de Boron, nor does Joseph himself come to Glastonbury.

Inferentially, again, Perceval descends on the maternal side from Joseph's sister, since Perceval is the sister's son of the Fisher-King. On the paternal side he descends from Nicodemus, the ancestor of Glais and Alain (see my *Study*, p. 110). One detail in this connection requires correction: *Je vi le Graal, feït li mestres, avant que li Rois Peschières Joseph, qui ces onques fu, receulli le sanc Jessu-Christ*, was misinterpreted by Heinzel and myself to mean that Joseph was already called the "Fisher-King." The passage, correctly interpreted by Evans (see also the other MSS and Miss Weston, *op. cit.*, p. 411), should read: *Je vi le Graal, feït li mestres, avant que le roi Pescheur. * Joseph, qui ses oncles fu, recueilli le sanc Jhesu-Christ*. The Grail lineage is matriarchal (*Modern Philology*, IX [1912], 291).

Lastly, an excellent example of the Christianizing spirit is the sealed heads which the Damsel of the Car carries about (Potvin, p. 27); cf. Rev. 7:3: "till we have sealed the servants of our God on their foreheads. And I heard the number of them which were sealed, a hundred and forty thousand, sealed out of every tribe of Israel."

¹ See my *Study*, p. 36. MS B.N.f. 120 begins the *Perlesvaus* section with a miniature of the crucifixion. As Heinzel correctly states (*op. cit.*, 179): "Er [der Gral] erhält Beziehung zum Messopfer, zur Transsubstantiation, der Dreieinigkeit, als etwas dem Kelch mit Wein Aehnliches ja sogar—zum Theil—als etwas demselben Gleichwertiges, wenn auch nicht Gleiches . . . dadurch wird er auch mit der Hostie verbunden, zu der er schlecht passt." "Was die Grallitteratur anlangt, so hat der Gedanke besonders den Verfasser des *Perlesvaus* beschäftigt" (p. 103). This point is missed by Miss Fisher in her *Mystic Vision in the Grail Legend* (New York, 1917)—though she is quite right in claiming that metonymy was practiced by contemporary theologians; cf. Baldwin of Canterbury, *Liber de sacramento altaris* (Migne, CCIV, 772): "Continens pro contento, calix pro sanguine, quia in calice sanguis. Calix in Scriptura pluribus modis accipitur." A careful reading of the *Perlesvaus* would have shown Miss Fisher (p. 78) that the eucharistic miracle of the Christ of St. Gregory is primarily made use of by our author, the *Grand*

² Heinzel (172) is again right in connecting our romance with the *Peregrinatio sancti Brandani abbatis*, ed. Schröder, pp. 14 ff.; cf. Zimmer, "Brendans Meerfahrt" in the *Zeitsch. für deut. Alt.*, XXXIII (1889). Potvin, p. 250 mentions the *terre de promission* (*terra repromissionis*) which the Brendan makes so much of; cf. Schröder, pp. 4, 6, 35, 36, also 27 where Brendan finds the *calicem in genere conopei et patenam de colore columpne*. See also Nutt, *Studies in the Legend of the Holy Grail*, p. 264.

Arthur,¹ etc., are features that fit in admirably with this conclusion.

But it does not necessarily follow that the first redaction, if there existed a "first" redaction, was in Latin, as our text says and as Baist (*Prorektoratsrede*, p. 15) maintains:

Wir besitzen jene Erzählung, welche die Gattung der christlich-mythischen Ritterromane inauguriert, nicht mehr in ihrer ersten lateinischen Gestalt, sondern nur in einer schlechten altfranzösischen Prosaübersetzung, deren Überlieferungsfehler wesentlich die Schuld daran tragen, dass man die Bedeutung von Glastonbury für die Fortbildung der Gralmaterie verkannt hat. Auf Grund jenes lateinischen Romans unternahm gegen 1200 ein Anglo-normanne Robert von Boron eine neue Graldichtung.

It is true that the romance speaks consistently of Joseph of Arimathea as "*Joseph d'Abarimacie*," a form clearly modeled on the Latin *ab Arimathia*; cf. the *De Antiquitate*:

carissimum amicum suum Joseph ab Arimathia.

St. Graal and the *Queste* following in his wake. Compare Potvin, pp. 87-89, where Gauvain first has visions of a chalice in the Grail, *dont il ni iert geires a icest tens*, then of the figure of a child, and finally of a king nailed to the cross. Similarly, at the Chapel of St. Austin Arthur sees the Virgin offer a child to the hermit celebrating the mass; the passage in *Johannis Glastoniensis* (I, 79) being but another version of this episode (*Modern Philology*, I, 248): "sacerdos vero eum collocavit super corporale, juxta calicem. Cum autem prevenisset ad immolationem hostiae, id est, ad verba Dominica, *Hoc est enim corpus meum*, elevavit puerum in manibus suis." Lastly, when Arthur (Potvin, p. 173) is at the island of the monks he beholds the Grail at mass in five different forms, the last of which is as a chalice. It is obvious that without actually identifying Grail and chalice, the author of our romance wished to suggest that the British acquired the use of the chalice from Arthur's vision of it in the Grail since the text remarks: "the *estoire* saith not that there were no chalices elsewhere, but that in all Great Britain and in the whole kingdom was none. Arthur was right glad of this that he had seen, and had in remembrance the name and the fashion of the most holy chalice."

Among the contemporaries of our author, the Chronicle of Robert of Torigni (Rolls Series, 1889), begun by Robertus de Monte Michaelis (to give him his real name) and continued by others down to the reign of King John, gives various examples of St. Gregory's miracle under the entry of 1181-1182. Robert records the miracle for Chartres, Angers, and Fécamp: "Hoc etiam accidit quidam sanctissimo presbytero juxta Fiscanum, dum canteret missam in die dedicationis ecclesiae Sanctae Trinitatis Fiscanni." On Fécamp and its Holy Blood legend, see Miss Weston, *Legend of Sir Perceval*, I, 155 ff., and II, 268 ff. Miss Weston, it may be said incidentally, is correct in saying that "the two abbeys [Fécamp and Glastonbury], both Benedictine foundations, enjoyed the patronage of the same princes" and were otherwise related. Nevertheless, she has hardly proved that "the (Grail) story which in its original form (now practically lost) was developed at Fescamp, was later worked over in the interests of Glastonbury." This statement, in my judgment, is mainly assumption. On the other hand, what brought the Grail into relation with Glastonbury was (1) the accounts of the tomb of King Arthur, and (2) the founding of St. Mary's as related in the *De Antiquitate* (Newell, p. 466) by the twelve disciples of Philip, though, as Newell (p. 468) shows, the *De Antiquitate* nowhere states that Joseph himself came to Glastonbury—this being another point of agreement with the *Perlesvaus* which Miss Weston (II, 269) fails to observe.

¹ The *Perlesvaus* also mentions Cardoll. E. Freymond, *Zeitsch. für französ. Sprache und Litt.*, XVII (1895), 12, shows that the author of the *Livre d'Artus* (B.N.f. 337) apparently knew the story of Loholt's death and Kay's treachery from our romance (Potvin, pp. 169 and 219).

Moreover, Suchier—whose view that Robert de Boron was an Anglo-Norman¹ Baist is repeating—was of the opinion that the *vaus d'Avaron* (compare the *grant vallée* in the *Perlesvaus*) in Robert came from a Latin source: "Verfasser eines verlorenen lateinischen Gralbuches." Furthermore, we might expect a Glastonbury monk to use Latin rather than French: the *De Ortu Walwani* and the *Vita Meriadoci*, by Robert de Torigni, are examples of twelfth-century Arthurian stories in Latin by a monk of Mont St. Michel, and unimportant as they are for the main Arthurian tradition, one of them (the first) is closely related to the account of Gauvain's birth given in our text.² It is also noteworthy that the revised *De Antiquitate* uses the phrase: *legitur in gestis illustrissimi regis Arthuri*, which Baist (*Zeitsch. für roman. Phil.*, XIX, 340) has compared to the *testatur liber de gestis incliti regis Arthuri* found in *Johannis Glastoniensis*,³ and, above all, that the initial episode of Arthur and the chapel is recounted by *Johannis Glastoniensis* in Latin as a distinct story, without any reference to St. Austin or Perceval or the Grail; the probability thus being that *Johannis* used a variant of this episode that is antecedent to the form found in our romance.⁴

On the other hand, to affirm that the original *Perlesvaus* was French is not to affirm that the author did not use Latin sources;

¹ *Zeitsch. für roman. Phil.*, XVI, 270, and *Französische Literaturgeschichte*, p. 132. As Foerster, *Wörterbuch*, p. 168,* points out, the rimes of Robert's *Joseph* reveal a curious language mixture. At the same time, Foerster admits that the numerous *é:ie* rimes are striking, "die wir in solcher Häufigkeit nur in England kennen, so dass wir unwillkürlich an England denken, um so mehr, als die Gralgeschichte sich in England abwickelt und der Gral von Jerusalem nach England gekommen sein muss." Newell (*op. cit.*, p. 511) thinks that Robert's poem "may exhibit the influence of the revised edition" of the *De Antiquitate*; certainly Newell is right in thinking that the expression *vaus d'Avaron*, the low-lying and desolate district in the West, "can apply only to Glastonbury." Brugger, *Zeitsch. für französ. Sprache und Litt.*, XXIX, p. 71, believes that for the "early history" of the Grail Robert had a Glastonbury source: "Es war eine vermuthlich von den Mönchen von Glastonbury erfundene oder wenigstens von denselben ausgebeutete christliche Legende, wahrscheinlich ursprünglich in lateinischer Prosa abgefasst (Robert mag sich aber einer französischen Übersetzung bedient haben)." Apparently this would be the *grant livre* to which Robert refers (vs. 932). Heinzel (p. 86), far more prudent, says: "Dass er [Robert] von einem Werke weiss und es nicht kennt, kann gewiss wahr sein."

² Cf. Margaret Shove Morris, *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXIII (1908), 634, who makes it extremely probable that the *Perlesvaus* is here indebted directly to the *De Ortu Walwani*.

³ Hearne's edition (Oxford, 1726), pp. 55 ff.

⁴ Hearne, pp. 77 ff.; see my article in *Modern Philology*, I, 2 ff. I give the text below.

he obviously did. The *Perlesvaus* is not the only Grail work to claim a Latin original. The so-called *Grand St. Graal* claims to be a translation *de latin en franchois, après celui hermite à qui nostres sires le livra premierement* (Hucher III, p. 102). Yet the monk Helinand, who studied at Beauvais, and who wrote before 1216,¹ says:

hanc historiam latine scriptam invenire non potui,

and he then proceeds to remark that there is much on the subject written in French. It is strange, to say the least, that if the Grail works had existed in a Latin form no remnants from the Latin should have been accessible in Helinand's day. There is no evidence that the *gesta regis Arturi* of the *De Antiquitate* referred to the Grail; nor need it have been in Latin (cf. Gaston Paris, *Hist. litt.*, XXX, 200, who considered it Anglo-Norman). To be sure, *Johannis Glastoniensis* says:

Joseph ab Armathia [*sic*], nobilem decurionem, cum filio suo, Josephes dicto, & aliis pluribus, in Majorem Britanniam, quae nunc Anglia dicta est, venisse, & ibidem vitam finisse, testatur *liber de gestis incliti regis Arthuri*;

but from this and subsequent remarks of *Johannis* it is obvious that the text referred to a form of the Graal-Lancelot cycle and not to a *Perlesvaus*.² Finally, the version of the Arthur and chapel episode which *Johannis* quotes³ has all the earmarks of a *local* Glastonbury legend which could not have been derived by *Johannis* from any form of the *Perlesvaus* whether Latin or French. In proof of which fact the following details are sufficient: Arthur, who is sojourning at a nunnery in *Wirale* (that is, Weary-All-Hill in Glastonbury) has a vision in which an angel urges him to go to a hermitage of Mary Magdalen *de Bekeri* (that is, the Island of Beckery at Glastonbury).

¹ Cf. J. D. Bruce, *Romanic Review*, III (1912), 188.

² See *Modern Philology*, I (1903), 248, note; also *Johannis Glastoniensis*, p. 55.

³ See Appendix, below, for the text of *Johannis*. The version of the Grail story cited by Miss Weston from the *Sone de Nansay* in *Romania*, XLIII (1914), 403 ff., seems to me a composite version in which the *Perlesvaus* was used (cf. Weston, p. 411) together with other sources, including Crestien. The *Sone* is a typical *roman d'aventure* with borrowings from Arthurian romances. Miss Weston's conclusion that the original of the *Sone* version of the Grail story was identical with the source of Gerbert's Continuation, which source in turn was identical with Crestien's *livre*, i.e., Count Philip's book, confuses rather than clarifies the problem. Bruce (*Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XV [1909], 336) calls attention to a resemblance between the *Sone de Nansay* and the *Vita Meriadoci* of Robert of Torigni; see also Foerster, *Charrete*, pp. xlix ff.

Then follows the well-known adventure of the squire and the gift of the candlestick that he has stolen to Westminster Abbey (in the *Perlesvaus*, to St. Paul's in London). This results in Arthur's going alone. When he reaches the chapel there is great conflict within. As soon as this subsides he enters and the miracle of St. Gregory takes place. Before he leaves the Virgin gives him a crystal cross, which is still preserved in Glastonbury. Arthur then resolves to amend his ways and always to believe in the holy sacrament. In honor of the Virgin and the crystal cross he changes the emblems on his armor. Obviously, Johannis and the author of the *Perlesvaus* derived this story from a common source. This common source the author of the *Perlesvaus* connected with the conversion of the British by St. Augustine (hence the Chapel of St. Austin) and with the Grail legend (hence the damsel who informs Arthur of Perceval's failure, according to Crestien).

Thus, it seems to me clear that while the extant *Perlesvaus* contains unmistakable evidence of a direct Glastonbury influence, and although it is possible to narrow this influence down to a period not too long after 1191, when the Glastonbury propaganda was at its height, yet there is no compelling reason for supposing that the romance once existed as such in an earlier Latin form. The assumption of a Latin original, in which, according to Baist, Crestien's *Perceval* was incorporated, and from which, according to Suchier, Robert de Boron derived material for his *Joseph*, is a convenient hypothesis, but for the present it seems wise to regard it as little more.¹ We may be certain that the romance drew in part on Latin sources, but that it originally had a Latin form we may seriously doubt. The demands of the case are amply satisfied by referring the expression *Li latins de coi cist estoires just traite an romanz* to Glastonbury records about Arthur as preserved in chronicle sources.

So, too, it is impossible to say whether or not the *Perlesvaus* was composed in Glastonbury itself. It is not improbable that it was written in England by one close to the Welsh border—the topography of the story and the borrowing in *Fulk Fitz Warin*

¹ Robert de Boron may have got his hint from the *De Antiquitate*, as Newell suggests. Possibilities are plentiful. In Higden, *Polychronicon* v. 332, Arthur is said to be buried *in valle Avalloniae juxta Glastoniam*; cf. Robert's *vaus d'Avaron*.

would indicate as much.¹ Yet the validity of such an inference will depend ultimately on what an extensive test of the language of the MSS will reveal. Certainly none of the extant MSS antedate the middle of the thirteenth century; at the same time, MS B is surely not the original as it lacks part of an episode which is complete in O and P.² The *Chevalier as Deus Espees*, vs. 2604 mentions:

Et Perceval le fil Alain,
Le gros Desuaus de Kamelot,

which manifestly should read:

Et Perceval le fil Alain
Le Gros, des Vaus de Kamelot,

for this is a specific reference to our work (Potvin, p. 19). As the *Chevalier as Deus Espees* was composed before 1250, the *Perlesvaus* is certainly earlier.³ Besides, the end of the twelfth century is a priori a more likely date for it than the middle of the thirteenth. But this brings us to the second part of our inquiry: the problem involved in statement (c) of the Brussels text.

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[To be continued]

¹ The cannibalistic traits of King Gurgalain, from whom Gawain procured the sword of St. John (Potvin, p. 75) recall vividly the Gwrgi Garlwyd of the Welsh *Triads*; cf. Loth, *Mabinogion*, II, 233, 288: Trois traîtres dans l'âme, qui furent cause que les Saxons enlevèrent la couronne de l'île de Prydein aux Cymri. L'un fut Gwrgi Garlwyd, qui, après avoir goûté de la chair humaine à la cour d'Edelfflet, roi des Saxons, en devint si friand qu'il ne mangea plus d'autre viande; c'est pourquoi il s'allia, lui et ses hommes, avec Edelffled, roi des Saxons. Il faisait de continuelles incursions chez les Cymri et enlevait autant de jeunes gens mâles et femelles qu'il en pouvait manger chaque jour. See also Rhys, *Arthurian Legend*, pp. 73 and 121; also Kittredge, "Arthur and Gorlagon" (*Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII, 203) and my articles in *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXIV (1909), 408, and *Mod. Lang. Notes* (1910).

² On the portion missing from B see my *Study*.

³ Foerster's edition, p. lxi.

TWO ARABIC WORDS IN THE *ROMANCERO*

1. ALCARIA

In the "Romance del rey Marsín" (fifteenth century) a Moor, addressing angrily his fellow-combatants who are fleeing before the French, exclaims:

Alcaria, moros, alcaria—si mala rabia vos mate,
que sois ciento para uno—irles fuyendo delante;
¡oh mal haya el rey Marsín—que soldada os manda dare;
mal haya la reina mora—que vos la manda pagare;
mal hayáis vosotros, moros,—que la venís á ganare!

Professor Griswold Morley, in his *Spanish Ballads*, lists the word *alcaria* in the glossary with a question mark. This seems to be the only occurrence of the word in the *Romancero*.

Taking the context and the repeated *mal haya* as a basis, it would seem plausible to trace the word to a term in Arabic, which would fit the tone of the exclamation and the situation.

At first, the word *al-karīha* ('adversity' or 'peril in war,' from the root *kariha* 'to despise') suggested itself to me as a possible etymon, as it would combine both the idea of disgust at the cowardly attitude of the fleeing Moors and the warning at the impending danger. In discussing the matter with Professor M. Sprengling, however, he suggested *al-qārī'a*, which undoubtedly fits the situation much better. The word is found repeated, in an exclamatory form, three times in succession at the head of a well-known chapter of the Qor'ān (Sūra CIII), which the majority of the Muslims know by heart and often allude to, especially when uttering maledictions against Satan. The general meaning is 'blow,' 'misfortune,' but in its Qoranic application it means 'the final retribution' (i.e., the day of Judgment). As the Moor is speaking of retribution, further on in his harangue, it would seem quite plausible that he should quote the Qoranic *al-qārī'a* to spur his men on.

This etymon is also quite satisfactory from the phonetic point of view; cf. mod. Sp. *alcaria* and *alquería* (V. Covarrubias s.v. *alcarria*), derived from the Arabic *al-qarya* 'village.'

2. ALFÉREZ

In the "Romance de Fajardo" (end of the fifteenth century), the Moorish king is expressing great joy at a good move he had made:

jaque le dió con el roque,—el alférez le prendía.

Juan de Timoneda, in "Rosa española" (1573), corrected this to read *el orfil que le prendía* (*orfil*, mod. *alfil* = 'bishop'). It seems that he was not familiar with the game of chess and knew no Arabic names of the pieces used in it, except *orfil*. His correction is, in any case, quite out of place.

Two interpretations could be attached to the word as a chess term. The first and the most obvious one is that of 'knight' (literally 'horse,' Arab. *al-faras*). In O.Sp. there appears to have existed a confusion between *al-faras* 'horse' and *al-fāris* 'horseman,' 'standard-bearer,' and we find the word spelled both *alférez* and *alfaraz*, in addition to *alfiérez*, *alfierse* (*Poema de Alfonso Onceno*, 1760), *alfierze* (*Libro de Alexandre*, 593), *alfrez*, *alfres*, and *alferce*.

The second interpretation, which would suggest itself by the jubilant attitude of the Moor, is that in this case 'queen' (Arab. *al-ferza*) is meant. Eguilaz (*Glosario*, 166) points out that the names *alferza* and *alférez*, as chess terms, were frequently confused. Chess players will agree with me that in the end-game one can always hope to make a draw, even when a piece down, but hardly so when the opponent captures the queen. The classic Arabic word for queen is *al-firzān* (from the Persian *firzīn*), but in the colloquial Arabic only *al-ferz* or *al-ferza* are used, as are *al-faras* for knight and *al-fil* for bishop, as the writer knows from personal experience when playing the royal game with the 'ulemā of Al-Azhar mosque in Cairo.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A Study of the Writings of D. Mariano José de Larra, 1809-1837.

By ELIZABETH MCGUIRE. University of California Publications in Modern Philology, VII, 2. Pp. 87+130.

This study will serve excellently as an introduction for those beginning acquaintance with Larra. Those familiar with his writings will find in it little that is new. The author attempts a critical estimate of Larra as a writer, backing her judgments with copious quotation from his works. She has obviously been unable to consult certain important sources. Her most original contribution is that section of the work dealing with the French originals of many of Larra's plays. With regard to the question as to which of the three, Larra, Mesonero, or Estébanez Calderón, was first in the field as a *costumbrista*, Miss McGuire appears to accept the judgments of Cánovas del Castillo. This controversy should never have arisen, for Mesonero with *Mis ratos perdidos* clearly was many years in advance of his two rivals in this *genre*. That Mesonero was influenced by Jouy is evident from the most cursory reading of the former's writings. His many allusions to the French author suggest that he had no intent to conceal this indebtedness.

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F. D'Ovidio e W. Meyer-Lübke, Grammatica storica della lingua e dei dialetti italiani, tradotta per cura di E. POLCARI. Milano: Hoepli, 1919. Pp. 303. L. 6.50.

Gröber's *Grundriss* has long been appreciated as a work of great value for persons interested in Romanic philology. By translating into Italian the portion dealing with literary Italian and the various dialects of Italy, Polcari has helped in spreading a knowledge of linguistic matters among those who might not otherwise make any use of the *Grundriss*. This second edition differs from the first mainly in regard to the bibliographic notes. It is to be regretted that the text was not carefully revised; what is worth doing is worth doing well. It was reasonable to present the first edition as a simple translation, made from the newly revised German text. But nothing can justify leaving the book almost unchanged, as if Romanic philology had not progressed in the last twelve years. I will mention some details that might be improved.

P. 2: written *j* is said to be unknown initially; but *jeri* is given as a variant of *ieri* on p. 10. P. 3: *j* is said to be named *i longa*. P. 4: Italian is said to admit eye-rimes only where written *e* or *o* is involved; but from 169]

p. 6 we learn that they may also be hidden under the ambiguity of written *s* or *z*. P. 5: if the translator understands *la nasale indeterminata*, he should reveal the secret; otherwise he ought to leave out the remarks about it. It is absurd to speak of *r* as being *gutturale*, *come nel francese e nel tedesco*: French and German students should be warned against using the so-called guttural (velar) *r* in Italian. The use of a dotted or tailed *z*, in teaching Italian to natives, is better than the bare orthography, but *ts* and *dz* should be used in systematic transcriptions. With regard to the sounds, it is unreasonable to say that the occlusive and fricative elements are simultaneous (p. 6). P. 9, bottom: *hj* is a mistake for *kj*. P. 11: *deño* should be changed to *deñño*, and *dennji* to *deññi*. P. 13: is there any sound of *j* in *ciò* and *già*? P. 20: two commas, not five, are needed in *e tu, a te, da Roma*. P. 21: in the transcriptions stress should be marked systematically. P. 27: *Skizzen lebender Sprachen* is the name of a series; the title of Panconcelli-Calzia's work is needed (*Italiano nelle S. l. S. del Viëtor*). P. 31: *pio* belongs in § 15, with *pria* and *via*. P. 37: indirect *i* (through *e*) in *ciglio*, *lingua*, *tinca*, is implied by *o* in *moglie* and *tronco*. P. 38: *camicia* is normal, not bookish, early *š* having the same closing effect as *ñ* in the derivative of *tinea*. P. 41: Tuscan stressless *e* is regularly close, so that *nevicare* does not explain the change of *nève* to *nève*, *nieve*; the latter came from the influence of *lève*, *lieve*. P. 44: contact with a following *j* changed open *i* to close *i*, but did not generally affect close *e*. Dialectal *dito-deta* could have come from inflections of the type *sikko-sikki* (with harmonic closure) beside *sekka-sekke*; in southern Italy there is a widespread change of close *e* to *i*. Otherwise the derivatives of *digitus* indicate the relative chronology of *pera* < *pira* and **rejes* < *rēgēs*. Where the *e* of *pera* was developed earlier than the *j* of **rejes*, **déjeto* kept *é*. Where *j* < *g* was earlier than stressed *e* < *i*, it produced *dito* < **dijeto*. P. 45: dissimilation cannot reasonably be assumed for *freddo*. In Hispanic, where *flaccidus* produced **ricidus* we find a normal treatment of *frigidus*; in Italy and France it adopted the stressed vowel of *rigidus*. P. 46: *carena* was borrowed from early Genoese **karēna* or **kareṇna*. P. 50: the short *e* of *-endo* (beside *-ēre*) was developed by checking, as in *uēntus* < **wēntos*, rather than by the influence of *-endo* (*-ēre*). P. 51: the open *e* of *spero* may have come from *spem*. Stressless **deet* (afterward re-stressed) was formed from *dēbet* so early that the *e* necessarily became short and open; the re-stressed *è* has replaced historic *é* in *deve*. P. 52: the *i* of *biscia* came from *uīpera*. P. 33: in the derivative of *dirigere*, contact with *j* produced close *i*, which was extended to *diritto*. P. 56: a re-stressing of weak forms explains *bene*, *era*, *sei*; there is no reason for thinking that *sei* came from *siei*. P. 60: Sicilian *ntinna* and Tuscan *anténna* show that the Latin word had long *e*. P. 61: the influence of *mulier* caused a stress-change in **mulière*; the derivatives prove that *i* kept its stress in **parite*. The loss of *pariēs* allowed *parietem* to be treated normally, in accord with *altra* < *altera*. P. 63: it is absurd to

put *iuncus* under *ū* and then say in a foot note that it had *ū*. P. 64: Latin *lucta* had short *u*; the early fronting of *χ* produced close *u* in most of the western derivatives.¹ P. 67: *lupo* is (like French *loup* and Latin *lupus*) a dialectal form. In central and northern Italy, vowel-harmony changed **lōpi* or **lōbi* to *lupi*, **lubi*. "Rimane *u* in iato" is a misleading statement; open *u* has become close. P. 68: I think *unqua* and *-unque* are bookish, beside normal *tronco*, although harmonic changes of stressed vowels are found in some of the Tuscan dialects and may have left traces in literary Italian. Genoese *fonzo* (*funzu*) has analogic *z* from normal *fonzi* < *fungi*; likewise Tuscan *fungo* has borrowed *u* from the derivative of *fungi*. We may assume changes in the following order: (1) *ñ* for the *η* of *fungi*, (2) *ó* for the *ù* of *gula*, *truncus*, *uncia*, (3) *ñ* for the *η* of **óhkea* or **óhka*. The *u* of *unghia* probably shows that the *ηg* of **úηgla* was palatalized enough to modify open *u*; dialectal *onghia* indicates either a lack of such palatalization or a later development (after **úηgla* became **óηgla*). Thus *ungo* is analogic, like *fungo*, and dialectal *ongere* is presumably analogic, based on the normal derivative of Latin *ungo*. Latin had *ū* in analogic *unctus* and *ū* in normal **ūntus* (parallel with *ī* in *quīntus*), so that *unto* may be both analogic and normal. From *pugno* and *vergogna* it is clear that *o* in *gola* was developed earlier than *ññ* from *ndi*, but later than *ññ* from *ηn* (written *gn*). Open *u* was subject to *ñ*-influence, while close *o* was not. P. 69: *fugge* developed normal *ú* from *ù* by contact with *j*. *Perugia* and *Peroscia* belong to different dialects: in one the *o* of *gola* was formed later than *š*, in the other one earlier. P. 70: Sardinian dialects vary between *u*-forms and *o*-forms, in equivalents of the suffix *-occhio*, showing that the Latin *ū* was sometimes changed to *ø*. The *o* came from the influence of *oculus*. If the *o* of **eskòtere* did not come from **estorkere*, we may assume a compromise between *excutere* and *quatere*. P. 72: the *o* of *cognitus* was short. P. 74: the *ø* of Germanic 'knot' is represented in Milanese *næt*, Parmese *næd*, Tuscan *nòdo*. The *u* of *cruna* may have come from Genoese, where *u* < *ō* is normal. In the derivatives of **towetos* (and of **lowetos*) the loss of *e* produced *ou*, which normally became *ū*; the change of *e* to *o* gave *ō*, with *w* lost between similar vowels as in *uīta* < **uīwītā*. P. 75: *oriuolo* was developed through **orojòlo*, not **horgiolo*; and *ariento* came from a form with a vowel between *r* and *g*. P. 83: it is unreasonable to question *bue* < **buoe* after admitting *mio* < **mieo*. There is no ground for assuming a long *o* in **boe*; the inflection of *bōs*-**boe* was modeled on *sūs*-*sue*. The *u* of *spugna* comes from some southern dialect having normal *u* for close *o*, probably Sicilian, the sponge-trade being largely in the hands of Sicilians. Latin *o* before *η* was abnormal: *lungi* developed normally from a variant of *longē* having *u* instead of *o*. P. 89: *Paolo* is bookish; *cavolo* came from Neapolitan. P. 111: there was no general change of *eve* to *ee*; *bee* shows dissimilation, *dee* is a stressless development, and *prete* is connected with French *prêtre* or Latin *praetor*. The *š* of *vescica*

¹ *Modern Language Review*, XIV, 106.

came from *uezāre*. P. 117: *lj* gives *λλ*, not simply *λ*, at least after a stressed vowel.

With regard to morphology little needs to be said. I think the *è* of *ebbe* and *seppe* came from *stette*. The pronoun *mia* is presumably *mē ad* or *mihi ad*, based on *mēcum*. Northern *ghe* could have been constructed from phrases like *i ga < hīc habet*, *i gaveva < hīc habēbat*, parallel with Venetian (*i xe < hīc est*). The reference to Menger's work (p. 168), with nothing but its date and the title in near-English to localize it, would be more useful if the source had been given: *Pub. Mod. Lang. Association*, Vol. VIII.

The section dealing with the dialects suffers from the author's failure to represent sounds systematically. Thus we find on p. 175 the Sardinic words *kelu*, *kingere* (meaning *kingere*), and *cunoskere*: these are indexed by the translator as *chelu* and *kelu*, *chingere* (not under *k*), *cunoskere* (why not with *ch* for *k*?), showing that he has misread *kingere* with *ndž* instead of *ηg*. Especially unfortunate is the use of *z* for *ts* and for *dz*, with nothing to distinguish the two values. The velar fricative *χ* is sometimes written *χ*; but *h* is used for *χ* in *ihhala* 'scala' (p. 178), while the silent *h* of *hapu* (p. 176) is written in imitation of literary *ho*. Equally absurd is *laygu* 'largo' (p. 178) for *laygu*, *y* being used elsewhere with the same value as *j*. In a new edition all dialect-forms should be given, if possible, in transcription and in ordinary spelling, as *kingere* (*chinghere*). The reader should learn not only that *ā* comes from *a* combined with *e* in Genoese; he should be told also that *ā* is the author's symbol for open *ē*, and that the *ā* of Genoese spelling means long *a*. A few serious mistakes need correcting, as *šou* (p. 219) for Genoese *šū* (*sciō*) < *flōrem*, *žuwen* (p. 218) for Genoese *zuvēnu* (*zovenō*) < *iuvēnem*. On p. 103 (and likewise in § 34 of Bertoni's *Italia dialettale*), Milanese is represented as having kept stressed close *o*: Professor Salvioni has kindly informed me that the sound is really *u*.

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NORTH HAVEN, CONN.

Grammaire élémentaire de l'Ancien Français. PAR JOSEPH ANGLADE.

Paris: Armand Colin, 1918. Pp. viii+275. 4 fr.

This book is the résumé of an elementary course given during the war and is intended for beginners, some of whom feel discouraged in the start because "les longs ouvrages leur font peur." It consists of three parts: *Phonétique* (pp. 1-74), *Morphologie* (pp. 75-154), *Syntaxe* (pp. 155-269). The chief difficulty in preparing an introductory book on Old French is to know what to eliminate from the vast quantity of material at hand, without, however, eliminating too much. To the author's credit it must be said that he has for the most part overcome this difficulty. The morphology and the syntax are adequately treated, but the phonology, which is the part for

which beginners evince the greatest interest, would be of greater value if more information concerning phonetic problems, and at times more examples, were given. On the whole M. Anglade must be congratulated for the care and clearness with which he has presented the subject matter.

A few suggestions may be made. Page 78: the forms of the article *aus* < *als* and *au* < *al* are explained, the former by vocalization, and the latter by analogy; *al* may have become *au* when placed before a word beginning with a consonant, however, and *aus* may be by analogy to the singular *au*. No mention is made of the older and more often used *as*. P. 110: the future forms *enterrai* for *entrerai*, *juerrai* for *jurerai*, due to metathesis, and *dorrai-donrai* for *donnerai* due to assimilation, illustrate phonetic phenomena and are not merely contractions. P. 113: *enverrai* may be by analogy to *verrai*. P. 144: the perfect *fui* according to M.A. "est devenu *fus* par analogie des autres parfaits en *us*," but the form *us* of other perfects is not explained in the book; it may not be necessary to suppose *fus* to be an analogical form, and, on the contrary, it may have been the starting point for the other forms of its own tense and also for other perfects as some scholars believe. P. 166: M. Anglade considers the partitive article *del*, *de la*, *des* as "très rare dans l'ancienne langue (on n'en trouve pas d'exemple au XI^e siècle)"; the partitive, however, is already found in germ in the *Chanson de Roland* 2345-2348, according to Gaston Paris (*Extraits*, § 109); Brunot thinks it "déjà très fréquent dans le *Roman de Troie*"; other instances appear in *Aucassin et Nicolette*: 26, 13; 2, 32; 4, 13 (cf. Brunot, *Histoire*, I, p. 235). P. 17: the accusative form *martel* is given erroneously as a *mot d'emprunt*. P. 63: *encre* could be added after *enque*. P. 64: the treatment of *h* of Germanic or of Latin origin might have been allowed more space. Pp. 64-67: no examples illustrate the group *GI*; the groups *SSI* and *RI* are not mentioned. P. 154: to explain *da* in the interjection *oui-da* the intermediary form *dea* (from *di-va*?) could be given.

In the Syntax most of the quotations are taken from the *Vie de Saint Alexis* and the *Chanson de Roland*; they are followed by a translation into modern French and are for the most part well-chosen. At times, however, they are given without mentioning the authors' specific works from which they are derived. Thus, p. 187: *Malherbe*, *Corneille*; p. 223: *Balzac*, *La Bruyère*. On p. 246 a quotation appears without the author's name. In such a work a direct reference, or else a list of the books used for quotations, ought to be given. I have noted fourteen quotations taken from the *Roland* which fail to tally with the exact numbering of the lines.

In order to make this otherwise clearly written book more serviceable and practical to beginners, its subject-matter should be divided into numbered sections which would indicate accurately the place of the topic, do away with unsatisfactory *infra* and *supra*, and, in passing, save time. The index or table of contents is not adequate, and there is no index of the Old French words contained in the book. The bibliography is intentionally

short, consequently ambitious students will have to consult other grammars for further information.

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Sources of the Religious Element in Flaubert's "Salammbô." By ARTHUR HAMILTON. *Elliott Monographs No. 4.* Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1917. Pp. xi+123.

This is the fourth of a group of studies of Flaubert begun at Johns Hopkins University under the direction of Professor Adolphe Terracher (now of Liverpool) during his stay in America. The first to appear had to do with the *Œuvres de jeunesse*, the third with the composition of *Salammbô* traced through the author's letters, the second, like the one before us, with the sources and structure of the novel. Dr. Fay studied with great care the debt of Flaubert to Polybius' history of the revolt of the mercenaries (*Elliott Monographs No. 2*), and Dr. Hamilton has diligently sought the sources for the religious element, important both in the structure of the tale and in the general setting of its scenes. No product of Flaubert's pen betrays more clearly than the religious passages in *Salammbô* the romanticist seeing through the realist's eye. The descriptions of the temples of Tanit and of Moloch, for example, are built up objectively, realistically, but only a romantic fancy would have dwelt on those details of their mysteries that Flaubert chose to throw into relief. It is not surprising that the archaeologist Froehner should have been reminded of *Hernani* when reading the account of the council meeting in the temple of Baal (*Revue contemporaine* [1862], p. 853).

Flaubert's letters from 1857 to 1862 contain many references to the authorities he was using to reconstruct Carthaginian civilization; Abrami's notes to the Conard edition of *Salammbô* reproduce much information from the author's papers; and Flaubert's letters to Sainte-Beuve and to Froehner, written in response to their criticisms of the historical element in the book, give numerous details about his sources. These works served Dr. Hamilton as his point of departure, and as a result of his investigations we now have access to the texts of the passages from which Flaubert drew almost all the facts, or pseudo-facts, for the religious element of the novel.

It is interesting to learn where the novelist found his material. His chief source was Creuzer, *Les Religions de l'antiquité*, a translation of a four-volume German work; next in importance were the *Recherches sur la topographie de Carthage*, by Dureau de la Malle; then comes a long list containing, among others, Pliny's *Natural History*, various *Mémoires* of the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Heeren's *De la Politique et du commerce des peuples de l'antiquité*, Polybius, Plutarch, Diodorus, Lucian, Silius Italicus, Herodotus, Vitruvius, and Cahen's translation of the Bible. It is easy to understand Flaubert's complaints in letters of the period: "J'accumule notes sur notes, livres sur livres. . . . Je bâche comme un nègre. . . . J'ai bien

avalé depuis le 1er février une cinquantaine de volumes" . . . (*Correspondance*, III, 144, 146, 240). His aim he expressed thus: "Quant à l'archéologie, elle sera 'probable.' Voilà tout. Pourvu que l'on ne puisse me *prouver* que j'ai dit des absurdités, c'est tout ce que je demande" (p. 151). How seriously to heart he took this element of his novel is indicated by his vigorous defense of its accuracy in his replies to Sainte-Beuve and to Froehner, while admitting frankly the book's shortcomings; yet his prime motive was of course artistic and literary. In 1857 he had written: "Je donnerais la demi-rame de notes que j'ai écrites depuis cinq mois et les quatre vingt dix-huit volumes que j'ai lus pour être pendant trois secondes seulement réellement ému par la passion de mes héros" (p. 151), and after the five-year long effort he exclaimed to Sainte-Beuve: "Je crois avoir fait quelque chose qui ressemble à Carthage. Mais ce n'est pas la question. Je me moque de l'archéologie! Si la couleur n'est pas une, si les détails détonnent, si les mœurs ne dérivent pas de la religion et les faits des passions . . . , s'il n'y a pas, en un mot, harmonie, je suis dans le faux. . . . Tout se tient" (p. 343).

In his Introduction, Dr. Hamilton points out that the story revolves about the struggle between Tanit and Moloch for supremacy in Carthage, and that the religious element is consequently as much a part of the structure of the book as is the historical basis drawn from Polybius. Salammbô and Matho suggest in some sort to each other the two divinities, the moon and the sun. Salammbô sins involuntarily against Tanit. In her effort to save the sacred veil for Carthage she seals her own doom (p. 414), and Moloch destroys Matho and the Barbarians for taking arms against the city consecrated to his worship. In fact Dr. Hamilton might have indicated more explicitly that what endures from all this welter of destruction is the race, the city protected by the two divine principles, and that the individuals caught in the cross-currents of the influences that threaten the existence of the favored people cannot do other than perish miserably. This harmonizes with the general determinism to be found elsewhere in Flaubert.

One example of the results of Dr. Hamilton's study of a particular problem is all that can be given here. The letter to Sainte-Beuve names six sources for the description of the temple of Tanit (*Salammbô*, chap. v): Lucian, *De la Déesse syrienne*; the temples at Jerusalem, Gozzo, Thugga; St. Jerome; and the medallions of the duke of Luynes. The debt to the first three is undoubted, but the coins in question were not placed on exhibition until 1862, and it was the reproductions in Creuzer and Lajard that actually gave the details. Flaubert used, further, Pliny, Philostratus, Pausanias, Quatremère (in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*), Lucian's *Amours*, Renan, Dureau de la Malle, Dufour (*Histoire de la prostitution*), Abbé Mignot, Strabo, and the *De Diis Syris* of Selden. This very enumeration is a tribute to Dr. Hamilton's industry. It was manifestly no small task to run down all the right passages. One is even more amazed at Flaubert's patient industry, at his astonishing fidelity to his theory that the facts must

tell their own story, at his supreme artistry that fused such a variety of material into this really wonderful chapter. There can be few better examples of a romantic imagination working with as solid material as could be gathered by the most realistic method, and it is interesting to observe again and again how the artist is nearly always more concise than his sources, and how often he raises them to the level of imaginative literature by the addition of an image or by throwing into relief a concrete and picturesque detail.

Dr. Hamilton has been successful in finding the sources of nearly all the passages bearing on the religious element. Perhaps the longest that remains to be studied is that describing the funeral rites of the barbarians (pp. 279-81). The reader's curiosity is also piqued by several briefer passages, as, for instance, the oath of Narr'Havas (p. 113), and the striking mystic sentence in the description of Hamilcar's prayer: "Il s'efforçait à bannir de sa pensée toutes les formes, tous les symboles et les appellations des dieux, afin de mieux saisir l'esprit immuable que les apparences dérobaient" (p. 142).

The final chapter discusses Flaubert's utilization of his sources. Dr. Hamilton observes that, from chapter vii on, the novelist introduces historic detail in such abundance as to make it the *raison d'être* of the latter part of the book rather than the fortunes of his personages, and he ascribes this situation largely to the fact that the author's sources at this stage no longer contained elements that fired his imagination. The reason almost certainly lies deeper; it is suggested in Flaubert's own uneasiness about the psychology of his characters, an uneasiness that is not surprising when a writer with a realistic method and conscience attempts to revive souls that loved and died in vanished Carthage. No amount of documentation could recreate Punic psychology, and more than one passage in Flaubert's letters indicates that he realized this.

Dr. Hamilton concludes that Flaubert was less a novelist than a master of descriptions, that he was at his best when his imagination was stimulated by the sources on which he drew for facts, and that since *Salammbô* reflects the author's personality, it is, by Flaubert's own standards, a failure. Would it not be truer to say that the weakness of *Salammbô* as a novel is partly inherent in historical fiction, and partly arises from the author's very attempt at being impersonal? Had he put himself more freely into his book he would have depicted at least one human being, even at the cost of committing an anachronism; but as he was unable to resurrect souls so thoroughly dead and was rigid in the exclusion of the living present, his personages remain in a sort of limbo, caught in the veil that lies thick between us and long-destroyed Carthage.

Such a study as this will hardly lead to a revaluation of *Salammbô* as a novel, but Flaubert the artist, the poet, the master-craftsman, comes out all the greater. The reader is constantly amazed and delighted at his ability to transmute the baser metals into his own fine gold.

There is an unpleasantly large number of typographical errors in this volume, due probably to printing conditions in France in war time, and the style is occasionally awkward and always neutral. The reader is perhaps even a little shocked to find the phrase "clear, interesting descriptions" applied to the colorful and highly poetic pages of the fifth chapter of *Salammbô*.

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THE ABBÉ PRÉVOST AND SHAKESPEARE¹

In the seventeenth century the French in general were interested little in the literature or the civilization of England, but strangely enough it was Louis XIV himself who, quite unintentionally, contributed powerfully to change the indifferent attitude of his countrymen. In 1688 he revoked the Edict of Nantes. The annulling of that act of religious toleration brought into being forthwith a sturdy band of Protestant refugees eager enough to become the enthusiastic champions of that England which gave them shelter and welcome. They founded periodicals for which they wrote numerous articles in praise of England. Untiringly they translated, now short passages, now whole books, chosen from among the more or the less important literary works of Great Britain. More and more numerous became that part of the public which was well disposed toward their efforts. Still, for the movement to obtain complete success there was needed the influence of men of greater talents. Finally three men came to the fore, of whom each had particular motives for being glad to sing the praises of the country across the Channel, thereby taking now and again a backhanded fling at France herself. Of these men one was a Swiss Protestant, one a government exile, and the third a monk who had fled from his monastery.

The first, B  at de Muralt, is the author of certain *Lettres sur les Anglois et sur les Fran  ois*, which, although written about 1694 or

¹ It is a pleasure here to express my obligation to one of my former professors at Johns Hopkins University, M. Elie Carcassonne, who, while this study was in preparation, aided me often with keen criticism and enlightening suggestion.

1695, did not appear until 1725. They were much read,¹ and they deserved popularity, but literature held a small place in the esteem of this grave Swiss, and he spoke of it only apologetically.

Voltaire was of very different stuff. In his *Discours sur la tragédie* of 1731,² in the French version of the *Essai sur la poésie épique* of 1733,³ and in the *Lettres philosophiques* of 1734 he gave much space to literature and to English literature especially. Nevertheless even his admiration, keen enough sometimes, was often greatly limited either by professional jealousy or by prejudices due to birth and education.

A third author came to play his part in the movement of ideas from England to France, namely the Abbé Prévost, who about this same time conceived the idea of gaining his livelihood by spreading among the French public a taste for things English.⁴ His success is a proof of the vigor of the movement inaugurated by the French Protestant refugees.⁵ In 1731 appeared Volumes V-VII of the *Mémoires et aventures d'un homme de qualité*, which contains appreciations in general very favorable to English literature. Another novel, *Le Philosophe anglois ou Histoire de monsieur Cléveland*, began to appear during the same year. From 1733 to 1740 the Abbé published his weekly periodical, the *Pour et Contre*,⁶ which was of sufficient importance for Voltaire to seek to obtain in it favorable reviews of his works.⁷ All sorts of subjects of most unequal value lured the facile pen of the indefatigable Abbé, but his principal aim in this magazine was to publish criticism on English literature.⁸

¹ A second edition appeared as early as 1727 at Cologne. Mural's *Lettres* influenced to some extent Voltaire and also the *Nouvelle Héloïse* of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. For a treatment of the latter question see my article, "The Sources of Rousseau's *Edouard Bomston*," to appear in *Modern Philology*.

² Printed as the Preface to *Brutus*.

³ Published with special intent to defend the *Henriade*.

⁴ Letter from Marais to President Bouhier, July 11, 1733, quoted by Henri Harrisse, *L'Abbé Prévost* (Paris, 1896), pp. 212-13.

⁵ By his novels, by his periodical, the *Pour et Contre*, and by his translations of Richardson, Prévost succeeded in gaining a living independent of the pensions frequently given in those days to favored writers.

⁶ Twenty volumes, Didot, Paris, 1733-40. Prévost himself was the author of most of this work, but he did not write Vol. II, p. 83, to the end; Vol. III, pp. 1-48; Vol. XVII, p. 25, to the end; Vol. XVIII entire; Vol. XIX, pp. 25-48. A discussion of this question will appear later.

⁷ Harrisse, *op. cit.*, pp. 213-14, 252-53, 271-73.

⁸ *PC* (*Pour et Contre*), I, 12; I, 217; VI, 312; IX, 122.

Although Prévost's fame today rightly rests upon his one enduring novel, *Manon Lescaut*, his activity as a popularizer in France of English literature was not without considerable influence upon the literary history of the eighteenth century and is worthy of a separate study. This article will consider the attitude of the Abbé Prévost toward Shakespeare. The subject has already attracted the attention of certain critics who have discussed it briefly in passing. Their conclusions, in sum, are as follows.

"Cet abbé," writes M. Jusserand, "était hérétique dans l'âme; il s'exprime sans respect sur les anciens et sur les règles; et il le fait, ce qui était alors sans exemple, au profit de l'auteur d'*Hamlet*."¹ "Prévost," says Joseph Texte, "forcé de vivre en Angleterre, et d'y gagner sa vie, s'y anglicisa plus qu'aucun autre écrivain du dix-huitième siècle."²

Faguet says: "Prévost est entièrement favorable à Shakespeare. . . . Sa critique est singulièrement juste."³ M. Baldensperger says that "dans le *Pour et Contre*, en 1738, Prévost . . . félicite le poète [Shakespeare]—dont il donnera jusqu'à une biographie circonstanciée—de n'avoir pas connu les Anciens. . . . *Hamlet*—comparé à *Electre*—la *Tempête*, les *Joyeuses Commères*, *Othello*, sont l'objet spécial d'un examen sympathique. . . . Prévost donne à son anglomanie sa libre expression."⁴ M. Schroeder thinks that "Prévost comprend mieux que Voltaire les audacieuses envolées de Shakespeare. . . . Par l'intelligence qu'il a eue de la plupart des beautés shakespeariennes, Prévost a singulièrement devancé les Français de son temps."⁵ It has thus become customary to remark that, while Voltaire shows only a rather narrow and timid admiration for Shakespeare, Prévost sets scarcely any limit to his enthusiasm and carries it even to the extreme of a veritable Anglomania. However, M. Schroeder himself later brings forward a modification of his own previous opinion, though he does not explain the reasons for his change of heart. This is what he says: "Shakespeare lui inspire

¹ J. J. Jusserand, *Shakespeare en France sous l'ancien régime* (Paris, 1898), p. 173.

² Joseph Texte, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau et les origines du cosmopolitisme littéraire* (Paris, 1895), p. 54.

³ E. Faguet, "Shakespeare," *Propos de théâtre* (Paris, 1903), p. 67.

⁴ F. Baldensperger, "Esquisse d'une histoire de Shakespeare en France," *Etudes d'histoire littéraire* (2^e série, 1910), pp. 159-60.

⁵ V. Schroeder, *L'Abbé Prévost, sa vie, ses romans* (Paris, 1898), p. 44.

[à Prévost], comme à Voltaire, une antipathie mêlée d'admiration. Il s'incline devant la vigueur de ses peintures, la saisissante beauté de ses sujets, il comprend même la philosophie profonde qui anime ses dramés, il concède qu'ils font penser, mais les intrigues touffues, mais le mélange presque constant du tragique et du comique devaient le choquer et le déconcerter."¹ These differences of opinion make desirable a somewhat detailed examination of the works of Prévost himself.

Seventeen hundred and thirty-one is the year and the *Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*² the book in which for the first time Prévost speaks of Shakespeare. There he gives expression to an admiration which is rather keen but quite general and lacking in definiteness. He says:

J'ai vu plusieurs de leurs pièces de théâtre qui m'ont paru ne le céder ni aux grecques ni aux françoises. J'ose dire même qu'elles les surpasseroient, si leurs poètes y mettoient plus de régularité;³ mais pour la beauté des sentimens, soit tendres, soit sublimes; pour cette force tragique qui remue le fond du cœur, et qui excite infailliblement les passions dans l'âme la plus endormie; pour l'énergie des expressions, et l'art de conduire les événements, ou de ménager les situations, je n'ai rien lu, ni en grec ni en françois qui l'emporte sur le théâtre d'Angleterre. Le *Hamlet* de Shakespeare, le *Don Sébastien* de Dryden, l'*Orphan* et la *Conspiration de Venise* d'Otway, plusieurs pièces de Congreve, de Farquhar, etc., sont des tragédies admirables, où l'on trouve mille beautés réunies. Quelques-unes sont un peu défigurées par un mélange de bouffonneries indignes du cothurne; mais c'est un défaut que les Anglois ont reconnu eux-mêmes, et dont ils ont commencé à se corriger.⁴

These are the words of the mentor of the young marquis in the *Mémoires*; there is no reason why the passage should not be accepted as an expression of the first impressions received by Prévost himself during his stay in England. The beauty and the tragic force of the English drama have struck him forcefully. Like most French travelers of the period, he is impressed with the vigor of the English

¹ V. Schroeder, "L'Abbé Prévost journaliste," *Revue du XVIII^e siècle* (1914), pp. 136-37.

² Vols. I-IV in 1728, Vols. V-VII in 1731.

³ The same criticism and the same praise appear seven years later in Louis Riccoboni, *Réflexions historiques et critiques sur les différens théâtres de l'Europe* (1738, Amsterdam, 1740), p. 139.

⁴ *Œuvres choisies de l'Abbé Prévost* (Paris, 1810-16, 39 vols.), II, 281.

language. English tragedy moves him to the "fond du cœur," and it rouses "infailliblement les passions dans l'âme la plus endormie." We know from Prévost's other work how impressionable he was. It is at this same period that he was writing the novels that drew forth "torrents of tears" from Mlle Aïssé and from Jean-Jacques; soon, with his translations of Richardson, he was rousing the emotions of all the "âmes sensibles" of France. Nevertheless Prévost finds "bouffonneries" in Shakespeare. Fortunately the English themselves have already perceived them and have even begun to correct them. This last observation comes frequently from the Abbé's pen. It is very significant as evidence of the fact that his taste remains to a great degree French in quality and has been anglicized much less than has often been thought. Let us not, therefore, fail to note that from the very beginning his enthusiasm is somewhat restrained. Still, in spite of its lack of definiteness, the general tone of the passage is sufficiently favorable to permit M. Jusserand to call Prévost "un vrai *anglomane* et . . . un des premiers en date."¹ If the Abbé had written only the *Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*, we might accept M. Jusserand's words as forming an accurate summing up of the Abbé Prévost's general attitude toward English literature and toward Shakespeare. Since, however, the Abbé is also the author of a weekly magazine, the *Pour et Contre*, which appeared from 1733 to 1740, we must look there likewise for his literary opinions, and we must examine them in more detail.

The magic spell cast over Prévost by his first stay in England (1728-30) seems to have lost its power in 1733, for the Abbé wrote in the *Pour et Contre* a passage as severe as the one in the *Mémoires* had been favorable:

Le théâtre n'a point encore secoué le joug de la férocité. C'est d'elle qu'un Sophocle ou qu'un Euripide anglois² emprunte les idées du sublime. Quelles idées, grands Dieux! et qu'elles choquent la sage nature! Les tragédies sont ici dénuées de mœurs et de caractères. C'est une histoire de trente ou de quarante années, histoire plus fabuleuse souvent que celles de nos vieux romanciers; mais en revanche les héroïnes de la pièce sont folles,

¹ Jusserand, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

² This is directed at Shakespeare. In 1700 Boyer's *Grammar* had said: "Nous avons . . . un Sophocle et un Euripide en Shakespeare."—Jusserand, *op. cit.*, p. 141.

et presque tous les héros se donnent la mort. Qu'on ajoute à cela quelques apparitions d'esprits, une pompe funèbre et un récit de bataille, voilà une tragédie anglaise qui sera louée sans aucun ménagement.¹ Les comédies anglaises sont plus estimables. Une variété presque infinie de caractères leur donne un air d'élégance et de vivacité qui plaît aux connoisseurs; je voudrois seulement qu'on les dépouillât de ces plaisanteries basses et de ces expressions grossières qui ne devroient plaire qu'à la plus vile populace.²

It is to be noted that this harsh estimate is not softened, as far as tragedy is concerned, by a single qualification. It is hard to find the cause for these bitter criticisms. They may perhaps be due to the cold welcome Prévost received in England on the occasion of his second journey,³ although this hypothesis does not accord with the scrupulous sense of justice we find to be generally characteristic of the Abbé. However, he may well have fallen here below his usual level. A more acceptable explanation, though this too is not wholly satisfactory, may be found in the possible influence of the *Lettres philosophiques* of Voltaire, which Prévost had seen in manuscript and which he had in his possession, as he tells us, "pendant quelque tems" before September, 1733.⁴ Can this "quelque tems" go back as far as the beginning of July, when these criticisms of the English drama appeared in the third number of the *Pour et Contre*? It is not at all impossible. Voltaire likewise had given the preference to English comedy over English tragedy, though even his criticism of the latter was not as sweepingly bitter and unfavorable as Prévost's is here. Ordinarily, while Prévost admired very much some of Voltaire's work, he did not let himself be overawed by his prestige. If such influence is to be admitted here, we must grant also that Prévost soon freed himself from it. It is quite possible that this severe judgment is due to the recent reading of some English play which gave Prévost a particularly unfavorable impression. Could this play have been *Hamlet* itself?⁵ In any case, these various hypotheses are nothing more than possible explanations which are in no way certain. The criticism is much more severe than we should have expected from Prévost's pen.

¹ Is Prévost attacking *Hamlet*? These details at least suggest such a possibility.

² *PC*, I, 71-72.

³ V. Schroeder, *L'Abbé Prévost, sa vie, ses romans* (Paris, 1898), p. 63 and n. 1.

⁴ *PC*, I, 242.

⁵ See footnote 2.

It is not long before we again find Shakespeare treated by the author of the *Pour et Contre*. This time it is apropos of the Abbé's review of Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*. Prévost's articles appeared during the last half of September and the first half of October, 1733,¹ about a month after the English edition of the *Lettres*² and six months before the first French edition.³ The very complete résumé given by Prévost probably constitutes, therefore, a sort of first French appearance of this important work.⁴ Here Prévost shows himself much more favorable to Shakespeare. "Il ne paroît dans ses ouvrages ni goût ni connoissance des règles; mais il s'y trouve par tout des étincelles du plus beau feu du monde. C'étoit une imagination naturellement sublime, qui n'ayant point d'autre guide qu'elle-même, s'est égarée souvent dans sa route."⁵ This is a paraphrase of Voltaire, but it is significant that Prévost softens the expression as it is given in the English edition—"not so much as a single spark of good taste." "Elle est outrée," says Prévost, "et elle a choqué ici bien des gens."⁶ Some other slight changes show the same tendencies and seem to express a prudent admiration, greatly tempered by the conviction that Shakespeare would have gained much by being more "regular." Prévost, we notice, maintains that he expressed only the opinion "éclairée" of the English themselves at this period, ordinarily ready enough to admit that Shakespeare contained "saillies déréglées et de bizarres imaginations," and that taste had progressed far since his time. For the most extreme and uncompromising expression of this opinion one has only to adduce Rymer,⁷ who was not surpassed in unfavorable criticism by Voltaire, and who furnished Voltaire

¹ The second of these two articles is followed by: "Lu et approuvé, ce 22. Septembre 1733, Signé, Souchay."—*PC*, I, 288.

² G. Lanson, *les Lettres philosophiques de Voltaire* (critical edition, Paris, 1909), I, xl.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ At least Prévost's review is the first in French mentioned by M. Lanson (*op. cit.*, I, xliv).

⁵ *PC*, I, 278-79.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 278, n. b.

⁷ Thomas Rymer (1641-1713), historiographer royal (1692-1713), compiler of the important collection of historical documents, the *Fœdera*, author of a translation of Rapin's *Réflexions sur Aristote* (1674), of the *Tragedies of the Last Age Considered* (1678), and of the *Short View of Tragedy* (1693). Ridiculous as he frequently appears to us now because of his exaggerated respect for the rules, he was in his time a critic of much importance.

himself with many a suggestive vituperation, which the latter was glad in his turn to use against the English dramatist. Perhaps even yet too little emphasis has been placed upon the fact that, if the French of the period were generally inclined to find in Shakespeare faults rather than beauties, they had more than sufficient precedent in the attitude of many English critics highly esteemed in their day.

Prévost corrects Voltaire's verse translation of the *Hamlet* monologue by a prose translation much closer to the original¹ and not surpassed by the translations made later by Le Tourneur and in the nineteenth century by Hugo fils.² Some thirty years later than Prévost's translation Voltaire somewhat unwillingly published a literal version³ better than the Abbé's and in fact very remarkable for its accuracy and vigor.

In this review of Voltaire's *Lettres* Prévost distinguishes himself by the moderation of his criticisms on Shakespeare. He even quotes the favorable part of Shaftesbury's estimate of *Hamlet* and omits the rather unfavorable criticism which this author had expressed on the preceding page.⁴ However, we must needs be careful not to number the Abbé too quickly with the enthusiastic admirers of Shakespeare. It is well to recall the fact that by differing discreetly from Voltaire's opinion and by correcting it in some particulars Prévost was able to give himself an attractive rôle. His corrections are accurate, nevertheless, and in any case possess, therefore, a very real merit.

The English dramatist is mentioned by Prévost in Volume V of the *Pour et Contre* (1734) as the author of the tragedy of *Richard III* and of *Othello*, "autre pièce célèbre du même poète."⁵ Some remarks on the character of Richard III and of Iago are merely translations from the *Grub Street Journal* and consequently cannot be taken as the opinion of Prévost himself. Later the Abbé translates the flute

¹ Soon after Prévost's articles the *Bibliothèque britannique* also published a literal translation, criticizing Voltaire's version as follows: "Voilà à peu près ce que dit Shakespeare; voici ce que Mr. de Voltaire lui fait dire."—II, 124.

² Cf. Mary Gertrude Cushing, *Pierre Le Tourneur* (New York, 1908), pp. 232-35.

³ Published in the *Appel à toutes les nations* of 1761 and incorrectly added to the *Lettres philosophiques* in the posthumous Kehl edition (1784-89). Cf. G. Lanson, *op. cit.*, II, 82, note to l. 97.

⁴ Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks* (4th ed., Dublin, 1737-43), "Advice to an Author," pp. 275-76.

⁵ *PC*, V, 304, nn. a and b.

scene which occurs between Hamlet and Guildenstern (Act III, scene 2), and he adds:

Ce dialogue a paru d'une invention et d'un sens admirable à M. Addison. On l'a regardé de même après lui. Depuis peu, quelques critiques, moins esclaves de leur respect pour M. Addison, ont osé condamner ce qu'il a loué, et sont parvenus par le ridicule qu'ils ont jeté sur les raisonnemens de Hamlet à les faire estimer leur juste prix. Il est vrai, disent-ils, que Hamlet passe dans une partie de la pièce pour un prince dont la raison est affoiblie; mais comme sa folie est feinte, il ne paroît fou que lorsqu'il le veut, et il ne veut point le paroître avec Guildenstern. D'ailleurs, ce seroit mal défendre le jugement de M. Addison que d'avoir recours à la folie de Hamlet pour le justifier.¹

It is interesting to note that as far as Prévost was concerned there was no debate as to whether Hamlet's madness was real or feigned. He unhesitatingly accepted the latter theory.

Most of the passage just cited is given as the opinion of English critics. However, by the phrase "sont parvenus à les faire estimer leur juste prix," Prévost frankly approves of their judgment, which is sufficiently unfavorable both to Addison and to Shakespeare. The passage shows that "Anglomania" has dwindled remarkably since the days of the *Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*. Still these criticisms are directed at a rather minor detail, and we remember that already in the *Mémoires* Prévost was severe enough with regard to the "bouffonneries."

In Volume IV of the *Pour et Contre* mention is made of Milton, Shakespeare, Shaftesbury, and Nassau, who are called "ces quatre grands hommes."² In the following volume we find this interesting remark: "Nous conviendrons que Corneille est plus régulier que Shakespeare, sans avouer qu'il soit supérieur à lui, parce qu'il est certain que Shakespeare regagne par la force ce qu'il perd du côté de l'exactitude."³ At first sight one would naturally take this passage for a favorable appreciation by Prévost and for a proof of a most praiseworthy breadth of view. In reality we find ourselves dealing with something which is of frequent occurrence in the *Pour et Contre* and against which it is necessary to be ever on guard. All this part of his periodical is, in Prévost's words, merely "un mélange traduit

¹ *Ibid.*, IX, 115-18.

² *Ibid.*, IV, 253.

³ *Ibid.*, V, 88-89.

de l'anglois" and put in the mouth of the "avocat du Temple Bar," who figured for a brief time in the Abbé's magazine as a mouthpiece, after the manner of the *Spectator Papers*, of those Englishmen who were admirers of French literature as well as of their own.¹ Prévost states that the passage consists of "quelques observations littéraires d'un Anglois, ausquelles je ne changerai dans la traduction que ce qu'elles pourroient avoir d'offençant pour la France."² We may therefore conclude that the citation is perhaps in accord with Prévost's own thought, but we cannot be sure. Ordinarily in the eighteenth century Corneille was relegated by the French to a place in the second rank, below Racine and even below Voltaire. For the English, however, it was more natural to prefer Corneille, who had had so much influence upon the dramatic work of their own Dryden, and who was, in any case, much nearer the norm of English taste than the more classic Racine. This explains the fact that Prévost should have put the name of Corneille in the mouth of a representative of the English point of view. At any rate, we may admit as significant that Prévost was not scandalized by the preference given to the "force" of Shakespeare over the "exactitude" of Corneille; he tolerates the opinion at least, even if he does not go so far as to approve it openly.

We come now to Volume XIV of the *Pour et Contre*, where for the first time Prévost devotes much space to Shakespeare, and where he proposes to give a fairly complete idea of his life and works. Shakespeare is the subject of almost two whole numbers (CXCIV-CXCV), which appeared during the first part of January, 1738. M. Jusserand gives the following appreciation of their content:

Prévost . . . parle de lui [Shakespeare] avec une audace bien plus grande que Voltaire, mais qui attira beaucoup moins l'attention. Cet abbé était hérétique dans l'âme; il s'exprime sans respect sur les anciens et sur les règles; et il le fait, ce qui était alors sans exemple,³ au profit de l'auteur d'*Hamlet*. Shakespeare, dit-il, "n'a pas connu "les anciens; tant mieux, car peut-être le contact lui aurait fait perdre "quelque chose de cette chaleur, de cette impétuosité et de ce délire

¹ *PC*, V, 77.

² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³ Nevertheless, in the *Essai sur la poésie épique* of 1733, Voltaire had already said apropos of Shakespeare that the man of genius "laisse loin derrière lui tout ce qui n'est que raison et qu'exactitude."—*Œuvres* (Paris: Garnier, 1883), VIII, 318.

"admirable,"¹ si l'on peut s'exprimer ainsi, qui éclate dans ses moindres "productions. Il n'observe pas les unités, mais en récompense, si l'on passe "aux mœurs, aux caractères, au ressort des passions et à l'expression des "sentiments, on ne trouvera presque rien, dans toutes ses œuvres, qui ne "puisse être justifié et, de toutes parts, il s'y présente des beautés auxquelles "on ne saurait accorder trop d'éloges."²

If we examine carefully the text of the *Pour et Contre*, it seems that M. Jusserand has exaggerated the boldness of the opinions Prévost held with regard to English literature in general and Shakespeare in particular. Prévost was not such a literary "heretic," nor was he so completely freed of respect for the ancients and their rules. The citations given by M. Jusserand are taken from the *Pour et Contre*, XIV, 27 and 33. It is upon these passages and upon the general tone of the matter included between pages 26 and 48 that he bases his conclusions. One important fact seems, however, to have been neglected by M. Jusserand, as it has been by M. Baldensperger also; namely, that the abundant and accurate details with regard to the life of Shakespeare, the very favorable judgments just cited and others like them, the information about the *Winter's Tale*,³ *Antony and Cleopatra*, *King John*, *Richard III*, *Henry VI*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, and finally the comparison between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, all this is nothing but "la traduction de certains fragmens de l'histoire littéraire des Anglois."⁴ Thus we have here only the opinion of an English admirer of Shakespeare, and not the expression of Prévost's own opinions. In fact, after this long article on Shakespeare, Prévost is already thinking of bringing forward a "correction." He says:

Avant que de hasarder mes propres réflexions sur le caractère et le mérite de Shakespeare, je me rends aux instances de quelques amateurs du Parnasse anglois, qui brûlant de connoître ce poète célèbre autrement que par des observations générales sur sa personne et sur ses écrits, me pressent de publier le sujet de quelques-unes de ses meilleures pièces. Je ne regrète point le tems que ce dessein m'a fait mettre à les relire.⁵

¹ The Italics are by M. Jusserand.

² Jusserand, *op. cit.*, p. 173; cf. *supra*, pp. 179-80.

³ M. Jusserand says (*op. cit.*, p. 173): "Prévost sait l'original des pièces de Shakespeare; il connaît la nouvelle de Greene utilisée dans le *Conte d'Hiver*." But the allusion to the "Delectable History of Dorastus and Faunia" (*PC*, XIV, 32) is also contained in the part translated from the English and in no way proves that Prévost knew more of it than its title.

⁴ *PC*, XIV, 25.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

Prévost was entirely correct in calling No. CXCIV a translation from the English, for it is possible to locate the original source. In his study of Shakespeare, Prévost used Rowe's edition, probably the second, which appeared in 1714, and which the Abbé called "la plus répandue."¹ From this edition, or from the first of 1709-10, he obtained his information and the greater part of his opinions. It is this work which contains the "fragmens de l'histoire littéraire des Anglois," translated by the editor of the *Pour et Contre*, Prévost.

This edition offered three different sources of information with regard to Shakespeare: Rowe's² essay entitled "Some Account of the Life, etc., of Mr. William Shakespeare,"³ Gildon's⁴ "An Essay on the Art, Rise, and Progress of the Stage in Greece, Rome, and England,"⁵ and finally his "Remarks on the Plays of Shakespeare."⁶ The first essay, the one written by Rowe, is the source of the "fragmens de l'histoire littéraire des Anglois," that is to say, the source of that number of the *Pour et Contre* so often invoked as proof of the breadth of view, even of the Anglomania, of Prévost. At the end of this same number a short passage (pp. 47-48) is indicated by Prévost himself as being taken from Gildon's first essay, though Prévost gives only the title and not the author's name.⁷ The "Remarks on the Plays of Shakespeare" were of great help to Prévost in the preparation of the following number.

In the first of the Shakespeare numbers Prévost followed Rowe very closely, omitting, however, some parts as uninteresting or too long and often changing the order of arrangement. The whole is intentionally and frankly a translation.⁸

We must then pass on to the following number of the *Pour et Contre* in order to find with certainty Prévost's own opinions with

¹ *PC*, XIV, 50.

² Nicolas Rowe (1674-1718), English dramatist, author of the *Fair Penitent*, *Jane Shore*, etc., and editor of the *Works* of Shakespeare (1709-10).

³ Nicolas Rowe, *Shakespeare's Works* (London: Jacob Tonson, 1709), I, i-xl.

⁴ Charles Gildon (1665-1724), an English writer little known today. He was attacked by Pope in the *Dunciad*, somewhat unjustly, as it seems.

⁵ Rowe, *op. cit.*, VII (Curll, 1710), i-lxvii.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 257-444.

⁷ *PC*, XIV, 47, n. a, "Essay, on the Art, rise, and progress of the stage." The French printer did not yet know his English very well.

⁸ Cf., for instance, Rowe, pp. ii-iii, with *PC*, XIV, 26.

regard to Shakespeare.¹ However—one is surprised to discover it—even the plot analyses are not by Prévost. Once more he adopts the easier method of translation, but this time without indicating the fact. By the sentence, “je ne regrète point le tems que ce dessein m’a fait mettre à les relire,”² he even seems to give intentionally a false impression.

The source used in this case is Gildon’s second essay, the “Remarks on the Plays of Shakespeare.” Prévost begins with *The Tempest*, the analysis of whose plot he translates from Gildon. He tells us that it is “l’une des plus célèbres” of Shakespeare’s plays, and then continues:

Les Anglois ont trouvé peu de défauts dans cette pièce. Ils prétendent même que les règles essentielles y sont observées; et que pour ce qui regarde les caractères et le stile, il n’y a point de juste reproche à faire à l’auteur. Je traduirai quelque jour la scène du Prince de Naples et de Miranda, qui est remarquable en effet par mille traits dignes de la réputation de Shakespeare. Mais j’ose dire que malgré ces étincelles de goût et de génie,³ qui rachètent bien des grossièretés, la *Tempête* passeroit sur notre théâtre pour une pièce ridicule.⁴

Prévost passes off the opinion of a single English critic for that of the nation in general and seems to wish us to think his knowledge of the state of English opinion greater than perhaps it was. Apparently the admiration expressed for the scene between the Prince of Naples and Miranda is really Prévost’s own. The last sentence of the criticism just cited as his final estimate of *The Tempest* is evidently the expression of his own feeling. It is probable enough that a French audience would scarcely have tolerated Caliban.

There follows a translation of an English apology for the use of magic in the play,⁵ but Prévost does not approve. We no longer see the enthusiastic “anglomane” who praises everything English without hesitation or distinction. There are “bien des grossièretés” and only “des étincelles de goût et de génie.”

¹ In this same number there are also “quelques remarques d’un des plus beaux esprits de Londres” (PC, XIV, 50), but this time it is not difficult, either by means of Prévost’s wording or by the quotation marks, to separate them from the opinions of the author of the *Pour et Contre*.

² PC, XIV, 49; cf. *supra*, p. 187.

³ Compare Voltaire (*Lettres phil.*, II, 79), “sans la moindre étincelle de bon goût.”

⁴ PC, XIV, 52–53.

⁵ Gildon, pp. 264–65.

Prévost, however, finds the *Merry Wives of Windsor*—*les Femmes de Windsor en bonne humeur*, as he translates it—more to his taste. The plot is recounted in detail, again after Gildon,¹ and Prévost continues: “Ajoutons, pour augmenter l'idée qu'on doit s'en former, que la reine Elizabeth en faisoit ses délices; que suivant le jugement de Dryden, le principal caractère est ce qu'on a jamais vu de plus parfait sur la scène comique; et que si l'on en croit le fameux duc de Buckingham, c'est un morceau qui sera toujours inimitable.”² This information with regard to Queen Elizabeth, Dryden, and the Duke of Buckingham was obtained by Prévost without unnecessary difficulty; the first item is to be found in Rowe's essay,³ from which the Abbé had already taken it for the preceding number of the *Pour et Contre*,⁴ and the two others in Gildon's “Remarks.”⁵

“Il y a deux intrigues dans cette pièce,” continues Prévost, “mais il faut confesser qu'elles sont jointes avec plus d'art et de vraisemblance que dans la plupart des pièces angloises.”⁶ This is in no way original; it is a direct translation from the English.⁷ He says:

Les critiques anglois⁸ confessent, que cette comédie n'est pas absolument conforme aux règles et à la pratique des anciens. La durée est d'environ trois jours. L'action est double, et la scène, qui embrasse Windsor et les lieux voisins, ne répond pas mieux à la règle de l'unité. Mais ils prétendent que par la conduite de l'intrigue, l'agrément des situations, la force des caractères, et la finesse de la plaisanterie, elle l'emporte sur le théâtre ancien et moderne. . . . Qui ne regretteroit pas à la fin de cet article, qu'une comédie si vantée soit encore inconnue hors de l'Angleterre? Ne se trouvera-t-il personne qui mette le public en état d'en juger par une traduction? Je ne déclare pas mes desseins, quoiqu'ils ne soient pas éloignés de l'exécution; mais je puis dire d'avance qu'ayant lu plusieurs fois cette pièce célèbre, et l'ayant vu représenter par les plus fameux acteurs de Londres,⁹ j'ai tâché, dans la mesure bornée de mes lumières, d'en porter un jugement fidèle et désintéressé. Le voici en deux mots. En passant sur les défauts que j'ai

¹ Gildon, pp. 285-86.

⁵ Page 290.

² *PC*, XIV, 56.

⁶ *PC*, XIV, 56.

³ Rowe, *op. cit.*, pp. viii-ix.

⁷ Gildon, p. 285.

⁴ *PC*, XIV, 37-38.

⁸ Always the same tendency to pass off the opinion of a single English critic for that of the nation at large.

⁹ Genest, *History of the Drama and Stage in England* (1832), shows that the *Merry Wives* was played several times in London during the time that Prévost was there.

remarqués et que les Anglois sensés sont les premiers à reconnoître,¹ il m'a semblé, en effet, que l'invention, la conduite, et les caractères, méritoient les applaudissements qu'ils ont reçus. Mais ce n'est qu'après un long usage des mœurs et du goût de la nation, que j'ai commencé à juger si favorablement. De sorte que sans ce secours, j'aurois été plus choqué de cent idées du poète, qui m'auroient paru grossières et ridicules, suivant la manière de penser dans laquelle j'ai été élevé, que je n'aurois été frappé des traits de force et de lumière qui percent au travers de cette ténébreuse écorce. Si l'on m'objecte que les mœurs et les usages du tems de Plaute et de Térence n'étoient pas moins différens des nôtres et que nous ne laissons pas d'être tout d'un coup sensibles aux beautés que nous découvrons dans leurs pièces, je répons que non seulement l'étude nous accoutume dès notre jeunesse aux mœurs et aux usages des Romains, mais qu'il y a réellement plus de différence, et j'ose dire plus d'opposition, entre les usages de Londres et de Paris, qu'on ne peut s'en figurer entre ceux de Paris et de l'ancienne Rome: d'où je conclus que la meilleure traduction des *Merry Wives of Windsor*, du moins si elle est littérale, ne fera jamais convenir nos François de l'excellence de cette pièce, et bien moins de la supériorité que les Anglois en prennent droit d'attribuer à leur théâtre.²

There is much more originality in this piece of literary criticism than in the preceding. Prévost likes the play, for he has seen it given by "les plus fameux acteurs de Londres," and besides he has read it "plusieurs fois." His intention of giving "un jugement fidèle et désintéressé" is evidently sincere and well carried out in this remarkable example of independent and unprejudiced criticism. The esteem which he here shows for English drama has been developed slowly after "un long usage des mœurs et du goût de la nation" and is not the result of a first rapid impression. Persistent efforts to understand the character and manners of the English people form the basis of his judgments, which are inspired by a clear perception of the relativity of all things in matters of taste. It is not without reason that Prévost observes that Paris is nearer the culture of ancient Rome than it is to that of eighteenth-century London.

Nevertheless we must not fail to notice how general and vague Prévost's appreciations remain. "Des traits de force et de lumière qui percent au travers de cette ténébreuse écorce"; what does this mean after all? It is an easy way of expressing appreciation without justifying it in any definite manner. Gildon had indicated the

¹ Cf. *supra*, p. 180.

² PC, XIV, 61-64.

particular scenes which pleased him. Voltaire had done the same in his remarks apropos of *Julius Caesar*.¹ One is struck by the complacency with which Prévost insists again upon the idea that "les Anglois sensés" join with the French in recognizing and in condemning many faults in Shakespeare.

Prévost next examines *Othello*, "une tragédie que les Anglois ne changeroient pas avec nous contre la meilleure pièce de Corneille ou de Racine."² The narrative of the plot differs from that of Gildon in one important detail. The English original reads simply: "But the Moor effectually put his revenge in execution on his wife."³ Prévost shows a certain familiarity with the play and also rather pronounced traces of French taste when he lengthens the narrative as follows: "Le More, à qui il ne reste plus aucun doute de l'infidélité de sa femme, depuis qu'on lui a persuadé qu'elle a fait présent à Roderigo d'un précieux mouchoir qu'elle avoit reçu de lui, exécute cruellement sa vengeance à la vue des spectateurs, en l'étranglant dans son lit."⁴ The phrase "à la vue des spectateurs" implies, it seems, disapproval; at least one can admit that Prévost, more accustomed to the *réécits* of the French stage, was astonished at the bolder methods of the English theater; he is still but little "anglicisé," and remains at heart quite thoroughly French.⁵

The Abbé continues:

M. Rymer,⁶ le moins indulgent de tous les critiques qui ont fait le procès à Shakespeare, ne paroît pas si prévenu en faveur de cette pièce qu'Addisson et le commun des Anglois. Il accuse sans façon l'auteur d'avoir manqué de jugement dans le choix qu'il a fait d'un nègre pour son héros. Il n'y a personne, dit-il, qui ne traite de supposition monstrueuse l'amour d'une jolie femme pour un objet moins capable de l'attendrir que de l'épouvanter; et loin de s'intéresser au succès d'un si étrange mariage, on ne peut se défendre d'autant d'horreur que de dégoût. D'autres ont prétendu que cet aveugle amour n'est pas sans exemple, et qu'il suffit qu'il soit possible, pour justifier

¹ "Avec quel ravissement je voyais Brutus, tenant encore un poignard teint du sang de César, assembler le peuple romain, et lui parler ainsi du haut de la tribune aux harangues!"—Voltaire, *Œuvres*, II (1731), 316–18.

² *PC*, XIV, 64.

³ Gildon, p. 409.

⁴ *PC*, XIV, 65–66.

⁵ Is Prévost concealing his real thoughts in order to seem more in accord with his French readers than he actually is? This is a possible hypothesis and one very dear to Mr. F. B. Bury (cf. "The Abbé Prévost in England," *Scottish Review* [1899], pp. 27–52). However, in favor of this hypothesis we have no conclusive proof, and can admit its possibility only with reserve. Cf. *infra*.

⁶ Cf. *supra*, p. 183, note 7.

le poète. On conçoit, disent-ils, qu'une jeune fille qui n'a jamais vu le monde et que l'habitude continuelle de voir un More a guérie de l'aversion naturelle qu'on a pour des visages de cette couleur, peut se laisser toucher par les soins et les belles actions d'un gallant homme sans aucun égard pour ce qui le défigure aux yeux des autres. . . .

Quand cette apologie seroit beaucoup plus forte, il me semble, comme à M. Rymer, que ce qui suffiroit pour justifier Desdemona, ou pour donner de la vraisemblance à sa passion, ne disculperoit pas Shakespeare. Il est aisé d'en sentir la raison. Je pense aussi avec le même critique, que le fameux mouchoir d'Othello est une preuve trop foible pour servir de fondement au cruel excès de sa jalousie, et je ne puis trouver autant de force et de beauté que M. Addison dans une scène où les mouvemens les plus furieux de ce mari jaloux portent sur une cause si légère.¹ Le caractère de Iago peut être plus aisément défendu. Je ne sçais sur quel principe M. Rymer prétend qu'un traître n'est point un personnage qui puisse être souffert sur la scène. La véritable vertu, dont il dit que le théâtre doit toujours être une école, suppose la connoissance et la haine du vice; l'une ne peut s'acquérir, et l'autre se fortifier, que par des exemples.² D'ailleurs, il faudroit bannir, par la même règle, l'amour, l'ambition, la colère, etc., avec tous leurs effets, tels que l'effusion du sang, le meurtre, etc. Comment se figurer que la vertu puisse être représentée sans obstacles? Et quels obstacles trouve-t-elle plus ordinairement que ceux du vice?

Il en est de la critique d'*Othello* comme de celle du *Cid*.³ Toute juste qu'on la trouve, elle n'a jamais empêché les Anglois de courir en foule à toutes les représentations de cette pièce, et de la regarder comme un des plus beaux ouvrages de Shakespeare.⁴

Elle cède néanmoins le rang dans leur estime à la tragédie de *Hamlet* qu'ils s'accordent tous à nommer le chef-d'œuvre du Prince de leur théâtre.⁵

In his objection to *Othello*'s color Prévost is completely in accord with Gildon, who says: "I have drawn the fable with as much favour to the author as I possibly cou'd, yet I must own that the faults found in it by Mr. Rymer are but too visible for the most part. That of making a negro of the hero or chief character of the play, wou'd shock any one."⁶ Gildon continues the discussion in the same tone

¹ Cf. Thomas Rymer, *Short View of Tragedy* (J. Spingarn, *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, New York and Oxford, 1908).

² Cf. Prévost's defense of his own *Manon Lescaut*. He there takes the same position as here (*PC*, III, 137-39).

³ La Bruyère (*Des ouvrages de l'esprit*, par. 30) had spoken in the same manner of the triumph of the *Cid* over hostile critics. Du Bos had observed likewise: "Ceux qui ont lu la critique du *Cid*, n'en ont pas moins de plaisir à voir cette tragédie."—*Réflexions sur la poésie et sur la peinture* (1719; ed. of 1755), I, 306 and 309.

⁴ *PC*, XIV, 66-68.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 68.

⁶ Gildon, p. 410.

as Prévost. It is probable that this whole question was very familiar to Prévost from discussions which he must have frequently heard from Englishmen and French refugees of his acquaintance. The allusions to Addison seem to be made by Prévost on his own account; they are not found in Gildon. It is to be noted that Prévost in this criticism leans toward the views of the English critic who was most unfavorable to Shakespeare, namely Rymer. Later in the century the "bonhomme" Ducis also objected to the color of Othello and lightened it by several shades.¹ Prévost does not consider the "mouchoir" as too "familiar," and that fact is indicative of a certain breadth of view when we remember the blame heaped upon Hugo a hundred years later for his temerity in using the word on the stage; however, Prévost does think that the handkerchief constitutes too slight a cause to justify the mad jealousy of Othello. In this matter he differs from Gildon, who was willing to admit that "jealousie is born often of very slight occasions, especially in the breasts of men of those warmer climates."²

In short, Prévost does not say positively that he approves of the English admiration for *Othello*, but it seems that the sentence near the end of his remarks is equivalent to a defense of the play. All of these criticisms, in his opinion, are after all without effect upon the public. In the case of *Othello* as in that of the *Cid*, the crowd rejects the opinions of those literary men who see only faults; it admires the genius which is superior to the rules, and it overlooks the "faults" in favor of the beauties.³

It would seem that in *Hamlet* we should have the climax of Prévost's literary criticism. This is in no way the case. As before the Abbé resumes the plot, but he gives this short addition to Gildon: "Les fossoyeurs chantent, en remuant des os et des têtes de morts. Hamlet entre dans une conversation fort singulière avec eux."⁴ This illuminating sentence offers us nothing which is not to be found

¹ On Ducis consult E. Preston Dargan, "Shakespeare and Ducis," *Modern Philology*, X (1912-13), 137-78.

² Gildon, p. 411.

³ Du Bos gives to the "sentiment" of the crowd "cultivée" the final judgment in cases of this sort and refuses to grant final authority either to the professional critics or to the rules.

⁴ *PC*, XIV, 72.

previously in Voltaire,¹ and about the same time, or later, in Riccoboni,² D'Argens,³ or Le Blanc.⁴ This scene did then impress unfavorably all the most important French critics who at that time discussed Shakespeare's plays. Gildon also objects to it, but only because he thinks it out of place in a tragedy, and not, like some of the French critics, because he thinks it ridiculous in itself.⁵

Prévost continues: "Cette étrange rapsodie, où l'on n'aperçoit ni ordre ni vraisemblance, et où le comique et le tragique sont confusément mêlés,⁶ passe pour le chef-d'œuvre de Shakespeare. On ne m'en croiroit pas, si je ne promettois d'expliquer dans quelque autre feuille les causes de cette admiration."⁷ Unfortunately this explanation never appeared.⁸ It seems that we are almost forced to admit that Prévost had lost the admiration for *Hamlet* expressed in the *Mémoires d'un homme de qualité*. Perhaps, at the time when he wrote the *Mémoires*, he had not read the play for himself, and was praising it solely on its reputation; but this scarcely seems probable. It is possible that in the *Pour et Contre* he wished simply to forestall the objections which he could well expect his readers to make; by promising to refute their criticisms in a later number he expected, it may be, to pique their curiosity the more. Perhaps the difference between the Abbé's earlier opinion and his later attitude is sufficiently explained by the difference in age; the Prévost of forty has his enthusiasm less easily awakened than the Prévost of thirty. Without more evidence than we have it is impossible to find the solution of the problem.

¹ *Lettres phil.*, II, 80.

² *Réflexions . . . sur les différens théâtres de l'Europe* (1738; Amsterdam, 1740), p. 128.

³ *Lettres juives*, IV (1738), 237.

⁴ *Lettres d'un François*, II (1745), 298.

⁵ Gildon, p. 404.

⁶ Prévost, like his fellow-countrymen, was shocked at the romantic mingling of tragic and comic elements. Likewise Gildon (*loc. cit.*, and in the *Essay on the Art, Rise, and Progress of the Stage*, p. ix). Cf. also Paul Hamelius, *Die Kritik in der englischen Literatur des 17ten und 18ten Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1897), pp. 56-57.

⁷ *PC*, XIV, 72.

⁸ At the beginning of this same number (*PC*, XIV, 49; cf. *supra*, p. 187) Prévost had spoken of his intention to "hasarder ses propres réflexions sur le caractère et le mérite de Shakespeare." Was he then later afraid to put his plan into execution? Cf. *supra*, p. 192, note 5, for Mr. Bury's opinion that Prévost was not sincere in the *Pour et Contre*. But why consider that he was more sincere elsewhere, unless we have positive proof of some sort, or at least evidence?

The originality of Prévost in this criticism on Shakespeare, enthusiastically praised as it has been, seems to us of the slightest. In one whole number the Abbé openly limits himself to giving only the *English* point of view—and this, once it is examined, proves to be almost wholly that of Rowe; in the second number he is almost always very near to Gildon in thought if not in language. On *Hamlet* the Abbé has nothing of value, and the little he does say is entirely in the spirit of his contemporaries, Voltaire included. *The Tempest* does not please him. *Othello* is criticized in the conventional manner, although Prévost does go so far as to admit that the play was successful in spite of the rules, comparing it in this regard with the *Cid*; this perhaps is a discreet suggestion of a liking for *Othello*, but we cannot be sure. In any case, Prévost figures as but a timid advocate rather than as an "Anglomaniac" or as an enthusiastic "champion." Only the *Merry Wives*¹ seems to evoke a really personal admiration, but even that is expressed in the vaguest and most general terms.

Prévost's position is midway between that of the more enthusiastic among the English and that of the hostile French. In all essential matters he is not far from the feeling of Gildon, more reserved than Rowe. Gildon thought that "Shakespeare is indeed stor'd with a great many beauties, but they are in a heap of rubbish."² Prévost appears sometimes timid and hesitating in his opinions. Those which he acknowledges as his own show that he was much less bold, much less in advance of the spirit of his time, than has been thought. He remains, in short, very much an eighteenth-century Frenchman in his taste, very much a classicist.³ Occasionally, however, this classicism seems to tend cautiously toward greater liberality of viewpoint.

¹ This is surprising, since the *Merry Wives* is scarce the type of play one would expect Prévost to enjoy by preference. Why did he not put the basket scene among the "bouffonneries"?

² Gildon, *Remarks*, p. 425.

³ Jacob Staab merely follows the tradition when he speaks of the "anglophile Leitung" of the Abbé Prévost (*Das Journal Etranger unter dem Abbé Prévost* [Strasburg, 1912], p. 2). Moreover, he does not take account of the fact that Prévost, by his attitude, shows that he is generally of the opinion that "la raison et le bon goût" are on the side of the French (*ibid.*, p. 17). He brings forward nothing to change our opinion that Prévost was little in advance of the French critics of his time. In speaking of Pope—and this is noteworthy—Prévost is more enthusiastic than when he is discussing Shakespeare. This is especially

It seems that, either from the limitations of his taste or from timidity in the face of French opinion, Prévost did not dare to embrace the cause of the English poet too ardently, but contented himself with a moderation in general friendly but rather cool. It is possible that he did share to a greater extent than he admits the more favorable English attitude, but that he found French hostility too strong to oppose it more vigorously, especially after the cooling of the ardor of Voltaire, who more and more was directing his powerful influence in a direction contrary to Shakespeare. Voltaire—and this is not surprising—was more decided than Prévost, both in his first enthusiasm and in his later hostility.¹ Only the *Mémoires*, a production of Prévost's youth and of the period of exile, seems to give evidence of a moment of enthusiasm on his part. His other judgments are, for the most part, just and moderate but rather lukewarm. The criticism is intelligent but, in spite of the paeans sung in its honor, seems quite unenthusiastic. We are certainly still far removed from the zealous championship of a Diderot, and nearer to a cool *arbiter elegantiarum*.

We can no longer, as formerly, look upon the Abbé Prévost as one of the first ardent champions of Shakespeare in France. One more legend, among so many that have grown up about his life and work,² has disappeared, and its disappearance carries along with it more regret than did the others. Less blindly anglicized, Prévost is, however, more cosmopolitan and reasonable, and his desire to be constantly just is much to his credit. The inadequateness of his information is to be explained by his journalistic work, which gave him little time for long preparation, and which forced him always to write rapidly in order to gain a living. We must not expect to find him a scholar. In spite of these facts he did choose as his sources of

the case also in his treatment of Lillo's *London Merchant*. Even to the end of his life the Abbé did not change his opinion of Shakespeare. The *Lettres de Mentor*, a posthumous work (1764), has this note: "Shakespeare, Otway, Lee, Addison, etc., n'ont pas une scène comparable dans sa totalité, par la force, aux belles scènes des grands tragiques françois."—*Œuvres*, XXXIV, 375, note.

¹ In illustration of this tendency we have already called attention to a part of Voltaire's criticism of *Julius Caesar* (cf. *supra*, p. 192, note 1, and p. 186, note 3). Let the reader turn again also to the *Discours sur la tragédie* published as a Preface to *Brutus* in 1731, and to the *Essai sur la poésie épique* of 1733. The *Lettres philosophiques* (1734) are already indicative of more hostile tendencies.

² See Henry Harris, *op. cit.*

information one enthusiastic English judgment and another which was average and moderate in tone; the oversevere criticisms of Rymer did not meet with his approval, and, except for a detail or two, he passed them over in silence. The information given by Prévost—no less valuable because it was translated—and his moderation were of real service to the cause of Shakespeare in France.¹ Prévost invites the French to study a drama new to them. He tells them frankly that in it they will find many things to shock their ideas of good taste, but he also tells them that they will find, if they seek without prejudice, beauties worthy of their study. That certainly is the state of mind in which a foreign literature should always be approached. To have seen and called attention to that fact nearly a hundred years before Mme de Staël is not after all a slight merit.

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¹ It should be pointed out that by taking for the ideas of Prévost himself the section translated from Rowe, a contemporary of the Abbé set the example for modern critics. This contemporary is the Abbé Le Blanc. Cf. his *Lettres d'un François*, II (1745), 294-95. It is significant, at least for the history of his influence, that Prévost was so soon accorded the reputation of being excessively favorable to the English. The attribution was perhaps more justified than it is now possible for us to determine. However, Le Blanc saw in Prévost a dangerous rival who threatened the position he coveted for himself as a *connaisseur* of English literature. He was therefore not unwilling to find—perhaps even unjustly—a pretext for criticizing him.

G. CHAPMAN'S "COMMONPLACE BOOK"

Every reader of George Chapman's tragedies and poems has probably been struck by the number and variety of the similes and figures used by the poet in his lofty strain, but none more than Professor T. M. Parrott, who, commenting on one of the opening tirades of Monsieur in *Bussy d'Ambois*, remarked:¹

This speech affords a striking example of one of Chapman's methods of composition with which a careful student of his work becomes increasingly familiar. It is a mere mosaic of ideas, examples, figures even, taken directly from one of Chapman's favorite classic authors, Plutarch. . . . Numerous instances of this method will occur hereafter, and in each case the passage in Chapman is so close to its original as to suggest that he composed it with the classic author before him, or—more probably—that, like his friend Jonson, he kept a commonplace book into which he translated favorite bits and on which he drew at will when composing his plays and poems.

Ten years' desultory intercourse with Chapman led us, on the other hand, to recognize more and more clearly that our dramatist was far more familiar with the neo-Latinists of the early Renaissance than the average Elizabethan playwright.² His most conscious adoption and equally pedantic treatment of the simile³ as a rhetorical figure which no true poetry can go without if it is to have any grace of sentiment or scholarly dignity are but some of the features which seemed to us characteristic of the average sixteenth-century humanist and strongly reminded us of their views on that subject, among others of the ideas expressed by Erasmus in his epistle to Petrus Aegidius, "celebratissimae civitatis Antverpiensis," dated "Basileae anno a Christo nato MDXIII, Idibus Octobriis":

Nihil quidem vulgarium xeniorum ad amicum adeo non vulgarem, sed plurimas in uno libello gemmas mitto. Cur enim non sic appellem ὁμοιώσεις, ex opulentissimo summorum auctorum mundo selectas? . . . Sic enim

¹ *The Tragedies of George Chapman*, edited by Thomas Marc Parrott. London: Routledge, 1910, p. 548.

² We have proved Chapman's indebtedness to Petrarch, Johannes Pontanus, Angelus Politianus, among others, in *Revue Germanique*, 1913, IV, 428 ff., and in *Mod. Phil.*, XIII (1915-16), 215-38.

³ Chapman sometimes warns the reader and prints *Simile* in the margin. See for instance *Revenge of Bussy*, II, i, 181.

augurabar, quod intelligerem non nitorem modo, sed universam prope sermonis dignitatem a metaphoris proficisci. Nihil autem aliud est παραβολή, quam Cicero collationem vocat, quam explicata metaphora. . . . Metaphora sola cumulatius praestat universa quam exornationae reliquae singula. Delectare vis? Nulla plus habet festivitatis. Docere studes? Non alia probat vel efficacius vel apertius. . . . Tolle metaphorae supellectilem ex Oratoribus, jejuna erunt omnia. Tolle Parabolas e Prophetis & Evangelicis literis, magnam gratiae partem detraxeris. . . . Gustum duntaxat dare volumus, ut ingenia juvenum ad his similia conquirenda excitaremus.¹

Thus Erasmus, that high authority "*de Copia Verborum*," had strongly recommended the frequent use of similes for both artistic and didactic ends; he had urged the youths to collect (*conquirere*) metaphors, ready-made metaphors, so that they should have them at hand when they wrote a poem or an oration; nay more, he did not hesitate in naming the Greek and Latin classics who had to be most carefully read with a view to gathering the "exquisite gems" out of the "abstruse treasures of the Muses":

Nuper dum Aristotelem, Plinium ac Plutarchum locupletandis Adagiorum Chiliadibus relego, dum Annaeum Senecam a mendis quibus exstinctus erat, repurgo, has obiter annotavi tibi munusculum haudquaquam ingratum futuras. . . . E Plutarcho complura recensuimus, partim quod is auctor Graecus est, partim quod in hoc genere sic excellit, ut cum hoc nemo vel eloquentissimorum jure conferri queat. E Seneca non ita multa decerpimus. . . .²

Now, although Chapman often turned to Seneca tragicus, to Epictetus, or even to Catullus for his imagery, it is unquestionable that he "sucked his honey" from Plutarch more systematically than from any other writer of antiquity. Was this a mere coincidence; that is to say, was he drawn to Plutarch by his own instinctive preference for that author, or did he only follow Erasmus' advice?

The second alternative seems to be the only true one, not only because it would be on the face of it a surprising thing that Chapman the Scholar should not have read and oftentimes consulted the *Colloquia* and *Adagia*, but because there is, we shall see, ample

¹ *Erasmi Opera Omnia*, Lugduni Batavorum, cura & impensis Petri Vander AA, MDCCIII, Tome I, 559-60.

² *Ibid.*

evidence that Chapman was as familiar with Erasmus' works as a Rabelais or a Montaigne may have been.

Up to now, as far as we know, the only link, and a very tenuous one, which connected Chapman with Erasmus for students of Elizabethan literature, was C. W. Dilkes' note on the following passage of *Monsieur d'Olive*:

For mine own part, I should so ill endure the loss of a wife that if I lost her this week, I'd have another by the beginning o' th' next.¹

Dilke refers to one of the *Colloquia Familiaria*, entitled *Τερποντολογία*, in which the much married Polygamus declares:

Nunquam vixi caelebs ultra dies decem. . . . Si haec octava moretur hodie, perinde ducerem nonam.²

But it seems to us that there are a good many other disregarded links between Chapman's works and the *Colloquia*.

Quintiliano's comparison of a banquet with a battle: "I will compare the noble service of a feast with the honourable service of the field"³ may have been suggested to Chapman by Latin comedy, *Captivi*, V, i, and *Menaechmi*, I, iii, but he may as well have taken the idea from Erasmus' colloquy *πολυδαιρία* (*Dispar Convivium*):

Spudus: Quem probas in patinis ordinem?

Apitius: Eumdem quam Pyrrhus in acie, etc. . . .⁴

Again, Chapman's *A Good Woman*⁵ may have been largely built on Plutarch's *Conjugalia Praecepta*, as Professor Parrott suggests, but it may just as well be an adaptation of a passage of Erasmus' *Uxor Μειψίγαμος sive Conjugium*, for which the Dutch humanist has freely borrowed from the same Plutarchian source.⁶

Chapman's frequent comparison of "a slave bound face to face to Death till death,"⁷ an allusion to Mezentius' barbarous practice,⁸ was first used as a simile by Erasmus in his *Ἀγαμος γάμος*:

¹ *Monsieur d'Olive*, III, i, 72-74; *Old English Plays*, Vol. III, 1814.

² *Erasmi Op.*, Tome I, 736.

³ *May-Day*, IV, iii, 22-24.

⁴ *Erasmi Op.*, Tome I, 819.

⁵ *George Chapman's Poems* (Chatto & Windus, 1904), p. 151.

⁶ *Erasmi Op.*, Tome I, 703-4.

⁷ *Byron's Tragedy*, V, iv, 38; *Bussey*, V, i, 115-16; *Eastward Ho*, II, iii, 89-90; *Caesar and Pompey*, V, ii, 82; *Poems*, p. 124b.

⁸ *Aen.*, viii, 484-87.

Mihi plane videtur hoc factum [i.e., compelling a nice girl to marry a nasty old man] Mezentio dignum: qui mortua, ut inquit Maro, iungebat corpora vivis, Componens manibusque manus atque oribus ora.¹

And it is likely that Chapman got it from Erasmus.

Similarly Chapman's comparison of "A mote, man, with the most, that with the sun Is only seen"² is borrowed from Erasmus' colloquium, *Apotheosis Reuchlini Capnionis*:

Nec aliter oppleverant aërem totum, quam videmus in solis radiis volitare minuta corpuscula, quae vocant *ἄτομα*.³

The title and fundamental idea of Chapman's *Tears of Peace* strongly reminds one of Erasmus' disquisition called *Querela Pacis*.

Chapman's belief that "a good man dying utters oracles"⁴ may be traced to Plato's *Apology*, XXX: Καὶ γὰρ εἰμι ἤδη ἐνταῦθα ἐν ᾧ μάλιστα ἄνθρωποι χρησµφοδοῦσιν, ὅταν μέλλωσιν ἀποθανεῖσθαι. But we may as well refer to the following passage of Erasmus' *Encomium Morae, sub fine*:

Idem arbitror esse in causa cur laborantibus vicina morte, simile quiddam soleat accidere ut tamquam afflati prodigiosa quaedam loquantur.

It is even more certain that Chapman had the *Adagia* for a companion book. His metaphor of "man, a quick corse,"⁵ "a breathing sepulchre,"⁶ is lifted direct from the *Adagia*:

Vivum cadaver, vivum sepulchrum, Ἐμψυχος νεκρός (Soph. in *Antigone*). Οὐ τίθεµ' ἐγὼ ζῆν τοῦτον, ἀλλ' ἔμψυχον ἡγοῦμαι νεκρόν. In eos dicet qui sic vivunt ut nihil vita dignum agant. Lucianus senem decrepitum ἔμψυχόν τινα τάφον, i.e., vivum quoddam sepulchrum appellat.

"Hic Rhodus, hic saltus,"⁷ and "Etiam capillus unus habet umbram suam,"⁸ two of Chapman's numerous Latin quotations, are among the *Adagia*. The simile of a shipwreck in the haven⁹ is Erasmus' adagium: "in portu impingere." Chapman's constant

¹ *Erasmii Op.*, Tome I, 827.

² *Sir Giles Goosecap*, V, ii, 270. Cf. *Poems*, p. 250: ". . . As gilt atoms in the sun appear" and p. 254b.

³ *Erasmii Op.*, Tome I, 689.

⁴ *Poems*, p. 333a. See also *Gentleman Usher*, IV, iii, 61.

⁵ *Byron's Tragedy*, V, iv, 35.

⁶ *Poems*, p. 126b.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 196.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 261.

⁹ *Bussy*, I, i, 33; *Monsieur d'Olive*, I, i, 175; *Poems*, p. 123b, 196a.

association of "a circle," "circular" with the idea of perfection,¹ an association traceable to Plutarch, is probably based on Erasmus' adagium:

Circulum absolvere: Metaphora sumpta videtur a mathematicis, apud quos circularis figura perfectissima absolutissimaque judicatur.²

Chapman's advice, "Ship not in one bark all your ability,"³ is but the translation of Erasmus' adagium, "ne uni navi facultates."

All that presumptive evidence would make it likely that Chapman had read a good deal of Erasmus and that it was on Erasmus' suggestion that he had preferably drawn on Plutarch for his poetic similes. But there is positive evidence that Chapman's commonplace book was partially identical with—possibly only an expansion and enrichment of—Erasmus' *Parabolae sive Similia*, that very collection of similes to which Erasmus alludes in his letter to Petrus Aegidius.

Professor Parrott has already remarked that the Latin text, and not the Greek original, suggested Chapman's diction whenever he adapts Plutarch, so that we may all the more readily assume that if an unusually large proportion of the metaphors picked out by Erasmus are found in Chapman, it is nearly certain that he picked them himself from Erasmus, and not from Plutarch, or Seneca, or Pliny.

How unusually large that proportion is the following parallels may show:

"EX PLUTARCHI MORALIBUS"

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

Ut qui praeternavigatis syrtibus,
juxta portum frangit navem. . . .

They clearly sail over rocks and
shelves,
But . . . shipwreck in the deeps.
[*Poems*, p. 187a.]

Aer qui est in auribus, nisi tran-
quillus sit et carens propria voce, sed
tinnitu fuerit ac tumultu plenus,
non exacte recipit ea quae dicuntur:
. . . Sic ea pars quae Philosophia

For as the air contain'd within our
ears,
If it be not in quiet, nor refrains
Troubling our hearing with offensive
sounds

¹ *Monsieur d'Olive*, I, i, 32; *Poems*, pp. 129b, 143a, 209, etc.

² Cf. the following passage of the adage *Scarabeus aquilam quaerit*: "Vere proditum est a philosophis eam figuram, quam vocant sphaericam non modo pulcherrimam esse, verum etiam modis omnibus optimam. . . ."

³ *Widow's Tears*, III, ii, 71; *Charlemagne*, I, i, 414; *Poems*, 77b, etc.

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

dicta, iudicat, si quid intus obstrepat,
& obtinniat, non recte iudicabit,
quae foris accipiuntur.

Ut in tumultu non audimus quid
nobis dicatur; Ita irati non admittimus
alienum consilium, nisi ratio
loquatur intus, quae tumultum animi
compescat.

Morbi corporis pulsu, & colore
deprehenduntur. . . .

Qui venantur bestias, induunt
exuvium cervi: qui aucupantur
aves, plumatis utuntur tunicis,
caventque ne tauris appareant in
veste purpurea, rubra, aut alba ele-
phantis, quod hoc colore irritentur:
Sic qui velit feram nationem cicurare,
domareque, moribus ac vestitu semet
illi ad tempus accommodet, neces-
sum est.

Ut Cyclops exoculatus manus
quoquo versam porrigebat, nullum
certo scopo: Ita magnus Rex, cui
desit prudentia, quidvis aggreditur
ingenti rerum tumultu, sed nullo
iudicio.

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

(But our affected instrument of hear-
ing,

Replete with noises and singing in
itself)

It faithfully receives no other voices;
So of all judgments, if within them-
selves

They suffer spleen and are tumultuous,
They cannot equal differences with-
out them;¹

[*Byron's Conspiracy*, V, ii, 58-66.]

For as the body's pulse in physic is
A little thing, yet therein th'arteries
Betray their motion and disclose to Art
The strength or weakness of the vital
part. [Poems, p. 181b.]

We must fit

Our government to men, as men to it:
In old time they that hunted savage
beasts

Are said to clothe themselves in
savage skins;

They that were fowlers, when they
went on fowling,

Wore garments made with wings
resembling fowls;

To bulls we must not show ourselves
in red

Nor to the warlike elephant in white.

[*Byron's Conspiracy*, II, ii, 33-40.]

As the Cyclop

That having lost his eye, struck every
way,

His blows directed to no certain
scope. . . .

So, I remov'd once, all his armies
shook,

Panted, and fainted, and were ever
flying.

[*Byron's Conspiracy*, III, ii, 97-104.]

¹ Cf. *Byron's Tragedy*, V, iii, 114 ff.

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

Quemadmodum imperiti artifices,
cum statuis exiguis magnas subdunt
bases, magis conspicuam reddunt
illarum exiguitatem; Ita fortuna
si pusillo animo munus amplum
addat, indicat et arguit magis animi
humilitatem.

Flammam primum emicantem
multus comitatur fumus: qui qui-
dem evanescit, jam invalescente &
explicante se flamma. . . . Fumus
gloriae invidia est.

Ut difficillimum ac periculosum est
annosas arbores, quae jam late
sparsere radices, revellere loco, &
alio transplantare. . . .

Ut ferrum, aut aes usu splendescit:
Sic exercendis negociis enitescit animi
vigor.

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

Foolish statuaries,
That under little saints suppose great
bases
Make less to sense the saints; and
so, where Fortune
Advanceth vile minds to states
great and noble,
She much the more exposeth them
to shame,
Not able to make good and fill their
bases
With a conformed structure.
[*Byron's Conspiracy*, IV, i, 179-85.]

Such love is like a smoky fire
In a cold morning; though the fire be
cheerful,
Yet is the smoke so sour and cumber-
some,
"Twere better lose the fire than find
the smoke:
Such an attendant then as smoke to
fire,
Is jealousy to love.
[*All Fools*, I, ii, 59-64.]

Thus in the summer a tall flourishing
tree,
Transplanted by strong hand . . .
makes a show
Of Spring, tempting the eye with
wanton blossom;
But not the sun with all her amorous
smiles,
The dews of morning or the tears of
night
Can root her fibres in the earth
again. . . .
But the tree withers. . . .
[*Chabot*, V, iii, 52 ff.]

And like burnish'd steel,
After long use he shined.
[*Bussy*, I, i, 75-76.]

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

Arbores invidae, vetulaeque sub-
nascentes arbusculas umbra sua
premunt, nec sinunt efflores-
cere.

Obsoniorum egregii artifices con-
dimentis nonnihil austeri admiscent,
quo dulcedinis tollant satietatem:
sic adulatores fictam quandam liber-
tatem ac severitatem admiscent, ut
nunquam magis adulentur, quam
cum videntur objurgare ac libere
loqui.

Chamaeleon omnem imitatur
colorem praeterquam album: Sic
adulator in turpibus nihil non imi-
tatur, solum quod honestum est,
imitari non potest.

Nutrices pueros lapsos non ob-
jurgant et puniunt, sed accurrentes
erigunt, deinde objurgant.

Ut Colossi seu statuæ male libra-
tae, saepius subvertuntur.

Statuæ magnitudine moleque sua
librantur & consistunt: at reges
stulti subvertuntur.

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

Though I am grown, by right of
birth and arms,
Into a greater kingdom, I will spread
With no more shade than may admit
that kingdom
Her proper, natural, and wonted
fruits.
[Byron's *Conspiracy*, I, i, 118 ff.]

For as a man whom Art hath flattery
taught,
And is at all parts master of his
craft;
With long and varied praises doth
sometimes
Mix by the way some slight and
pervial crimes
As sauce; to give his flatteries taste
and scope

[*Poems*, p. 197b.]

And as your chameleon varies all
colours o' th' rainbow, but¹ white and
red, so must your true courtier be able
to vary his countenance through all
humours. Some colours likewise his
face may change upon occasion,
black or blue it may, but red and
white at no hand.

[*Monsieur d'Olive*, III, ii, 24.]

And, as a careful mother I have seen
Chide her loved child; snatch'd with
some fear from danger.

[*Poems*, p. 114b.]

Great and immodest braveries again,
Like statues much too high made
for their bases,
Are overturn'd as soon as given their
places,

[*Revenge of Bussy*, III, ii, 58-60.]

¹ The text has "both," which would be a sin against Renaissance Bestiaries.

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

Ut imperiti statuarii pulchram
existimant statuam, quae sit vastis-
sima mole: Sic reges nonnulli fastu
et asperitate se egregios Principes
videri putant.

Ut Colossi foris insignes, Deum
aliquem repraesentant, intus pleni
luto, clavis, sordibus: Ita rex pur-
pura, equis, auro, satellitio magni-
ficus, in animo nihil habet, praeter
sordidos affectus & inscitiam.

Quemadmodum fulgur prius emi-
cat, quam audiatur tonitru, quod
sonitus auribus excipiat, lumini
visus occurrat. . . .

Uti sol si immineat hominis vertici,
aut prorsum tollit umbram, aut
minimam reddit: Sic ingens gloria
extinguit invidiam.

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

(Great men) do imitate
Unskilful statuariers, who suppose,
In forming a Colossus, if they make
him
Straddle enough, strut, and look
big, and gape,
Their work is goodly: so men merely
great
In their affected gravity of voice,
Sourness of countenance, manners'
cruelty,
Authority, wealth, and all the spawn
of Fortune,
Think they bear all the kingdom's
worth before them;
Yet differ not from those colossic
statues,
Which, with heroic forms without
o'er-spread,
Within are nought but mortar,
flint, and lead.

[*Bussy*, I, i, 6 ff.]

As the thunder
Seems, by men's duller hearing than
their sight,
To break a great time after lightning
forth,
Yet both at one time tear the labour-
ing cloud,
So men think penance of their ills is
slow,
Though th' ill and penance still to-
gether go.

[*Revenge of Bussy*, V, i, 9 ff.]

As the sun
At height and passive o'er the crowns
of men,
His beams diffus'd, and downright
pour'd on them,
Cast but a little or no shade at all:
So he that is advanc'd above the
heads .

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

Ut scarabei, ac vultures offenduntur unguentis: Ita non omnibus placent optima.

Scarabei fugiunt unguenta, delectantur foetoribus: Sic nonnullis pessima pro optimis placent.

Ut athletae non ferunt coronam nisi vicerint: Sic bonis viris praemia felicitatis non ante contingunt quam peracto hujus vitae certamine.

Ignis facile accenditur in paleis & pilis leporinis: sed idem mox extinguitur.

Luna cum soli conjungitur, tum obscuratur, & occultatur: cum abest, lucet: Contra proba uxor praesente marito, maxime conspici debet: eodem absente, maxime condi & latere.

Cum spirat Boreas, conatur vi vestem revellere, at homo magis astringit pallium: quod si sol tepido vento demulserit, jam sponte & tunicam abjicit: Sic uxor conans

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

Of all his emulators with high light
Prevents their envies, and deprives
them quite.

[*Byron's Tragedy*, V, i, 140 ff.]

She (Envy) feeds on outcast entrails
like a kite. . . .

but touch her

With any precious ointment, and
you kill her.

[*Bussy*, II, i, 5 ff.]

Wrastlers for games know they shall
never be,
Till their strife end and they have
victory,

Crown'd with their garlands, nor
receive their game,
And in our heaven's strife know not
we the same?

[*Poems*, p. 334a, b.]

He that soon
Sparkles and flourishes, as soon is
gone.

[*Poems*, p. 157a.]

She is not Moon-like, that the Sun,
her spouse,
Being furthest off, is clear and glorious:

And being near, grows pallid and
obscure;

But in her husband's presence, is
most pure,

In all chaste ornaments, bright still
with him,

And in his absence, all retired and
dim.

[*Poems*, p. 151b.]

You have heard
The fiction of the north wind and the
sun,
Both working on a traveller, and con-
tending

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

conviciis maritum a luxu revocare,
magis irritat: si placide ferat &
roget, magis efficit.

Ut Geometrae negant moveri
lineas & superficies sine corpore, sed
una cum corporibus moveri: Sic
uxor & in seriis & ludicris, & risu, &
laetis & tristibus, accommodabit se
marito.

Qui ministrant elephantis, non
sumunt lucidam vestem: qui tauris,
purpuream non induunt: nam his
coloribus efferantur. Tigrides tym-
panorum strepitum non ferunt: Ita
uxor ab iis debet abstinere, quibus
senserit maritum vehementer offendi.

¹ Cf. *Poems*, p. 152a.

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

Which had most power to take his
cloak from him:
Which when the wind attempted, he
roar'd out
Outrageous blasts at him to force it off,
That wrapt it closer on: when the
calm sun
(The wind once leaving) charg'd
him with still beams
Which made him cast off both his
cloak and coat;
Like whom should men do. If ye
wish your wives
Should leave dislik'd things, seek it
not with rage,
But use calm warnings and kind
manly means.

[*Revenge of Bussy*, I, ii, 79 ff.]

As geometricians
Teach that no lines nor superficies
Do move themselves, but still accom-
pany
The motions of their bodies; so poor
wives
Must not pursue, nor have their own
affections,
But to their husbands' earnestness, and
their jests,
To their austerities of looks, and
laughters
Like parasites and slaves, fit their
disposures.¹

[*Revenge of Bussy*, I, ii, 53 ff.].

And as those that in Elephants
delight,
Never come near them in weeds
rich and bright,
Nor bulls approach in scarlet; since
those hues
Through both those beasts enraged
affects diffuse;

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

Ut tigrides, si quis tympanis circumsonet, in rabiem agi dicuntur, adeo ut seipsas denique discerpant.

. . . .

Quidam fastiditis propriis uxoribus & formosis & amantibus, cum scorto mercede coeunt. . . .

Quemadmodum adulteri alienas uxores adamant, suas contemnunt: Sic quidam aliorum bonis magis delectantur, sua elevant aut etiam negligunt.

Qui viro malo addit opes & gloriam, is febricitanti ministrat vinum, bilioso mel, coeliacis obsonia, quae morbum animi, hoc est stultitiam, augeant.

Ut qui morbo laborant, cibos purissimos & lautissimos fastidiunt & recusant, si quis edere compellat, iidem restituti bonae valetudini, caseo quoque, aut cepe lubenter vescuntur: ita stultis magnifica fortuna injucunda, sapientibus etiam humilis ac tenuis fortuna suavis.

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

And as from Tigers men the Timbrel's sound
And Cymbal's keep away; since they about
Thereby in fury and their own flesh tear;
So when t'a good wife, it is made appear
That rich attire and curiosity
In wires, tires, shadows, do displease the eye
Of her loved husband; music, dancing breeds
Offence in him; she lays by all those weeds,
Leaves dancing, music; and at every part
Studies to please and does it from her heart.
[*Poems*, 152a, b.]

Others' advancements, others' fames desiring,
Thirsting, exploring, praising, and admiring,
Like lewd adulterers that their own wives scorn
And other men's with all their wealth adorn.
[*Poems*, p. 122a.]

As to men that pine
And burn with fevers you fill cups of wine,
The cholerick honey give, and fulsome meat
On sick men force that at the daintiest sweat,
Who yet, their hurtful tempers turn'd to good;
Mild spirits generate and gentle blood
With restitution of their natural heat,
Even cheese and water-cresses they will eat

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

Non timet mare qui non navigat.
 At superstitiosus omnia
 timet, terram, mare, aerem, coelum,
 tenebras, lumen, strepitum, silentium,
 somnium,

Qui dentibus laborant, protinus
 Medicum adeunt, malum exponunt;
 qui febre tenentur, accersunt; at
 phreneticus, nec accersit, nec admit-
 tit, ob morbi vehementiam: Ita
 qui vitia sua celant, nec admonentem
 patiuntur, de his nulla salutis spes
 est.

Quemadmodum araneae ex se telas
 texunt: Ita quidam ex seipsis com-
 miniscuntur fabulas ac mendacia,
 cum nihil subsit veri.

Ut Lamias fabulae narrant foris
 oculatas esse, domi oculis in vase
 reconditis, nihil videre; ita quidam

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

With taste enough; so make but
 strong your mind
 With her fit rule, and cates of
 humblest kind
 You taste with height of pleasure.
 [*Poems*, p. 335b.]

He that fears the gods
 For guard of any goodness, all things
 fears,
 Earth, seas, and air, heaven, dark-
 ness, broad day,
 Rumour and silence and his very
 shade.
 [*Caesar and Pompey*, I, i, 67 ff.]

If our teeth, head, or but our finger
 ache,
 We straight seek the physician; if a
 fever
 Or any cureful malady we take,
 The grave physician is desired ever;
 But if proud melancholy, lunacy,
 Or direct madness overheat our
 brains,
 We rage, beat out, or the physicians
 fly,
 Losing with vehemence even the
 sense of pains;
 So of offenders, they are past recure,
 That with a tyrannous spleen, their
 stings extend
 'Gainst their reprovers.

[*Poems*, p. 105a.]

The envious man hath been here,
 who, like a venomous spider, drawing
 this subtle thread out of himself,
 cunningly spread it into the ears of
 the many. . . .

[*Poems*, p. 195b.]

. . . . Without an eye, or at most
 seeing all by one sight, like the
 Lamiae who had but one eye to

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

in alienis perspicaces sunt, ad sua
caecutiunt.

Civitates portas habent quasdam
nefastas per quas educuntur nocentes
ad supplicium capitis, ejiciuntur
purgamenta, nihil autem infertur
sacrum aut purum; Sic aures curio-
sorum non transeunt nisi homicidia,
adulteria.

Quemadmodum aquilae & leones
cum ambulant, introrsum vertunt
ungues, ne conterantur, ac servant in
praedam illorum aciem: sic animi
vigorem non convenit alienis rebus
noscendis absumere, sed servare ad
usum necessariorum.

Ut Sicyae, quod est in corpore
pessimum, id attrahunt: Sic curio-
sorum aures, quod est in hominum
vita vitiosissimum, id libentissime
audiunt.

Sicyae quod est pessimum attra-
hunt; Sic quidam suis bonis non
fruantur, sed malis expendendis
discruciantur.

¹ See also *Poems*, p. 187b.

² *Ibid.*, p. 183b.

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

serve all their directions, which as
any one of them went abroad she
put on and put off when she came
home. . . .

[*Poems*, p. 195a.]

And as in ancient cities, 'twas the
guise
To have some ports of sad and hap-
less vent
Through which all executed men
they sent,
All filth, all offal, cast from what
purged sin,
Nought chaste or sacred there going
out or in:
So through men's refuse ears will
nothing pierce
That's good or elegant.¹

[*Poems*, p. 119a.]

But as of lions it is said, and eagles,
That when they go, they draw their
seres and talons
Close up, to shun rebating of their
sharpness:
So our wit's sharpness, which we
should employ
In noblest knowledge, we should
never waste
In vile and vulgar admirations.²

[*Revenge of Bussy*, III, ii, 17 ff.]

But as your cupping-glasses still
exhale
The humour that is ever worst of all,
In all the flesh; so these spiced con-
scienced men,
The worst of things explore still,
and retain.

[*Poems*, p. 187b.]

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

Frustra suber appenditur retibus
ut natent, si plumbum annexum
deorsum trahat, & in aequo teneat:
Ita frustra praeceptis bene vivendi
instituihur, si malitia addita non
sinit e stultitia emergere.

Ut vultures ad exstincta corpora
odore feruntur, sana non sentiunt;
Sic inimicus, si quid deliqueris,
statim olfacit, atque eo confestim
accurrit, ad recte facta stupidus.

Ut muscae a levibus locis veluti
speculis dilabuntur, asperis & cavis
insident: Sic quidam bonorum obliti,
tristium memoriam urgent, ac
premunt.

"EX ARISTOTELE, PLINIO, THEOPHRASTO."

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

Ut natura gemmas altissime recon-
didit, vilia passim obvia sunt: Ita
quae sunt optima, paucissimis nota
sunt, nec nisi summo studio eruuntur.

Sicut echo non sonat nisi cum
reddit acceptam vocem

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 117a.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 187a and 433a.

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

Our nets must still be clogg'd with
heavy lead,
To make them sink and catch; for
cheerful gold
Was never found in the Pierian
streams,
But wants and scorns and shames for
silver sold.

[*Poems*, p. 105b.]

I heard but the report
Of his accusers and his enemies,
Who never mention in his character
Shadows of any virtue in those men
They would depress: like crows and
carion birds,
They fly o'er flowery meads, clear
springs, fair gardens,
And stoop at carcasses.¹

[*Chabot*, IV, i, 10 ff.]

(Envy) is like a fly
That passes all the body's soundest
parts
And dwells upon the sores.²

[*Bussy*, II, i, 15-16.]

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

Where it (obscurity) shroudeth
itself in the heart of his subject
with that darkness will I still labour
to be shadowed. Rich minerals
are digged out of the bowels of the
earth, not found in the superficies
and dust of it. [Poems, p. 21.]

As doth an echo beat back violent
sounds
With their own forces.

[*Byron's Conspiracy*, II, ii, 152-53.]

ERASMUS' "PARABOLAE"

Sicut primum pictura coepit ab umbris & lineis, deinde monochromata, mox accessit lumen & umbrae una cum colorum varietate, donec ad summam artificii pervenit admirationem. . . .

Quemadmodum Protogenes pictor Apellem ex unica linea cognovit, nunquam alioqui visum; Ita ex unico responso ingenium & prudentiam viri deprehendet, qui sit ipse sapiens.

Ut stultum sit relictis fontibus consecrari rivulos. . . .

Ut aromatum, florum, similiumque odor gratior sentitur e longinquo quam e proximis (offendunt enim nonnunquam naribus admota, quae procul delectabant). . . .

Ut fuci, cum ipsi non mellificent, tamen illarum insidiantur laboribus: Ita sunt qui nihil ipsi excudant, sed aliorum vigiliis elaborata furto sibi vendicant.

CHAPMAN'S ADAPTATION

It serves not a skilful painter's turn to draw the figure of a face only to make known who it represents; but he must limn, give lustre, shadow and heightening.

[*Poems*, p. 21.]

. . . . As if she [Nature] intended to do like the painter that came to see Apelles, drew that subtle line for a masterpiece of his workmanship.

[*Poems*, p. 262a.]

. . . . of taste so much deprav'd,
that they had rather
Delight, and satisfy themselves to drink
Of the stream troubl'd, wand'ring
ne'er so far
From the clear fount, than of the
fount itself.

[*Revenge of Bussy*, II, i, 99 ff.]

Fly, fly, you are too near; so odorous
flowers
Being held too near the censer of
our sense,
Render not pure nor so sincere their
powers,
As being held a little distance thence.
. . . .

[*Poems*, p. 105b.]

What an heroic, more than royal
spirit
Bewray'd you in your first speech,
that defies
Protection of vile drones that eat the
honey
Sweat from laborious virtue.

[*Byron's Conspiracy*, I, i, 117 ff.]

The above list of parallels is by no means exhaustive, and Professor Parrott and I will have many more such parallels to add to those few in our forthcoming edition of G. Chapman's *Poems*, but

we have adduced, we trust, enough evidence to infer safely that Chapman's commonplace book did exist, and that, although not identical with Erasmus', it had at least annexed large parts of it. All Chapman's borrowings from Plutarch's *Moralia*, in particular, are really nothing but borrowings from Erasmus' *Parabolæ*. The same thing may be said roughly too for the excerpts from Pliny.

In one case, however, we can safely assert that Chapman borrowed neither from Plutarch direct, nor from Erasmus, but from the Huguenot poet du Bartas: We refer to the following simile, a favorite one with our author:

But as the ravens, which in Arabia live,
Having flown all the fields of spices o'er,
Seize on a stinking carcase. . . .
[*Charlemagne*,¹ Bullen's *Old English Plays*, Vol. III, p. 237.]

Like crows and carrion birds,
They fly o'er flowery meads, clear springs, fair gardens,
And stoop at carcases.
[*Chabot*, IV, i, 14-16.]

Before Chapman, G. Peele had used the same image:

Like as the fatal raven
Flies by the fair Arabian spiceries,
Her pleasant gardens and delightsome parks
And yet doth stoop with hungry violence
Upon a piece of hateful carrion.
[*David and Bethsabe*, Works, Vol. II, pp. 29-30, Bullen's edition.]

And before Peele, Du Bartas:

Ainsi que les corbeaux d'une penne venteuse
Passans les bois pleurans de l'Arabie heureuse,
Mesprisent les jardins et parcs delicieux,
Qui de fleurs esmaillez vont parfumant les cieux,
Et s'arrestent, gloutons, sur la salle carcasce
D'un criminel rompu n'aguere à coups de masse.
[*L'arche*, 1^{ère} partie du 2^d jour de la 2^de semaine.]

¹ Our forthcoming edition of that play (Princeton University Press) will show, we think beyond a doubt, that its author is nobody else but Chapman. For an earlier, but less complete, demonstration of that literary fact, see our article: "Un drame élisabéthain anonyme: *Charlemagne*," *Revue Germanique*, viii, 2, p. 155-171 (Mars 1912).

Professor Parrott, commenting on the history of that image, wrote in 1910:

It is interesting to trace a simile of this sort running from the morning of Elizabethan drama in Peele to its sunset in Shirley. Owing to the uncertainty as to the dates of *David and Bethsabe* and *Charlemagne*, it is difficult to say which of these plays borrowed from the other, or whether both of them drew independently from Du Bartas.

He was not aware at the time that the simile went back to Plutarch¹ and that it could be proved that both Peele and Chapman had read the Du Bartas version of it.

That Chapman and Peele both mention "Arabia," whereas neither Plutarch nor Erasmus refer to that biblical country of "fair spiceries"; that Peele translates literally "jardins et parcs delicieux" by "gardens and delightsome parks"; that Chapman translates literally "jardins de fleurs esmaillez" by "fair gardens, flowery meads" and keeps the original French word "carcasse" in both his versions, those few details would already prove the dependence of both dramatists on Du Bartas. But there is additional evidence, for, just as Mr. P. H. Cheffaud has shown in his monograph on G. Peele that Peele knew Du Bartas and borrowed wholesale passages from *les Semaines*, so we too can prove that Chapman had read Du Bartas, or at least copied extracts from his works and entered them into his own commonplace book. The following four parallels are sufficient to make our contention good:

Car comme le caillou, qui, lissé,	And as a pebble cast into a spring,
tombe en l'eau	We see a sort of trembling circles rise,
D'un vivier sommeilleux, forme un	One forming other in their issuing,
petit aneau	Till over all the fount they circulize:
A l'entour de sa cheute, et qu'encore	So this perpetual-motion-making kiss
il compasse	Is propagate through all my faculties
Par le doux mouvement qui glisse	[<i>Poems</i> , p. 35a.]
en la surface	And, as in a spring,
De cet ondelé marbre et crystal	The pliant water, moved with any-
trémoussant	thing,

¹ *Quo modo utilitas capiatur ex inimicis*, IV. We have already seen that this simile is one of Erasmus' *Parabolae*.

Une suite de ronds, qui vont toujours
croissant,
Jusqu'à tant qu'à la fin des cercles
le plus large
Frappe du fleuve mort et l'un et
l'autre marge. . . .

[Du *Bartas*, *Colonies*.]

Ains semblable à la fleur du lin, qui
naist et tombe
Tout en un mesme jour, son bers
serait sa tombe,
Son printemps son hyver, sa nais-
sance sa mort.

[1^{ère} *Semaine*, 3^e jour, ll. 549-51.]

Brief durant ceste guerre (*le
chaos*)
La terre estoit au ciel, & le ciel en
la terre.
La terre, l'air, le feu se tenoient
dans la mer.
La mer, le feu, la terre estoient
logez dans l'air.
L'air, la mer & le feu dans la terre:
& la terre
Chez l'air, le feu, la mer.

[1^{ère} *Sem.*, 1^{er} jour, ll. 231-36.]

Que plustost ie soy tel qv'vn fleuve
qui naissant
D'vn sterile rocher govtte à govtte
descend;
Mais tant plvs vers Thetis il fvit
loin de sa sovree,
Augmente ses flots, prend force de
sa course;
Fait rage de choquer, de bruire,
d'escumer
Et desdaigne orgueilleux la grandeur
de la mer.

[*L'Arche*, ll. 28-34.]

Let fall into it, puts her motion out
In perfect circles, that move round
about
The gentle fountain, one another
raising.

So Truth and Poesy work.

[*Poems*, p. 129b.]

If thou refuse,
Then my hopes like the flower of
flaxe receyve
Their byrthe and grave together.

[*Charlemagne*, p. 176.]

When earth, the air, and sea, in fire
remain'd;
When fire, the sea, and earth, the
air contain'd;
When air, the earth and fire, the sea
enclos'd;
When sea, fire, air, in earth were
indisposed;
Nothing, as now, remain'd so out of
kind.

[*Poems*, p. 4b.]

But as a river from a mountain
running,
The further he extends, the greater
grows,
And by his thrifty race strengthens
his stream
Even to join battle with th' imperious
sea,
Disdaining his repulse, and in
despight
Of his proud fury, mixeth with his
main,
Taking on him his title and com-
mands. . . .

[*Poems*, p. 50b.]

Thus to the already long inventory of Chapman's neo-Latinist and contemporary French creditors we may add the names of Erasmus and Du Bartas. No doubt—*Fortuna juvante*—more names will be added to those.

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AN ABC INSCRIBED IN OLD ENGLISH RUNES

The bronze fragment herein described was purchased some years ago in Rome by my friend Professor Clifford H. Moore, who recently turned it over to me for examination and publication of the inscription. It shows the familiar *patina* that is acquired by ancient bronzes, and is a portion of the upper side and rim of what must have been an urn of large size. The left edge is broken roughly, while the right edge seems to have been evened up by cutting. The inscription is on the rim. The general style of the characters and many of their forms are such that at first glance, without detailed examination, one might easily follow the natural presumption that they belonged to some one of the ancient Italic alphabets. But they prove to be Old English runes arranged to represent the Latin alphabet from *a* to *z*, with the *w*-rune inserted between those for *g* and *h*.

Examples of the Latin alphabet done in Old English runes are numerous and well known from manuscripts in the libraries of England and various parts of the continent, as Paris, Munich, Vienna, St. Gall, etc.¹ These may be termed "runic ABC's," to distinguish them briefly from the "futhorcs" or regular runic alphabets in the futhorc order, like that inscribed on the Thames Knife and several of those in manuscripts. These manuscript alphabets, of both kinds, were "for the most part copied by men of an antiquarian turn of mind but wholly ignorant of what they were copying. In this way the forms have become perverted and their values confused."² There are some, however, which are reasonably faithful reproductions. Of the ABC's some represent the full Latin alphabet from *a* to *z*, some *a* to *y*, some *a* to *z* with omission of *y*, and some *a* to *z* with other runes added. A given Latin letter may be represented by two different runes, both of approximately

¹ Hickes, *Linguarum Vett. Septentrionalium Thesaurus*, Vol. III, Table II; Kemble, *On Anglo-Saxon Runes*, Plates XV, XVI, in *Archaeologia* XXVII; Stephens, *Old Northern Runic Monuments*, I, 104-14.

² Hempl, *Trans. Am. Phil. Ass.*, XXXII, 189. The promised special treatise on these manuscript alphabets has not yet appeared.

appropriate value, e.g., *d* by the *d*-rune or the *thorn*, *o* by the *othil* or the *os*. There are many more arbitrary variations, the confusion being greatest in the representation of Latin *q* and especially *x*, *y*, *z*.

Ours is the first epigraphical example of such a runic ABC. If we may judge from the plainer style of the characters, which one must not assume to be due merely to the difference in material, and from the relative accuracy in values, it is certainly of earlier date than the manuscript ABC's, with the possible exception of the few which are without the ornate forms and confused values that characterize the majority.

The following is a rough representation of the characters, with superscribed numbers for convenience of reference:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22
ƿ	ᚷ	ᚹ	ᚫ	ᚦ	ᚥ	+	ᚱ	ᚱ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ	ᚹ

Ten of these need no comment, being perfectly normal in form and value, namely:

Nos.	1	2	4	12	13	14	16	18	20	21
= Lat.	<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>u</i>

No. 3 differs in the direction of the oblique stroke from the usual Old English *c*-rune. The same variant occurs in two of the important manuscript ABC's, the so-called Marcomannic runes (Kemble, figs. 1, 2; Stephens, nos. 17, 24), also on the smaller Nordendorf brooch and once on the Charnay brooch (Henning, *Deutsche Runen*, pp. 54, 107), and regularly in the shorter Scandinavian futhark. The same character is repeated, no. 11, answering to Lat. *k*, and again, no. 17, answering to Lat. *q*. The slight variation in no. 17 is hardly sufficient to be regarded as an intentional differentiation. In the manuscript ABC's Lat. *q* is represented sometimes by the same form as the *c*, sometimes by a reversed form of the same, sometimes by other runes having no relation in value to *q*; while Lat. *k* is often represented by the *kalk*, but also arbitrarily by various other runes.

No. 5 is not the *e*-rune, which regularly represents Lat. *e* in the manuscript ABC's, but the *aesc*, the old *a*-rune in its English value of *æ*.

No. 6 has the same form as no. 5, instead of the proper form of the *f*-rune with the oblique strokes turned upward. The error was probably induced by the form of the Lat. *F*.

No. 7 is +, for usual *X*=*g*.

Nor. 8 is the *w*-rune, inserted here in the same position which it occupies in the futhorc (no. 8, and between the *g*- and the *h*-rune).

No. 9 is virtually identical with no. 4. No such variant of the *h*-rune is quotable, and we must have here the one instance in this ABC of downright confusion with no apparent cause.

No. 10 is not the *i*-rune, but may be intended for the *j*-rune, which has the form + on the Thames Knife (but here only). Another possibility is that the writer was diverted into the futhorc order (*g, w, h, n*) from the point of agreement with the ABC in no. 7, and not only inserted the *w*-rune, but also continued with the *n*-rune as no. 10. For this has nearly the same form as no. 14, the regular *n*-rune.

No. 15 is the *othil*, the original *o*-rune, which in Old English (Northumbrian) came to be used for the mutated *ō*, that is *ǣ*, while *o* and *ō* were represented by the new *os*. But the *othil* is used for *o* on an old coin (cf. Stephens, *Handbook*, p. 193, no. 74; Wimmer, *Runenschrift*, p. 87). In the manuscript ABC's Lat. *o* is also sometimes represented by the *othil*, but more commonly by the *os* (sometimes with the name *othil* attached). In an ABC of St. Gall (Kemble, fig. 5, Stephens, no. 21) both *othil* and *os* are given for Lat. *o*.

No. 19 is nearer to the form of the *s*-rune which appears on the Charnay brooch and elsewhere, namely *ſ*, than to its usual Old English form *h*. But in any case the writer was influenced here by the Lat. *Z*.

No. 22 is the rune which in Norse inscriptions stands for the sound resulting from final *s*, namely *z*, later *r*, and commonly transcribed *R*. This *z*-rune was not used in English words, but kept its place in the alphabet, having the same position in that of the Thames Knife as in those of Vadstena and the Charnay brooch. In the manuscript futhorcs and ABC's it is given a variety of values and positions, but most commonly those of either *x* or *y*. In the Runic poem (Kemble, fig. 11) it is given the value of *x* and the name

eolhx. In one manuscript (Hickes, Table II, 5) it is placed under Lat. *Y* in the ABC arrangement, but is twice used for *x* in the subscribed runic transcription of *pax vobiscum pax*. In general it is the value of *x* which enjoys the better tradition, and it is plainly this value that is intended in our ABC.

That our ABC is based upon *Old English* runes is of course sufficiently clear from the specifically Old English no. 1; likewise from the value of no. 5 and the form of no. 16. To account for its being found in Italy there are various possibilities. (There is nothing to justify suspicion of a modern fraud, which is unsupported by anything in the appearance of the bronze and is virtually excluded by the internal evidence.) The fragment might have found its way into Italy through antiquarian hands in recent times, just as one side of the runic Franks Casket, which first came to light in France and of which the main part is now in the British Museum, came into the possession of the Museo Nazionale of Florence. But what seems to me distinctly the most probable view is that it is a piece of an old Roman or Etruscan urn, and that this piece (more probably than the urn intact) was found and decorated with the inscription by one of the countless English pilgrims who visited Rome in the period, from the seventh century on, of close relations between Rome and Anglo-Saxon England.¹

To describe one's personal adventures and false starts in the pursuit of the solution of a problem is usually neither illuminating nor in good taste. It may seem particularly superfluous in the case of a result so obvious as is the runic character of our inscription to anyone familiar with runic forms. But my experience may be worth the confession in connection with Professor Hempl's well-known views regarding the origin of the runes. My previous acquaintance with runic inscriptions, apart from transcriptions, had been too remote and casual to leave me with any vivid picture of the runic alphabet. Hence the identification, which a runic specialist would have made at a glance, was delayed until an

¹ "That unceasing stream of pilgrims—prelates and prince and humble sinner—which now from England and the farther isles as well as from all parts of Francia thronged the road to the threshold of the apostles," *Cambridge Mediaeval History*, II, 583. The sojourn of English pilgrims in Rome was a commonplace, and the English "schools" or stations for their entertainment are frequently mentioned in Bede and the Saxon Chronicle.

accident drew my attention to the form of a certain rune and put me on the right track. Before this I had been canvassing the early Italic alphabets—and quite naturally. For not merely had the inscribed fragment come from Italy; the general style of the characters and also the majority of the particular forms were identical with those to be found in one or another of these alphabets. Yet some of the forms could not be paralleled, and many of those that could be were not found together in the same alphabet. It was necessary to conclude that our inscription was not in any known variety of the Italic alphabets.

But in the process of elimination I could not fail to be impressed by certain remarkable points of agreement with the "North Etruscan" alphabets and that of the so-called "Old Sabellian" inscriptions (mostly from southern Picenum). Consequently, after my belated recognition of the runes, I reread with especial interest Hempl's comments on the origin of the runes (*Sievers Festschrift*, pp. 12 ff., *Jour. Germ. Phil.*, II, 370 ff.). For it will be recalled that in criticizing the current theory of Latin origin he pointed out that Wimmer, in surveying the non-Latin Italic alphabets only to reject them as sources, had paid scant attention to the "Old Sabellian" and "North Etruscan," in which were some significant points of agreement. Hempl's own conclusion was that the runes were "based on a Western Greek alphabet differing but little from the Formello alphabet and that in the direction of certain other Western alphabets, for example the Venetic, the East Italic (or 'Sabellic'), and the Gallic." The fuller exposition of his views which was then promised has not yet appeared. Hempl's criticism has been recognized as, at the least, a most serious blow to the prestige of Wimmer's treatment, and there have been other scholars, before and since, who definitely rejected the whole theory of Latin origin. Yet this theory is still widely held (for example, the Swedish archaeologist Montelius in a lecture in Chicago some years ago stated it as not subject to doubt), perhaps, as Hempl remarked in 1898, "for the simple reason that no other has been so well presented or in any way established."

My accidentally renewed interest in the question has led me to the conviction, which I express here for whatever it may be worth,

and however superfluous it may seem to those already convinced, that Hempl is on the right track, even though there are wide gaps in the evidence which will have to be at least partially filled before his theory can win general acceptance. And these gaps cannot be filled from the inscriptional material at present available. Even so, Wimmer's theory ought to be definitely abandoned as contrary to all reason. It is utterly incredible that the Latin alphabet of the first century A.D. should, merely from its use on wood, as Wimmer assumes (*Runenschrift*, p. 97), or from any other accident, have reverted to archaic forms identical in so large measure with forms current in the non-Latin Italic alphabets. The mere external identity of at least fourteen of the twenty-four Germanic runes with forms in these Italic alphabets, the question of values being left out of account, can hardly be accidental.¹ This is not to imply that the relation of values must not also be measurably cleared up before any positive theory of origin can be regarded as established. But there is always the possibility of new inscriptional material from northern Italy and beyond, which will disclose a variety of alphabet with more agreement in values than any now quotable. Hempl has, I think, made the acceptance of his theory more difficult by assuming an unnecessarily early date for the establishment of the runes, namely about 600 B.C. Many of the Italic alphabets seem to have retained their archaic type down to the time when they were replaced by the Latin, and I see no reason why the borrowing might not be set as late as the first century B.C., or perhaps even the first century A.D.

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¹ One of the most striking cases of formal identity which I had noticed in my comparison, and one which Hempl emphasized and interpreted as regards value, is that between our no. 4, the *d*-rune, and the character which occurs, in the value of a sibilant, in "Old Sabellian," Venetic, in some varieties of "North Etruscan," and rarely in Etruscan (cf. Pauli, *Altital. Forsch.*, III, 154 ff.).

Another case of formal agreement, which I had noted particularly because of the peculiar form, is that between our no. 16 (the English *p*-rune) and a character that occurs several times in the inscription of Bellante (Zvetaieff, *Inscr. Ital. Med. Dial.*, no. 1). But so long as the former is confined to England and the value of the latter is unknown (usually thought to be a sibilant, though it has also been taken as *v* or *b*), it will be futile to assert a real connection.

A notable case of identity in both form and value, one which Wimmer was aware of but declared accidental (*Runenschrift*, p. 99, footnote), is that between the Germanic *a*-rune (= Eng. *æ*-rune, our no. 5) and the *a*-character in several varieties of the "North Etruscan" alphabet (cf. table in Pauli, *Altital. Forsch.*, I, 57), for example in the bilingual of Todi and the "Lepontian" inscriptions from Ornava, west of Lago Maggiore.

NOTES ON EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FICTIONAL TRANSLATIONS

A conspicuous feature of the development of English fiction before the nineteenth century is the importance of foreign models in their influence on native fiction through translation and imitation. This influence of translated fiction was curiously strengthened and directed by the methods employed by translators of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.¹ A critic writing in 1790 laments that "amidst the numberless translations which every day appear, both of the works of the ancients and moderns, there should be so few that are possessed of real merit," and points out that the universal sense of the utility of translation has been but a means of throwing the practice of translation "into mean and mercenary hands."² Of obvious inferiority were the hack-writers and professional fictionists of the first half of the eighteenth century whose translated novels were garbled abridgments and revisions which often completely metamorphosed in English guise their Spanish and French originals. It was their habit to adapt to English taste alien products, to reflect British standards of manners and morals by means of interpolations and alterations, in some cases changing the scene from Paris to London, sometimes substituting for French names typically British cognomens, often in greater or less degree modifying speech and thought and even most critical and characteristic acts to suit the purposes of entertainment plus instruction to which British fiction was so generally dedicated.

¹ In regard to the generally free poetical translations of the classics made at this period, see *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, Vol. IX, chap. x. The training in translation provided by the school curricula is displayed in Hoole's *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching School* (1660).

² Tytler, *An Essay on the Principles of Translation* (Everyman's Lib. ed., London and New York, n.d.), pp. 4-5. In this essay, originally a paper read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh, Lord Woodhouselee sums up the conflicting theories of translation and their practice in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. He refers to the two standards of translation current during this period: "According to the former idea of translation, it is allowable to improve and to embellish; according to the latter, it is necessary to preserve even blemishes and defects" (*ibid.*, p. 8). Chapter iii he entitles, "Whether it is allowable for a translator to add to or retrench the ideas of the original. Examples of the use and abuse of this liberty."

Striking evidence of the complicated interrelations between English and French fiction in the eighteenth century, and perhaps an extreme example of the liberties allowed themselves by translators, both English and French, of the period, appears in an unnoted bibliographical tangle, centering around Mrs. Eliza Haywood's *The Fortunate Foundlings*, published in 1744.¹

The initial incident of the plot of this novel involves the finding of twin babes (named in an accompanying letter Horatio and Louisa) by an English gentleman, Dorilaus, who adopts them, educates them, secures a commission for Horatio, then inadvertently falls in love with Louisa. She flees from his passion, works as a milliner's apprentice, then becomes the companion of a lady of quality, Melanthe. The rest of Mrs. Haywood's novel recounts Melanthe's story of her life, the later amorous experiences of Melanthe and Louisa while traveling on the continent, and the military adventures of Horatio; and ends by explaining the mystery of the foundlings, who prove to be the offspring of an illicit love of Dorilaus' youth.

In 1754 Crebillon fils published *Les Heureux Orphelins, histoire imitée de l'anglois*. In this work he uses, with alterations for purposes of erotic interest, Mrs. Haywood's plot up to the point of the telling of Melanthe's story, translating at some points word for word, and at others with freedom, changing the names of the characters to typical English names and titles. The rest of the story is totally different from the original. Melanthe (named "the Countess of Suffolk") gives a very different account of herself, and the last half of the story consists of the *histoire secrète du comte de Chester*, a narrative in epistolary form by a libertine, a Gallicized Lovelace, who was introduced early in the story in amorous pursuit of Lucie (Louisa), the "Mr. B—n" of Mrs. Haywood's narrative. He now glories in carefully executed triumphs over the Countess of Suffolk and two other ladies of the English court. No attempt is made to solve the initial mystery, or to resume the original threads of the narrative.

In 1758 appeared in English *The Happy Orphans, An Authentic History of Persons in High Life. With a variety of uncommon*

¹ For an analysis of this novel see Whicher, *The Life and Romances of Mrs. Eliza Haywood* (New York, 1915), pp. 153-55.

events, and surprising turns of fortune. Translated and improved from the French original. The reviewers at once perceived a similarity between this and Mrs. Haywood's earlier novel. The *Monthly Review* for December, 1758, said:

We are very much mistaken if the above title-page is not *all a lie*. About fifteen years ago was published, in one volume, a novel entitled, *The Fortunate Foundlings*, written, as we believe, by the late famous Mrs. Haywood, of romancing memory. From that work the *Happy Orphans* appears to be taken, about verbatim; the difference chiefly consisting in an alteration of the names; but what the pirate, copiest, or the cobbler, or by whatever title the honest editor chuses to be distinguished—what he means by calling his book a translation from the French, is best known to himself. Transformed from the *English* would, we apprehend, have been nearer the truth.¹

The *Critical Review* investigated the case and disagreed with the *Monthly's* decision, declaring that the tone and ideas in the two works are very different, since this one "tries to inform as well as entertain"; the reviewer concludes, therefore, that "it may be translated from the French with liberties."²

A comparison of this work with those of Mrs. Haywood and Crebillon shows that the anonymous author translated almost *verbatim* Crebillon's (not Mrs. Haywood's) story up to the point of the Countess of Suffolk's (Melanthe's) history, and then in turn disregarded his original, constructed a third biography for that lady of quality, and, carrying the story to as great length as Crebillon's, made it equally unlike both his and Mrs. Haywood's versions, and far more moralistic than either. The mystery is solved in the end by making the twins, Lucy and Edward (the names throughout are Crebillon's), the offspring of a union between a half-brother of the Earl of Rutland (Dorilaus) and an injured French lady, the union legalized by a forced marriage followed by the death of the bridegroom.

The anonymous author in this case makes a deliberate effort to appear the meticulous translator. Whereas Crebillon had cloaked all his material, plagiarized and original, under the subtitle *histoire imitée de l'anglois*, this writer appends several footnotes to

¹ *Monthly Review*, XIX (1758), 580.

² *Critical Review*, VII (1759), 174-75.

the translated portion of his story discussing the aptness of word or phrase, or interpreting to an English audience the French author's material; e.g.:

In *French* the word is *violent*; but surely a *violent Situation* is a great inaccuracy of *Metaphor*: This is the only Instance we have yet observed in the Author [Vol. I, p. 52, note].

And:

The *French* denote by the *Exercises* all the ornamental Parts of Education, Dancing, Fencing, etc. [Vol. I, p. 11, note].

Then at the very end of the story, when the material is all his own, he asserts again his function of translator by the note:

Our *French* Novelist, we presume, had no Idea of the Injustice of this Remark; inferior Persons, the *Canaille*, are bad enough everywhere [Vol. II, p. 271, note].

Other examples of this mode of translation are not difficult to find, though some of the tangles they contrive work confusion for the student of English fiction. Similarly free translation was accorded Marivaux's novels. *Le Paysan Parvenu* was translated in 1735 under the title *Le Paysan Parvenu*; or, *The Fortunate Peasant. Being Memoirs of the Life of Mr. ———*. Translated from the French of M. de Marivaux.¹ In 1757 appeared an altered version entitled *The Fortunate Villager*; or, *Memoirs of Sir Andrew Thompson*.²

The *Monthly Review* describes this in deprecatory tone:

This is a new Translation, (or rather *transmogrification*), of Marivaux's *Paysan Parvenu*. The Editor has the honesty, in his Preface, to acknowledge from whence he drew his materials; but he would have shewn himself honester still, had he signified as much in his Title-page or Advertisements.

"I have ventured," says he, "to change the scene of action from Paris to London; and the names of the several personages who fill the drama, which, in the original, are truly French, into downright English." But our Metamorphoser seems to have overlooked the propriety of altering also the manners, character, and incidents; which still remain as truly

¹ Esdaile, *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740* (London, 1912), p. 269.

² *Lond. Mag.*, L (1757), 208; *Lond. Chron.*, I (February 24–26, 1757), 199; *Monthly Review*, XVI (1757), 284. This title appears in the list of novels in a circulating library prefixed to Coleman's *Polly Honeycomb*, acted in 1760.

French as ever: so that *Monsieur* looks as like an Englishman, as Buck in the farce . . . resembles a French Beau. Upon the whole we cannot help preferring the old translation of this book, entitled *The Fortunate Peasant*, printed for Brindley and Corbet in the year 1735.

Marivaux's *Vie de Marianne* was even more variously treated. Three translations of this novel appeared in rapid succession: A literal translation (1736-42), known only from the notices in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,¹ is entitled *The Life of Marianne; or, the Adventures of the Countess of ———. By M. de Marivaux. Translated from the French Original*. A much altered version, appearing, I believe, soon after this, though we know it only in the later reprint in the *Novelist's Magazine*, is entitled *The Virtuous Orphan; or, the Life of Marianne*; this contains many interpolations and a conclusion quite foreign in tone to the French original. In 1746 appears what seems to be an abridgment of this version with the French names changed to English, entitled *The Life and Adventures of Indiana, the Virtuous Orphan*.²

Clara Reeve was familiar with the translations of Marivaux; in 1785 in her *Progress of Romance* she deals caustically with such "transmogrifications." She speaks of the "poor literal translation" of *Marianne* published in 1742, and then continues:

Soon after another attempt was made by a still worse hand, this is called *Indiana or the virtuous Orphan*, in this piece of patchwork, many of the fine reflexions, the most valuable part of the work are omitted, the Story left, unfinished by the death of M. Marivaux, is finished by the same bungler, and in the most absurd manner. It puts me in mind of what was said to a certain translator of *Virgil*.

Read the commandments friend,—translate no further,
For it is written, thou shalt do no murther.³

Of Marivaux's other novel she speaks also:

Sophonra. Is the *Paysan Parvenue* (sic) translated into English? *Eupharasia*. It is but not much better than *Marianne*, nor is it so well known, it is frequent-confounded with the *Paysanne Parvenue* of the Chevalier Mouhy, which without half its merit is much more popular.⁴

¹ Esdaile, *op. cit.*, pp. xxxii, 269.

² The relations between these translations I have discussed in an article, "Translations of the *Vie de Marianne* and Their Relation to Contemporary English Fiction," *Mod. Phil.*, XV (1917), 491-512.

³ *Progress of Romance* (Colchester, 1785), pp. 129-30.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 130. Perhaps some student with access to the volumes can tell whether variations similar to those found in the successive translations of Marivaux's novels

The theories justifying such liberties as these translators allowed themselves are explained in the translator's prefaces to other works of the time. John Lockman, poet and translator, gives technical grounds for his practice in the preface to his translation of another work of Marivaux's, *Pharsamond; or, the New Knight-Errant* *By Monsieur de Marivaux, Member of the French Academy in Paris: Author of The Life of Marianne, etc. Translated by Mr. Lockman (1750).* He says:

I not only endeavour'd to avoid *Gallicisms*; but even gave, whenever I thought this could be done with Propriety, an English termination to the *Names of Persons*. This reconciles, still more, an English Reader's Mind to such a Work; in like manner as a Foreigner's conforming Himself to the Dress of a Country, is more pleasing to the Eyes of it's Natives.

I speak with greater Confidence on these Heads, as the publick have been particularly indulgent to one of my English Versions, drawn up according to these Rules; I mean the very ingenious *M. de Voltaire's Letters Concerning the English Nation*.¹

Much liberty is justified on moral grounds. The triumph of British decorum appears in the preface to another translation: *The Beau-Philosopher; or, the History of the Chevalier de Mainvillers. Translated from the French Original (1751):*

The Translator flatters himself with the Hope, that those who have a Sense of Virtue, will pardon his having, in the Course of this Work, sometimes check'd the Sallies of his Author's Wit, when it began to grow prophane, and the Lusciousness of an Expression, when tending to corrupt or debilitate the Mind of the young Reader: That they will pardon him, if in any Instance where Profaneness and Lewdness have been united, he has broke the Conjunction; and by presuming to alter a Word or two, has given a different Turn to a Thought, or clothed an Expression with greater Decency.²

Similarly in 1741 a translation of *The Decameron* was commended to "the Publick" with the assurance of the publisher (Dodsley) "that such care has been taken in this Translation to

appear in the two translations of the Chevalier de Mouhy's *La Paysanne Parvenue*: the anonymous translation entitled *The Fortunate Countrymaid (1740-41)*, reprinted in the *Novelist's Magazine*; and Mrs. Haywood's version, *The Virtuous Villager (1742)*. (*Vide* Whicher, *op. cit.*, pp. 151-52.)

¹ From a copy in the University of Chicago Library; Preface [p. ii].

² From a copy in the University of Chicago Library; Preface, pp. ix-x.

render the Expression delicate and decent, that even the Ladies need not be afraid of reading or having these ingenious Novels."¹

Perhaps, however, a consideration more potent than these accounts for the freedom of the average hack translator. Under the pseudonym Felicité de Biron one of these writers defends the translators of Grub Street in the "Preface by the Translator" to *The Adventures and Amours of the Marquis de Noailles and Mademoiselle Tencin*. 'Translated from a French Manuscript (1756):

Besides, as Delays and Revisals are terrible Things to Translators, who seldom happen to be over-loaded with Cash, the pretty Manner of delivering a few Sheets of Copy into the Printer's Hand on a *Saturday Night*, for which *he's down with the Dust*, is a most convenient Way of Dealing, and makes us Drudges go thro' our Work with cheerful Hearts.²

Such an attitude toward literary property as these examples attest, such license on the part of translators both English and French, throws light upon methods of literary craftsmanship which influenced the growing fictional technique, and upon cosmopolitan relationships affecting the novel of the time.³

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¹ Straus, *Robert Dodsley, Poet, Publisher and Playwright* (London and New York, 1910), p. 322.

² From the copy in the University of Chicago Library; Preface, p. viii.

³ Since this paper was written there appeared in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII (December, 1918), 469-71, an article by Mr. W. Kurrelmeyer, "A German Version of Joseph Andrews," which discusses a garbled translation of Fielding's novel from a French version into German, entitled, *Fieldings Komischer Roman*, Berlin, 1765. "The text," Mr. Kurrelmeyer says, "is that of the *Adventures of Joseph Andrews* apart from the fact that most of the characters have also been disguised under new names. Occasionally also literary disquisitions, allusions to unfamiliar English characters, letters, and the like, have been omitted or shortened, but without affecting the continuity of the story proper." That a French version is the source is indicated by slight emendations of names "generally indicative of French influence" and "a number of notes and additions to the text which were evidently intended for a French public."



REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Joseph Ritson, A Critical Biography. By HENRY ALFRED BURD.
University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature,
Vol. II, No. 3, August, 1916. Pp. 224.

Joseph Ritson, A Critical Biography, is an important contribution to the literature dealing with the scholarly background of English Romanticism during the late eighteenth century. Without ignoring or condoning Ritson's many shortcomings, Dr. Burd shows that the literary and antiquarian work of the little Stockton conveyancer possesses a significance far greater than has generally been recognized. Because of unreasoning prejudice and violent language, Ritson was disregarded by most of his contemporaries and by posterity has been well-nigh forgot; but, thanks to Dr. Burd, he is at last revealed as a scholar and a critic who, by his passion for accuracy and his tremendous grasp of fact, rebuked an age of intellectual dishonesty, and who, by an acumen at times little short of inspiration, enunciated theories to which the scholarly world has finally returned after long and bitter controversies.

Besides helping to save from oblivion one of the greatest pioneers of modern scholarship, Dr. Burd draws attention (p. 170, note) to the importance of investigating "the part played by ethnological and linguistic theories in the literary movements of the late eighteenth century." His conviction that the vogue of Ossian was partly due to feelings of racial kinship would doubtless have been strengthened by a perusal of Rudolph Tombo's *Ossian in Germany* (New York, 1901; especially pp. 67, 71) and P. Van Tieghem's *Ossian en France* (Paris, I [1917], pp. 192 ff.), which latter, however, did not appear till after the publication of Dr. Burd's dissertation.

The following comments are inspired less by a hypercritical mania of the Ritsonian type than by a desire to assist further in the work of salvaging Ritson's scholarly reputation.

In discussing the question of Ritson's attitude toward Greek (p. 14), Dr. Burd overlooks a passage in the *Annals of the Caledonians*, etc. (I [1828], 54, note), which shows that, however contemptuous Ritson may have been toward that language during his early years, he finally came to respect it. Moreover, Ritson's words, if written with his customary candor, imply that his quotation from Dion Cassius in Latin translation was due more to the common ignorance of Greek among his readers than to his own inability to construe a Greek text, at least with the help of a translation. His

words are: "The text of Dio is well known to be in Greek, but that language being far less cultivated than the Roman (a preference, at the same time, much to be lamented), it appeared most proper to adopt the Latin version, which accompanies the original; being not only the work of a good scholar, but, likewise, faithful and literal, so far at least as the idioms of the two languages will allow." A little Welsh and Irish might perhaps be added to the linguistic stock in trade which Dr. Burd attributes to Ritson (pp. 14 f.).

In connection with the discussion of Ritson as a critic of Shakespeare, attention may be called to the notes on Macbeth and related personages who figure in Scottish legendary history (*Annals of the Caledonians*, II, 106, note; 110, note; 114, notes; 240, 333, note; 334, note). Ritson's observations (*op. cit.*, II, 120), designed to prove that the historical Macbeth "had no issue," are not mentioned in the *New Variorum Shakespeare* among the critical comments on Macduff's words in the play (IV, iii, 216), although others no more pertinent are quoted. The student of popular poetry would have welcomed a more nearly complete account of the scanty though precious evidence of Ritson's connection with Scott in the matter of ballad collecting and editing. (See, for example, Andrew Lang, *Sir Walter Scott and the Border Minstrelsy*, 1910, pp. 24 f.) Dr. Burd asserts (p. 137) that Wissmann finally overthrew Ritson's contention that *King Horn* is derived from a French original, but, although Brandl (Paul's *Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 624) and Gröber (*Grundriss*, p. 573) incline to regard the source as English, Schofield (*Eng. Lit. from the Norman Conquest to Chaucer* [1906], p. 261) derives the *Gest* from a lost French poem (cf. Northup, *Jour. of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, IV [1902], 539), and Nelles (*Jour. of Am. Folk-Lore*, XXII [1909], 53) asserts that "recent students of the story are tolerably agreed . . . that a French version of some sort must stand back of these two romances" (*Horn et Rimenild* and *King Horn*). For confirmation of Ritson's opinion that *Richard Cœur de Lion* is of genuine English growth Dr. Burd cites (p. 155, n. 21) the editors of *Bishop Percy's Folio Manuscript*, but Schofield (*op. cit.*, p. 314) and Wells (*Bibliog. of the Writings in Middle English* [1916], p. 152) accept as authentic the references in the text of the romance to a French source. Judged by the amount of space devoted to others of Ritson's works, *King Arthur* appears to deserve more attention than Dr. Burd has seen fit to bestow upon it. As may be seen from a reading of Fletcher's *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles* ([Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, X [1906]) and Windisch's "Das keltische Britannien bis zu Kaiser Arthur" (*Abhandl. der königl. sächs. Gesell. der Wissn.*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., XXIV [1912]) in connection with *King Arthur*, the problems discussed by Ritson are frequently those still regarded as important, and the conclusions reached are in an astonishingly large number of cases essentially those of the best recent authorities. For example, Ritson treats of such matters as the date of Geoffrey's *Historia*, the origin of the Round Table, the return

of Arthur, Glastonbury and the grave of Arthur, and Arthur in the lives of Welsh saints; but Ritson's book is now being investigated by a former student of the University of Chicago, and I must not anticipate her results.

Lowth's *De sacra poesi Hebræorum* and Brown's *Rise . . . of Poetry and Music*, because of their importance as expressions of eighteenth-century opinion regarding the origin and progress of primitive literature, should be added to the sources of Ritson's "Historical Essay . . . on National Song" alluded to by Dr. Burd (p. 150). The "Essay" itself contains much significant material for which Dr. Burd apparently found no space. Ritson's assertion that "we are . . . to look for the simplicity of the remotest periods among the savage tribes of America" is interesting in connection with the growing tendency during the eighteenth century to attribute to the aborigines of the New World modes of thought and of poetic expression which, according to contemporary scholars, were characteristic of the Northern scalds, the ancient Celtic bards, and the minstrels of the Middle Ages. In support of his opinion Ritson quotes four stanzas from "The Death-Song of a Cherokee Indian," "which," he says, "are handed about in manuscript, and have not, it is believed, already appeared in print" (*English Songs*, I [1813], ii, note). According to Park, the editor of Ritson's work, the poem is "the acknowledged production of the very accomplished Mrs. John Hunter," but J. L. Onderdonk (*Hist. of American Verse*, Chicago, 1901, pp. 80 f.) claims that Mrs. Hunter merely appropriated with slight alterations the work of the American poet Philip Freneau. Onderdonk, who notes the appearance of Freneau's version in the *American Museum* for January, 1787, knows nothing of Ritson's quotation from Mrs. Hunter's form four years previously.¹ Freneau has been regarded as one of the earliest sympathetic interpreters of Indian character, and the "Death-Song" appears to have been popular on both sides of the Atlantic. It is strikingly similar to the closing lines of Campbell's "Gertrude of Wyoming," and was quoted in Mrs. Hunter's form by Henry Clay in his speech on the Seminole War delivered in January, 1819. Ritson also translates into English prose Montaigne's "original Caribbean song." Montaigne's French had already served as the source of the elder Thomas Warton's "American Love-Ode" (*Poems* [1748], p. 139), which in turn may have suggested Gray's inclusion of American songs among "the illustrations of poetic Genius" to be found in the literatures of "the remotest and most uncivilized nations" (note to "The Progress of Poesie"). See Farley, *Scand. Influences in the Eng. Rom. Movement* [1903], p. 66, n. 2, where Ritson's translation is referred to. As an example of nature poetry among

¹ According to Onderdonk, the "Death-Song" appeared in the *American Museum* "with no name attached." In the third edition it is, however, attributed to "P. Freneau" (*The American Museum* for January, 1787, Vol. I, No. 1 [Philadelphia, 1790], p. 77), and is printed as his in *The Poems of Philip Freneau*, ed. F. L. Pattee. II (1903), 313.

the ancient Scandinavians Ritson refers especially to the "Descent of Odin" and the "Death Song of Regner Lodbrog," both of which had already received distinguished attention at the hands of English critics and versifiers. The importance of Ritson's "Historical Essay" for eighteenth-century interest in Scandinavian is discussed by Farley, whose book should be consulted for other remarks on Ritson and his work (see especially pp. 101 ff.).

In the field of Welsh literature Ritson is acquainted with Evans' *Specimens*, and, although he accepts the contemporary exaggerated estimate of the antiquity of the poems attributed to Taliesin and Llywarch Hen, his account of the bards is, generally speaking, ahead of his time. He insists on applying the methods of scholarship to Sir J. Wynne's story that Edward I exterminated the Welsh bards, although the tradition, because of its romantic suggestions, had met with wide popularity through Carte's *History of England* and Gray's "Bard," and he succeeds in completely disproving its authenticity. Yet Ritson's discussion was entirely unknown to Stephens, who nearly three-quarters of a century later presented the historical evidence in his *Literature of the Kymry* (first edition, 1849, p. 104), and to Professor Phelps, who refers only to Stephens as having "exploded the tradition" (*Selections from Gray*, p. 157). As could easily be shown from an examination of other passages in the "Essay," Ritson combined in an astonishing fashion the most advanced scholarly opinions with the most romantic contemporary theories regarding the mind of primitive man, the constitution of society in "a state of nature and simplicity," and the origins of language and of poetry. Moreover, his historical survey of English song-writers shows a genuine appreciation of good poetry which is too frequently overlooked even by those who recognize his services to scholarship.¹

Dr. Burd's conjecture that Ritson would have espoused the theory of individual authorship for the popular ballads would doubtless have gained support from a consideration of the eighteenth-century theories regarding nature poetry which obviously inspired certain statements in Ritson's prefaces. In a passage quoted by Dr. Burd (p. 157) he asserts that genuine ballads must be sought among people who, "destitute of the advantages of science and education, and perhaps incapable of committing the pure inspiration of nature to writing," "actually felt the sensations they describe," and he implies that "the vulgar songs composed and sung during the civil wars of York and Lancaster" (the loss of which he deplores) were composed during a period "in which almost every moment afforded

¹ Dr. Burd appears to have missed a series of keen critical comments recorded by Ritson in a copy of John Scott's *Critical Essays* which was purchased by Charles Lamb at the sale of Ritson's books. Ritson's notes and the remarks of Scott, to which they apply, were transcribed by Lamb for the *London Magazine*, April, 1823, and are to be found among Lamb's *Essays*. (See Lamb's *Complete Works*, ed. Shepherd [London, 1875], pp. 437 ff.)

some great, noble, interesting or pathetic subject, for the imagination of the poet" (*Eng. Songs*, I, lxxv). Whatever may have been Ritson's opinion regarding the question of ballad authorship, which has assumed such importance since his day, he would undoubtedly have agreed with Professor Kittredge that "the traditional ballad appears to be inimitable by any person of literary cultivation" (Child's *Ballads*, one vol. ed., p. xxix), and, judged by his observations on Pinkerton's forgeries (*Gent. Mag.*, Vol. LIV, Part II [1784], No. 5, pp. 812 ff.), he would hardly have been deceived even by Andrew Lang's clever imitations of popular ballads written in answer to Professor Kittredge's challenge. Dr. Burd observes (p. 158, n. 37) that Ritson was always outspoken against the Ossianic imposture, but he fails to record Ritson's statements that Macpherson's epics "are undoubtedly very ingenious, artful, and, it may be, elegant compositions" (*Eng. Songs*, I, xlv), and that the author "has made great use of some unquestionably ancient Irish ballads" (*Robin Hood*, 2d ed., I [1832], xcvi, note)—both of which judgments are not far behind the best that modern criticism can accomplish (cf. *Mod. Phil.*, XVI [1918], 446 f.). The significance of Ritson's conclusion is enhanced by the discovery that he was acquainted with genuine Ossianic tradition (cf. *Annals of the Caledonians*, etc., I [1828], 88, note).

In several other matters connected with Celtic Ritson's opinions deserve consideration both because they show a startlingly modern attitude toward early theories and because they have been so largely ignored by recent authorities. When, for example, Ritson denominates "hasty and unfounded" the assertion of Edward Lhuyd, that "the original inhabitants of Britain were . . . *Guydhels*, or *Guydhelians*" (*Annals of the Caledonians*, etc., I, 13), he anticipates the view of two distinguished modern Celticists—Kuno Meyer (*Trans. Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion* [1895-96], p. 69) and Alexander Macbain (Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland* [Stirling, 1902], p. 383), whose theories represent a reaction against the more popular hypotheses of Rhys and D'Arbois, reflected in Deniker's *Races of Man*, to which Dr. Burd refers for "a statement of modern views concerning the peoples of Europe, especially the Celts" (p. 169, n. 75). Ritson's repudiation of the equation between *Scotti* and *Scythici* (*Annals of the Caledonians*, etc., II, 5, note) is significant in an age when the Scots were frequently asserted to have come from Scythia. His discussion of the Cassiterides (*Memoirs of the Celts or Gauls* [1827], pp. 290 ff.) should be compared with Holmes's summary of the evidence (*Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* [Oxford, 1907], pp. 483 ff.), and his note on *Hibernia* and its analogues (*Annals of the Caledonians*, etc., II, 3, note) should be read in conjunction with Rhys's treatment of the word (*Proc. Brit. Acad.* I [reprint], 11 ff.). It is highly characteristic of the history of Ritson's reputation that one of the most recent historians of early Wales,¹

¹ J. E. Lloyd, *A History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest* (Longmans, 1911), I, 191 f.

in an elaborate and heavily documented note tracing the various explanations of the name *Cymry*, says nothing of Ritson's highly respectable discussion of the word (*Annals of the Caledonians*, etc., I, 16, note) nor of Ritson's indignant protest against Pinkerton's attempt to connect the *Cymry* with the *Cimbri*, although he mentions the fanciful etymologies of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Theophilus Evans and even takes account of the vaporizing of George Borrow. Holmes (*Ancient Britain*, p. 418, note) takes note of Borlase's advocacy of the theory that the Caledonians were Germans, but says nothing of Ritson's contrary opinion, although it is that of the most modern authorities. Dr. Burd implies (pp. 170 f.) that recent opinion substantiates Ritson's thesis that the Picts were Celts, but the question is still *sub iudice*. Except the late D'Arbois de Jubainville, probably few recent Celticists of high standing would admit that the evidence justifies even so much as the assertion that the Picts were Aryans (cf. Holmes, *op. cit.*, pp. 409 ff.). One of Ritson's chief services in this connection is his contention, in opposition to Pinkerton, that the Picts were not Germanic. It is to be noted, however, that the tradition of Pinkerton is still influential in that monument of misguided industry, David MacRitchie's *Testimony of Tradition* (London, 1890). Had MacRitchie utilized even such data as are accessible in the works of Ritson, he would have avoided much fantastic theorizing on the origin of British folk traditions. Attention should certainly be drawn to Ritson's valuable bibliography (in part critical) of books on Celtic languages and antiquities contained in *The Memoirs of the Celts or Gauls* (pp. 318 ff.) and to the justness of his estimate of such works as those of Pelloutier, Mallet, and Stukeley. A full discussion of Ritson's investigations in Celtic antiquities and of his vision, even through a glass darkly, of the facts of ancient British history would require far more space than can be devoted to the matter here. In any case, an adequate notion of the problems attacked by Ritson can hardly be derived from the brief summary of modern opinion contained in Deniker's little handbook, to which Dr. Burd refers.

TOM PEETE CROSS

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A Register of Middle English Religious & Didactic Verse. Part I. List of Manuscripts. By CARLETON BROWN. Oxford: Printed for the Bibliographical Society, at the University Press, 1916. Pp. xv+528.

In a Foreword the compiler explains the purpose and scope of his work, which unlike other Middle English bibliographies is based on the manuscripts. The first volume, arranged according to libraries, takes up the manuscripts which contain Middle English religious and didactic verse, and gives a list of all items of that character found in each. This volume is to be followed by a second, which will contain "an alphabetical index of

first lines, with citation under each entry of all manuscripts containing the piece in question and with references to printed texts in the case of those which have already been published." The index will make the *Register* much more convenient for reference than it now is, for at a glance one will be able to find a record of all the manuscripts in which a particular poem is to be found. But even in its present incomplete form the bibliography is not difficult to use. Most scholars who really desire to learn in what manuscripts a poem appears will not object to devoting a relatively small number of hours to running through the volume.

Of the value of such a work to the student of Middle English literature there can be no doubt. As Professor Brown says, "So long as it is necessary in embarking on any particular inquiry in this field to make a general search through the manuscript collections, literary research in Middle English must continue to be laborious and uncertain, for no secure foundation can be laid except upon the basis of complete knowledge of the original sources." His volume relieves the scholar of need for such a search in at least one part of that field.

It is to be noted, moreover, that the *Register* gives references to hitherto little known or even entirely unknown versions of poems. (Professor Wells's *Manual of the Writings in Middle English* affords the most convenient means of determining what manuscripts of a given poem have been generally known.) Thus we find three new copies of the *Trental of Gregory* (see pp. 132, 456, 494), one of *The Stacions of Rome* (p. 286), and one of the *Debate between the Body and the Soul* (p. 419). There are doubtless many similar cases.

From page 457 to page 521 Professor Brown lists the manuscripts of religious poems in private collections. This is the most difficult part of the field to cover, because with the dispersal of private collections such manuscripts pass into other hands. Probably every scholar of mediaeval literature has had the unpleasant experience of finding a reference in some catalogue to a manuscript in private ownership and not being able to discover what has become of it. Professor Brown gives much valuable information about the present ownership of such manuscripts, but even he is compelled to state at times, "Present owner unknown." At least one manuscript seems not to be entered at all, that described as "a fine early copy (on a roll of parchment) of *The Stacions of Rome*," owned by Reginald Cholmondeley, Esq., of Condover Hall, Shropshire (*Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, V, 333-34). Absolute completeness, however, cannot be expected in a work of this kind, and discovery even of several omissions would not absolve the student of mediaeval English literature from the gratitude which he ought to feel to Professor Brown for gathering and publishing the materials necessary to a knowledge of Middle English religious poetry.

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The Vocabulary of Anglo-Irish. By JAMES M. CLARK. St. Gall: Zollikoffer & Cie, 1917. Pp. 48.

Professor Clark's brochure on the vocabulary of Anglo-Irish is based partly on Patrick W. Joyce's *English as We Speak It in Ireland* and on articles by Marcus Hartog and Mary Hayden (*Fort. Rev.*, N.S., LXXXV [1909]) and by A. G. Van Hamel (*Eng. Stud.*, XLV [1912]). "The way in which Erse on one hand and Elizabethan English on the other, have left their traces on the Anglo-Irish vocabulary forms the main subject of this treatise" (p. 14). The author apparently makes no attempt at completeness, but his principle of choice is not always clear, and some at least of the material omitted might well have found a place even in a brief survey of the field. An adequate notion of the number of English novels and tales in which Irish-English has been used during the last century and a half can hardly be derived from Professor Clark's list (pp. 6-10). Among other valuable sources of information regarding the history of English in Ireland are certain English poems written in Ireland during the early fourteenth century (ed. Heuser, *Angl. Forschn.*, XIV [1904]) and the memoir by Colonel Vallancey (*Trans. R.I.A.*, 1788: "Antiquities," pp. 19 ff.). See further Camden, *Britannia* (ed. Gough, 1806, Vol. IV, pp. 323, 325) and Croker, *Pop. Songs of Ir.* (London, 1839), pp. 219, 277 ff. Among the Gaelic words and phrases found in Anglo-Irish one misses *deoch an dorais*, *beannacht leat*, *dúidín*, *sidheog*, *seanchuidhe*, and *duileasc*. English readers would be glad to learn that such characteristic phrases as (1) 'in life' (meaning 'at all'), (2) 'the like(s) of him,' (3) 'from this out,' (4) 'I let on,' and (5) 'in it' (as in, "By the blessed night that's in it") are translations of the Gaelic (1) *ar bith*, (2) *a leithéid*, (3) *as so amach*, (4) *leigim orm*, and (5) *ann*. The use of co-ordinate participial phrases instead of the subordinate construction of standard English is heard frequently among English speakers with no Gaelic affinities and is found in English long before Wolfe's "And we far away on the billow," which appears to be the only illustration in English poetry known to Professor Clark. It turns up in the refrain of the English ballad "The Fair Flower of Northumberland" (Child, No. 9), the oldest preserved version of which was written as early as 1597. The present tense of 'have' plus the participle, as in "I have my breakfast eaten," occurs in Old English (cf. Jespersen, *Growth and Struct. of the Eng. Lang.*, p. 204). The statement that in Anglo-Irish "relative clauses are avoided by the omission of the relative pronoun" (p. 24) may meet with objection from students of historical syntax (cf. Kellner, *Hist. Outlines of Eng. Syn.*, secs. 109 ff.). In calling attention to the occurrence in America of peculiarities found in Anglo-Irish the author fails to note that the following given in his list are used in this country: 'shy' (to throw), 'lick' (to beat), 'power' or 'sight' (large amount or number), 'joke' and 'fun' (as verbs), 'raggedy' (for ragged), 'crock' (earthenware jar), 'curdog,' and 'skillet.'

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FRANCIS BARTON GUMMERE, 1855-1919

At midnight on Friday, May 30, in his home at Haverford, Pennsylvania, Francis Barton Gummere passed from this life. Although it was widely known that for more than ten years he had suffered from broken health and was obliged to guard himself very carefully from overworking, few except his immediate circle of friends realized the seriousness of his condition. In 1907 his health broke down from nervous overstrain, and the loss of the use of his right eye brought to an end his research work in libraries and the close reading of manuscripts. Another illness, due to heart strain while on a mountain tramp in Virginia in the following year, resulted in permanent injury to his heart and made necessary, not entire abstention from productive work—his restless, creative spirit would not permit that—but a careful guarding of his time and strength, of which he often wrote somewhat bitterly. During these ten years were published two of his most important volumes, *The Oldest English Epic* (1909) and *Democracy and Poetry* (1911), and he was at work upon a critical history of Old English literature when the end came. This continued productivity kept distant scholars from appreciating the seriousness of his condition. But even his intimate friends were deceived by his cheerfulness, his lively conversation, his sparkling letters, and his unfailing intellectual vigor, and were little prepared for the shock of his sudden death. The immediate cause of his death was oedema of the lungs, due to heart

failure. It is good to know that he did not suffer long. The final seizure came suddenly on Friday evening with a feeling of great oppression, and after a little more than two hours of struggle he passed away. A memorial service was held at the College on Sunday, June 1; the funeral service, which was attended by colleagues and friends from near and far, occurred at his home on Monday, June 2; and he was laid to rest with his parents in the family burying-ground at Haverford.

In 1882 he married Amelia Smith Mott—daughter of Richard Field Mott, of Burlington, New Jersey—who for thirty-seven years shared his joys and cares and now laments his loss. She herself is well known for her interest in Colonial history, a subject on which she has published several valuable books. Of this union three sons remain: Richard Mott Gummere, Ph.D., formerly associate professor of Latin and assistant to the president in Haverford College, and now headmaster of the William Penn Charter School, at Philadelphia; Samuel James Gummere, Major, U.S.A., on the staff of General Pershing; and Francis Barton Gummere, Jr., who, though an invalid, inherits the love and talent for music which formed the basis of his father's mastery of the theory of verse.

Professor Gummere was the sixth in descent from a typical old American stock, and the history of the family is significant of the ideals and accomplishments of this stock.

His first ancestor in America was Johann Gömere, who with his wife, Anna, fled from French Flanders to escape religious persecution and in 1719 joined the Protestant refugees from Crefeldt who in that year came to America and settled in Germantown, Pennsylvania. Johann and Anna lived along the Wissahickon on a farm, now the old "Monastery" property, where both died and were buried on the same day in May, 1738.

Their son, John Gumre, married Sarah Davis and was the father of Samuel Gummere (b. 1750), who in 1783 married Rachel James and became a Quaker minister.

The eldest son of Samuel and Rachel was John Gummere (b. 1784), who in 1808 married Elizabeth Buzby. With this John began the connection of the family with Haverford College, for he was one of the founders of Haverford School, which later became

Haverford College, and was instructor in mathematics there and the second of its principals. John Gummere, like most of the eminent men of his time, was self-educated. He became one of the most learned mathematicians and astronomers in America, and was for thirty-one years a member of the American Philosophical Society and a contributor of valuable articles to its *Transactions*. His *Astronomy* passed through many editions and was for many years in use at West Point.

Samuel James Gummere (1811-74), son of John, inherited his father's genius and became a rare scholar, equally versed in mathematics and in languages. He taught in the Friends' School at Providence, Rhode Island, in the Haverford School, in a school founded by his father and himself at Burlington, New Jersey, and for the twelve years preceding his death was the first president of Haverford College.

Francis Barton Gummere was the son of Samuel James Gummere by his second wife, Elizabeth Barton, daughter of David Barton, of Philadelphia. He was born March 6, 1855, in Burlington, New Jersey, but at the age of seven, when his father became President of the College, removed to Haverford. He entered college very early, graduating A.B. in 1872, at the age of seventeen. After a year as clerk in an iron foundry and another spent in the law office of F. J. Gowan, in Philadelphia, he decided upon teaching as his profession and went to Harvard for further study. In 1875 he received both the A.B. from Harvard and the A.M. from Haverford and at once commenced to teach in the Friends' School, now the Moses Brown School, at Providence, Rhode Island, where his father had taught forty-five years earlier.

While at this school, he spent several months each year in study abroad, and from 1878 to 1881 attended lectures in Strassburg, Leipzig, Berlin, and Freiburg, taking his Ph.D. *magna cum laude* at Freiburg in 1881. In Germany his teachers were such men as Hermann Grimm, Curtius, Warnke, and Ten Brink, but the direction of his future studies had already been determined in America by his year at Harvard under the inspiration of Francis James Child.

After a year (1881-82) as instructor in English at Harvard, and five years (1882-87) as headmaster of the Swain Free School, at

New Bedford, Mass., founded under the will of William Swain for the higher education and training of teachers along university-extension lines, he accepted the professorship of English at Haverford College in 1887, a position which he held, despite all temptation to removal, to the end of his life.

Before entering upon his duties at Haverford, he spent another year in foreign study and travel, chiefly in Christiania and Stockholm, where he devoted himself to the Scandinavian languages and literatures. His facility in acquiring foreign languages was phenomenal, and his knowledge both of classical and of modern literature was broad and accurate. The literatures of Italy, France, Germany, and Scandinavia were almost as familiar to him as that of England and America, and he is reported to have been in the habit of reading Horace through at least once a year. Over the literature of his native tongue he ranged freely and was no less at home in the writings of George Meredith than in *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, or those mysterious ballads which formed so lasting an object of his study and speculation. He seemed, even to the most widely read of his friends, to have read every book worth reading in every age besides the thousands that have long been dead to all but antiquaries. His intimate familiarity with the best that has been written in English prose and verse appeared in his instant ability to recognize and continue passages quoted at random by others and still more in the style of his speech and his writing, where it took the form, not of quotation, but of a certain nervous elegance and subtle suggestiveness.

This is not the time or the place to review his publications. They are known to scholars wherever English scholarship is known. The appearance of each one, after the first, was awaited with an expectation of some vital contribution to the subject discussed, and this expectation was never defeated. His books were models of erudition, but of erudition sublimated in the alembic of a great personality. The field of folk-poetry he made in a special sense his own. His two earliest books—his doctoral dissertation on *The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor* (1881) and his *Handbook of Poetics* (1885)—were a sort of prentice work for his life-task, and his illuminating edition of Peele's "Old Wives Tale" (in Gayley's *Representative English Comedies*, 1903) was a chip from the master's workshop.

Even those scholars who do not accept his theory of communal composition will admit that the complete analysis of the characteristics of popular literature which he first set forth in his articles in the first volume of *Modern Philology* (1903) and elaborated in *Democracy and Poetry* (1911) is a permanent and valuable contribution to the panoply of criticism, no less applicable to "the best sellers" of the twentieth century than to the ballads of the Middle Ages.

Since he died—as often before—I have asked myself what was the secret of his power. He had learning, he had vigor, he had charm, he had—in a measure given to few of his generation—that indefinable possession we call culture; but these qualities, separately or all together, hardly account for the total effect of the man and his work. He had the mind of a scientist and the temperament of an artist; or perhaps I had better say he had the mind and the temperament of the great artist, the creative imagination which sees its vision as a whole but does not rest content till it sees each detail as a perfect part of the perfect whole. He began his work at a period when the large conceptions of the romanticists in philology were just coming under the reshaping influence of the theories of Darwin and his followers—a time as rich in ideas and in enthusiasms as the period of the Renaissance. Men who in another age would have created statues or epic poems were smitten with a vision of the possibility of opening and reading the furled scroll of prehistoric life, of recreating the pageant of civilization from its remotest beginnings, of painting their half of the picture of the origin and destiny of man. It was this creative vision, this vitalizing imagination, which gave its charm, its power, its unity to all that Professor Gummere spoke or wrote. Literature was not for him a heap of dead leaves shaken from the tree but a living part of the body of life. He knew this and he made others share his knowledge.

Many times has it been asked why a man of his peculiar powers, his fertility of ideas, his breadth of culture, his capacity for leadership, chose to remain in a small college instead of stimulating and directing research in one of the large universities. It was generally known that he declined the headship of the Department of English at the University of Chicago in 1895 and an equally important chair

at Harvard in 1901. Doubtless many factors influenced his decision, chief among them loyalty to his college. But in reply to a direct question put to him in 1901, he told me that he believed the ideal life of the productive scholar was more nearly attainable in a small college with a well-equipped library than in a great university, that he had at Haverford all the books he needed, that his college work was thoroughly familiar to him, and that he had greater leisure for research than he could ever hope for elsewhere. The prospect of having him as a source of inspiration and a guide to a large body of younger scholars had stirred me greatly, but I could not deny the soundness of his view or urge him to accept a position which I knew only too well would consume large amounts of his time and energy in administrative machinery. Never for a moment, I think, did he regret the decision he made. And though his influence, direct and indirect, would undoubtedly have been wider in the larger field, his broad culture, his vivid sense of reality, his interest in contemporary life, his sense of humor, his vigor of intellect and character, awakened in both his colleagues and his students at Haverford a loyal and affectionate admiration which can hardly be estimated. This has been shown at many times in many ways, and it may be especially noted that already steps have been taken for the immediate creation by his former students of a fund for the purchase of books on subjects in poetry, the ballad, and related fields.

His work will live both in books and in men. This attempt at an appreciation of it—inadequate though it be—is his due, not merely because he was a valued counsellor of *Modern Philology* from its very conception down to the present year, but because he was one of the creators of that kind of scholarship which is more than erudition and a source of that kind of culture without which the achievements of science are delusive and vain.

JOHN MATTHEWS MANLY

THE DATE OF *THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE*

In 1176 and 1177 the papal legate Cardinal Vivian bore a commission from Pope Alexander the Third to visit "Ireland, Scotland, Norway, and the other circumjacent islands."¹ He actually did visit Galloway, the Isle of Man, Ireland, and Scotland. But as he did not go to continental Norway it is likely that by the terms of his commission, "Norway and the other circumjacent islands," he was authorized to visit not what is now Norway but those Scandinavianized portions of the British Isles—among them the Isle of Man—which had long been and until 1266 were destined to remain bound by loose political allegiance to the crown of Norway.

Galloway was at this date an almost independent state. William the Lion, King of Scotland, had been since 1174 the vassal of Henry the Second, and Henry had refused to receive Gilbert MacFergus Lord of Galloway as a direct vassal, bidding him rather accept William as his legitimate feudal superior. Gilbert, however, maintained a fierce if desultory warfare against Scotland till the end of his days. Furthermore, Galloway was a Goidelic-speaking territory colonized by the Irish, and it is altogether probable that there was a liberal admixture of Scandinavian blood in the province from the neighboring Hebrides and the coast of Argyle. A stranger might easily, therefore, be in doubt whether Galloway was a part of Ireland, of Scotland, or of British Norway.

Vivian certainly seems to have regarded Galloway as included in his commission. And the author of *The Owl and the Nightingale* clearly regards Galloway as a part of Norway, for in challenging the

¹ "Missus est itaque ad eos Vivianus presbyter cardinalis qui etiam legatiam Hiberniae Scotiae et Norwegiae et aliarum circumjacentium insularum suscepit et circa festum S. Mariae Magdalenae applicuit in Anglia sine regis licentia." See Lawrie, *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William, Kings of Scotland* (Glasgow, 1910), pp. 214-15. Except for this mission, information concerning Vivian is scanty, but I note the following in *Vitae et Gesta Summorum Pontificum Alfonsi Ciaconii*, ed. 1601, p. 476: "Viblanus Thomasius presb. Card. tt. s. Stefani in Coello monte. Alex. iij, Bullae Montis Regalis an. 1176. Lucij. iij. trium Fontium an. 1183." See also Giles, *The Life and Letters of Thomas à Becket*, Letters XCIII-XCV.

Nightingale to sing in foreign parts the Owl scornfully asks (vss. 905-10, 913-16):

Hwi nultu singe an oþer þeode,
 Þar hit is muchele more neode?
 Ðu neauer ne singest in Irlande
 ne þu ne cūest noȝt in Scotlonde.
Hwi nultu fare to Nore-weie?
an singen men of Galaweie?

Hwi nultu þare preoste singe,
 an teche of þire writelinge,
 an wise heom mid þire steuene
 hu engeles singeð in þe heuene.¹

It is likely then that Vivian visited Galloway under the impression that it was a part of Norway. His arrival there is not mentioned but only his taking ship from Whithern for the Isle of Man, an undoubted part of British Norway, where he was hospitably received. It is also likely that Gilbert MacFergus, who aspired to be a direct vassal of King Henry and to assure his own independence of the hated Scots, had given the Cardinal a hostile reception. But some months later Vivian tried to treat Galloway as a part of Scotland; for he summoned the Bishop of Whithern to a council of the Scottish clergy convened at Holyrood, Edinburgh, on August 1, 1177. The bishop, however, refused to attend, representing that he was a suffragan of the Archbishop of York and therefore not bound to attend a council of the Scottish clergy. And for this disobedience Vivian suspended the bishop from his functions.

In the following year, 1178, Pope Alexander took pains to make himself perfectly clear about Galloway. For he sent out Peter of Saint Agatha with a commission which expressly mentioned Galloway, Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man, but omitted the word "Norway," which seems to have occasioned so much trouble.²

¹ In quoting the text of *The Owl and the Nightingale* I have endeavored to construct from the two manuscripts as printed by Wells a text a trifle nearer to the original than either manuscript.

² "Venit et quidam alius in Anglia [sic] nuncius summi pontificis, qui Petrus de Sancta Agatha vocabatur, cui commissa erat cura summonendi viros ecclesiasticos Scotiæ, Galuæ et insulæ de Man, necnon et Hiberniæ, tam archiepiscopos quam episcopos et abbates et priores, ut in vi obedientiæ convenirent Romæ in capite Jejuni ad prædictum concilium" (Benedictus Abbas, I, 210). See Lawrie, *Annals of the Reigns of Malcolm and William*, pp. 222-23.

I have already quoted passages which show that the author of *The Owl and the Nightingale* regarded Galloway as part of Norway, and also that he was especially interested in the clergy of Ireland, Scotland, "Norway," and Galloway. That Nicholas of Guildford, to whom the poem pays a compliment, was concerned with Scotland appears from the Nightingale's praise of him (vss. 1757-58):

An þurh his muþe & þurh his honde
hit is þe betere in to Scot londe.

In responding to the Owl's taunts the Nightingale represents that her singing would be lost on the inhabitants of Ireland, Scotland, and Galloway. Her description of the Acarnanians of King Henry's empire is of historic importance as expressing the sentiments of an English contemporary toward the backward portions of the British Isles. The Nightingale describes these people as irreclaimable wild beasts. But I am particularly concerned with what is almost certainly an allusion to the mission of Cardinal Vivian (vss. 1015-20):

Þeʒ eni god man to hom come,
so wile dude sum from Rome,
for hom to lere gode þewes,
an for to leten hore un-þewes,
he miʒte bet sitte stille,
vor al his wile he sholde spille.¹

The attitude of the Nightingale toward the Irish requires little comment. They were a very backward people, and in the eyes of the Roman church they had long been heretics as well. The contemptuous remark of the Owl (vs. 322),

Þu chaterest so doþ an Irish prest,

evinces the author's preoccupation with the provincial clergy. But in explanation of the animosity of the Nightingale toward the Scots and Galwegians it should be said that apart from the feeling engendered by the contumacy of the Bishop of Whithern, already

¹ So far as I am aware, Professor J. W. H. Atkins, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, I, 265, is the only person who has hitherto suggested that this is an allusion to Vivian's mission. But Professor Atkins expresses a doubt whether the allusion is not rather to Cardinal Guala's mission in 1218, which had no reference at all to Ireland, and is not recorded to have occasioned special mention of Galloway or Norway. Furthermore Professor Atkins makes no chronological inferences.

mentioned, England had been frightfully ravaged in 1138, 1173, and 1174 by armies of the Scottish kings David and William, armies in which there are recorded to have been a multitude of the men of Galloway, who especially distinguished themselves by their atrocities. Furthermore, immediately after the invasion of 1174 Gilbert of Galloway, returning to his dominions, murdered his own brother Uhtred and slew or expelled all officers of the King of Scotland, of whom he aspired to be independent.

All told it is highly probable that *The Owl and the Nightingale* was written between Christmas, 1176, when Vivian left Galloway, and September 21, 1178, when Peter of Saint Agatha's commission, mentioning the Isle of Man and Galloway but avoiding the mention of British Norway, had relegated to the past Vivian's contention that Galloway was part of Norway. It is nearly as probable that Nicholas was a member of the escort which King Henry is reported to have given Vivian on his journey to Galloway, the Isle of Man, Ireland, and Scotland.

Evidence is not lacking that even if the *terminus ad quem* 1178 be too early, it cannot be so by more than a dozen years. For the lines (1757-58),

An þurh his muþe & þurh his honde
hit is þe betere in to Scot londe,

not only show that Nicholas of Guildford had had something to do with Scotland; they also express the complacency with which Englishmen regarded the position of Scotland from 1174 to 1189 when William the Lion was the direct liegeman of Henry the Second, not merely for English fiefs like Huntingdon, Northampton, or Northumberland, but for Scotland itself. It is clear from numerous passages in the chroniclers that the news of the capture of William at Alnwick in 1174 sent a peculiar thrill of joy and exultation through all England. Church-bells were tolled everywhere, and the miraculous intervention of God and Saint Thomas was evident to all believers. From the position of feudal subordination which William shortly afterward accepted he was released by Richard the First in 1189 in return for 10,000 marks of silver. It is most improbable that the Nightingale's proud reference to Scotland was written later than 1189.

Furthermore, in 1185 Gilbert MacFergus of Galloway died. After a few months of dissension he was succeeded by his nephew Roland McUhtred, an enlightened prince who did much to temper the condition of Galloway. It is unlikely that the Nightingale's bitter reference to a barbarous and irreclaimable Galloway was written after the influence of Roland began to be felt.

Nor is this all. For in describing the wild Irish and others the Nightingale says (vss. 1013-14):

he goþ bi tiȝt mid ruȝe velle
riȝt suich he comen ut of helle.

That the author introduces here no allusion to Saint Patrick's Purgatory is perhaps due to the fact that he was writing before the first recorded mention of that Purgatory by Jocelin of Furness about 1183, or at least before the popularization of the myth by the monk of Saltrey, who appears to have written before the canonization of Saint Malachi in 1189.¹

I will also observe that the references to excommunication in *The Owl and the Nightingale* are likely to have been prompted by recollection of the suspension of the Bishop of Whithern, or of the excommunications which Becket launched against his enemies from Vézelay in 1166.

My argument thus far is based upon what appear to be historical allusions in the poem. These are best explained by assuming that the poem was written in 1177 or 1178. A few objections to this date may now be considered.

1. First of all, the Nightingale's prayer for the soul of King Henry (vss. 1091-92):

þat under-wat þe King Henri,
Jesus his soule do merci.

With scarcely a dissenting voice² it has been agreed that this is a prayer for the dead, and that therefore the poem was written

¹ See *L'Espurgatoire Seint Patrice*, ed. Jenkins, pp. 1 ff. Incidentally I may remark that from a remote period certain parts of the British Isles had been regarded as a world of departed spirits. See Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, I, 201-3; Procopius *De Bello Gothico* iv. 20. 48 sqq. Also and *per contra* the Nightingale's phrase was proverbial. See *Richard Coeur de Lion*, ed. Brunner, vss. 6703-4, where it is said of the Saracens:

"No tungge," he seide, "may hem telle;
I wene þey comen out of helle."

² See footnote on p. xvii of Wells's excellent edition of *The Owl and the Nightingale*; also Breler, *Eule und Nachtigall* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1910), p. 159.

after the death of Henry the Second in 1189. But the reading of the Cotton MS alone should have warned us against this conclusion since the verb *under-wat* has the meaning of a present tense and shows that the scribe understood that Henry was still living when the prayer was offered. Neither is it clear whether the poet meant Henry the Second or his son Henry, who shared the royal title from 1170 till his death on June 11, 1182. Indeed as an exponent of romantic chivalry the younger king might be held a more appropriate subject of the Nightingale's prayers than his practical and unromantic father. Nor do we lack evidence of prayers for the souls of the living during the Middle Ages. Numerous authors conclude their compositions with a prayer either for their own souls or for those of their readers, or by requesting the reader to pray for the author's soul. *Havelok*, *Sawles Ward*, *An Orison of Our Lord*, and the *Poema Morale* are concluded in this manner. Prayers for the soul of the reigning king must have been offered. In the English charters of Henry the First and Henry the Second these monarchs commend the redemption of their souls to Christ.¹ And it was customary for subjects to swear "on the soul of the King" that he would be faithful to a treaty in question.² In fact, the idea that Henry the Second or his son Henry was dead when the Nightingale prayed for his soul is utterly without foundation.³

2. It has been suggested that the *Galaweie* mentioned by the Owl is not Galloway in Scotland but Galway in Ireland. This is exceedingly improbable; for while Galloway figures conspicuously in the history of England during the twelfth century, Galway was so little known to Englishmen of that era that an unexplained reference to the Irish county might easily have proved unintelligible.

3. It may be urged that the word *wile*, "once," "once upon a time," in the line (1016),

so wile dude sum from Rome,

¹ See Hickee, *Thesaurus, Praefatio*, p. xvi. Stubbs in his *Constitutional History* (I, 442, note) refers to this page for an English charter of Stephen which is not there. The charter of Henry the Second is also printed in *Anglia*, VII, 220-21, as edited by Strattmann.

² See Robertson, *Scotland under Her Early Kings*, II, 42, 65, 82-83, 113.

³ Because Giraldus Cambrensis in 1210 offered a prayer for the soul of Walter Map, it has been inferred that Map was dead in 1210. Such a conclusion is more favored by the imperfect tense *solebat* than by the actual prayer "*cujus animae propitiatur Deus*." See Giraldus (Rolls Series), V, 410.

implies that the mission of Vivian had taken place long ago. But the expression (which is very indefinite) may be due to the poet's having had vaguely in mind earlier embassies as well as Vivian's. The invasion of Ireland by King Henry was authorized by a bull of Pope Adrian the Fourth, and may have been regarded as constructively a papal embassy. Or the poet may have remembered the embassy of Cardinal Paparone to Ireland and the Synod of Kells in 1152. Furthermore, even if the poet was thinking only of the legateship of Vivian, the lapse of six months or so may have been regarded as relegating Vivian to a distant past according to the standard of owls and nightingales. This last suggestion is perfectly in accord with the poet's sly humor and powers of characterization.

4. An attempt has been made by Gadow and Felix Liebermann to identify the poet's Nicholas of Guildford with a certain *Nicholaus capellanus archidiaconi*, and with *Nicholaus submonitor capituli de Gudeford*, respectively mentioned in documents of Salisbury, the former in 1209 and the latter in 1220.¹ The identification is by no means unpalatable, even though neither Nicholas is connected with Portesham in Dorset, where *The Owl and the Nightingale* places Nicholas of Guildford.² But even if accepted, the identification only proves that Nicholas must have been sixty years old or upward in 1220 if *The Owl and the Nightingale* was written in 1177. This is no valid ground for abandoning 1177 as the date of composition. The Nightingale's complaint that the services of Nicholas were unrewarded is perhaps more intelligible if Nicholas was a young and ambitious but unimportant member of the escort, though the fact that Vivian left the Scottish church independent of either York or Canterbury at a time when Henry the Second desired to subject Scotland to one of these sees would abundantly account for the failure of the English bishops to recognize any services of Nicholas to Vivian.

The presumption is, then, that *The Owl and the Nightingale* was written in 1177 or 1178. This contention is founded on the historical allusions which the poem appears to contain. The linguistic evidence is far more difficult to discuss. To determine

¹ See Wilhelm Gadow, *Das Mittelhochdeutsche Streitgedicht, Eule und Nachtigall* (Berlin, 1910), pp. 12-13.

² Vss. 1752-54.

the date of a Middle English poem by the dialect is sometimes like trying to tell the hour of day in a room where there are twenty clocks, no two of which keep the same time; for dialect depends not only on date but also on locality and on personality. Furthermore, the monuments of this period are seldom autographs, and we are ever at the mercy of a blundering or modernizing scribe. Linguistic evidence being therefore less precise than that derived from historical allusions, I shall content myself with enumerating a few carefully considered points which indicate, I submit, an earlier date for the poem than has hitherto been propounded. They are the following:

1. Eight cases of the dual number of the personal pronoun. The first person occurs in 151, 552, 993, 1689, 1780, 1782, and 1783; the second person *hunke* occurs in 1732.¹
2. The neuter plural *grinew*, 1056, retaining the Anglo-Saxon *-u*.
3. The comparative in *-re*: *mildre*, 1775.
4. The inflected numerals: *anne*, 811, 831; *twere*, *tweire*, *tweyre*, 888, 991, 1396; *beire*, *beyre*, 1584; *twam*, *twom*, 991, 1477.
5. The inflected indefinite article: *ore*, 17, 1754.
6. The inflected definite adjectives: *fulne*, 1196; *godne*, 812; *rihtne*, 1238.
7. The inflected possessives: *mire*, *myre*, 1741; *pire*, 429, 914, 915, 1650, etc.
8. The conjunction *þe*:
 - (a) meaning "or": 824, 1064, 1362, 1408.
 - (b) meaning "than": 564.
 - (c) meaning "that": 941.

¹ The value of the Middle English dual as a criterion of date has not yet been properly recognized. *Havelok* is the only monument containing duals (*wit* [MS *witt*], 1336, and *unker*, 1882) which may confidently be dated later than 1200, and even in *Havelok* the dual is likely to have been taken over from some earlier version of the story. Layamon is of the twelfth century (see p. 256, n. 1) and Orm probably of the first half of that century. There are no duals in *Ancren Riwe*. *Genesis and Exodus* is in a peculiar dialect, resembling that of the *Bestiary* and *The Proverbs of Alfred* (Text II in Morris' *Miscellany*). It is of a Midland type and therefore likely to have simplified its diphthongs and lost its inflections early. Nevertheless it presents the following duals: *wit*, 1775, 2934; *unc*, 1776; *gunker*, 398; *gunc*, 2830; *?wit* (MS *we it*), 1777; *?get*, 3093. Furthermore, although much more than twice as long as *The Owl and the Nightingale*, *Genesis and Exodus* contains but ninety-eight words of French origin. (From the list given by Fritzsche in *Anglia*, V, 83-84, omit *orgel*, which is probably from the Anglo-Saxon. The French form is written with an *i*, e.g., *orgeil*.) I conclude that *Genesis and Exodus* is probably older than 1250, and possibly earlier than 1200.

9. The hortative particle *ute, vte* (A.S. *utan, uton*), followed by the infinitive: 1779.¹

10. The formula *Alured King*, 235, for "King Alfred."²

11. The forms *eauar*, "ever," 1474; *oþar*, "other," 479; *andsware*, "answer," 639, 657; *al-swa*, "also," 1663; *alswa*, "just so," 1329, 1373.

The considerations above are of course of unequal weight, but their collective force is, I submit, sufficient to show that *The Owl and the Nightingale* was written earlier than *Ancren Riwele*, the date of which can hardly be later than 1230, and by Einkenel was placed "about 1200."³

Furthermore, the entries of the Peterborough Chronicle from 1135 to 1154 can hardly have been written as late as 1160. It is true they were written in Northamptonshire, where the language was less conservative than in the south of England; but they were also probably written by a monk who was familiar with the earlier entries of the Chronicles and more or less influenced by the earlier language of 1121.⁴ It is therefore curious to find that the entries from 1135 to 1154 show a larger percentage of French words than does *The Owl and the Nightingale*. For the entries from 1135 to 1154 occupy 221 lines in Plummer's edition of the text and contain from twenty to twenty-two French words. *The Owl and the Nightingale* has 1784 lines, the line averaging more than two-fifths as long as a line in Plummer's duodecimo volume. *The Owl and the Nightingale* should therefore contain upward of sixty-four French words in order to equal the entries in this respect. As a matter of fact *The Owl and the Nightingale* contains less than fifty-five French words.⁵ Various English homilies of the twelfth century are also better supplied with

¹ This occurs also in various places in Morris' *Miscellany: The Passion of Our Lord*, 1779; *Sinners Beware!* 67, 225, 229.

² In the Peterborough Chronicle we have *Henri king*, anno. 1132, 1137; *Stephnes kinges*, anno. 1137; *Rodbert eorl*, anno. 1140; *Martin abbot*, anno. 1137. In *The Shires and Hundreds of England* (a document datable between the appointment of Jean de Villula as first Bishop of Bath by William the Second, and the cession of Northumberland to Henry the Second by Malcolm the Fourth of Scotland in 1157, Morris' *Miscellany*, pp. 145-46) we have *eadward king; myd eadwardes kynges leave; Heremon biscop*.

³ See the *Life of Saint Katherine* (E.E.T.S., 1884), p. xviii.

⁴ See Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles*, II, xxxv.

⁵ See Breier, *Eule und Nachtigall* (Halle, 1910), pp. 151-55. His list includes some doubtful cases.

French words than *The Owl and the Nightingale*. These considerations certainly tend to show that 1177 is by no means too early a date for the English poem.

It is true that Layamon's *Brut*, which was pretty certainly written between 1173 and 1189,¹ is in a dialect far more archaic than *The Owl and the Nightingale*. But this is due to other considerations than chronology. For the *Brut* was written in another locality, and above all by a poet who deliberately archaized his manner. Layamon is not a witty satirist like the author of *The Owl and the Nightingale*. On the contrary he is a poet whose genius made for what is venerable and majestic. His finest passages are of impressive solemnity. His theme was of the remote past. One of his acknowledged sources was the Anglo-Saxon translation of Bede. As he borrowed scarcely anything from its content, it is likely that he was considerably influenced by its language—especially by its inflections and spelling—else he would hardly have mentioned it as one of his sources. Furthermore, the meter of Layamon closely resembles that of certain poems in the Old English Chronicle, especially the poem on William

¹ The evidence as to the date of Layamon's *Brut* has in some points been strangely misinterpreted. Madden was probably right in regarding vss. 2916–21 as an allusion to the destruction of the city of Leicester in the year 1173 (see Madden's *Layamon*, I, xviii), and this remains our best *terminus a quo*. But with the only two remaining historical allusions in the poem I would respectfully suggest that this very able scholar was less fortunate. In his prolog Layamon speaks of having used as one of his sources a book by a French clerk called Wace, and adds (vss. 42–44):

& he hoe ʒef þare æbelen
Ælienor þe wes Henries quene þes heʒes kinges,

"And he [Wace] gave it [the book] to the noble Eleanor who was queen of Henry the high king." Madden supposed that the verb *wes* meant "was then but is no longer," and accordingly inferred that Layamon must have written after the death of Henry the Second in 1189 or even after the death of Eleanor herself in 1204. But if *wes* means anything more than simply "was," it is, I submit, far more natural to suppose that Layamon meant that in 1155, when Wace presented his book to Eleanor, she "was already" or "had become" (the early English preterite has frequently the force of a pluperfect) the Queen of England in 1154, after having successively acquired the titles of Duchess of Aquitaine, Queen of France (which she lost), and Countess of Anjou. The solemn mention of her position and the absence of any mention of the death of Henry the Second is of itself presumptive evidence that Henry was still living when Layamon wrote.

The history of the tribute called "Peter's Pence" outlined in the *Brut* (vss. 31945–80) offers no obstacle to dating the poem as early as 1173, since Henry the Second ordered the payment of "Peter's Pence" to be discontinued in 1164 and again in 1169. Layamon's comment (vss. 31979–80),

drihtē wāt hu longe þeo laʒen scullen ilæste,

"the Lord knoweth how long the custom shall last," clearly implies that the payment continued in spite of the edicts which brought it to Layamon's attention. See Madden's *Layamon*, I, xviii–xx.

the Conqueror,¹ and he employs not a few of the epic formulas of Old English poetry. That his archaism is deliberate and artificial, and not the usage of his own day, is shown by the presence of false archaism, as in verses 13846-47:

what cnihtes we beoð & whanene we icumen seoð

Unless *beoð*: *seoð* should be altered to *beon*: *seon* we probably have in *seoð* a form invented by Layamon himself, since *seoð* is correct neither for an indicative nor for an optative. If Ben Jonson had lived in the twelfth century he might have leveled at Layamon the taunt which he actually aimed at Spenser, that "because he affected the ancients he writ no language," a remark which obviously savors of the grammarian who wrote an *English Grammar* rather than of the poet who wrote *The Sad Shepherd*.²

No light has yet been thrown on the date of *The Owl and the Nightingale* by the study of analogs and sources. Analogs are numerous, but their dates and mutual relations are obscure. This conclusion, which I have reached after considerable investigation, is important, if correct, and I would emphasize it.³ From what appear to be historical allusions I have presented an argument of considerable

¹ As was pointed out by Kluge in Paul and Braune, *Beiträge*, IX, 422 ff.

² The subject of Layamon's archaisms has hitherto received little attention from scholars, but an interesting paper, which will doubtless soon be published, on "Epic Formulas in Layamon," was read before the Modern Language Association by Professor Tatlock in December, 1917.

³ I relegate to a note a few points not concerned with the main argument. The antithesis between owl and nightingale was apparently proverbial. Walter Map's *Epistle of Valerius to Rufinus* begins thus:

"Loqui prohibeor et tacere non possum. Grues odi et uocem ulule, bubonem et aues ceteras que lutose hiemis grauitatem luctuose preululant; et tu subsannas uenturi vaticinia dispendii, vera, si perseueras. Ideo loqui prohibeor, veritatis augur, non voluntatis.

"Lu<s>ciniam amo et merulam que leticiam aure lenis concentu placido preloquantur, et potissimum philomenam, que optate tempus iocunditatis tota deliciarum plenitudine annulat, nec fallor."

See Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. James (Oxford, 1914), p. 143 (*Distinctio* IV, *capitulum* iii). With the foregoing compare especially *The Owl and the Nightingale*, vss. 411-16:

Hule, heo seide, hwi dostu so ?
 þu singest a winter wola-wo:
 þu singest so doþ hen asnowe,
 al þat heo singeþ hit is for wowe.
 A wintere þu singest wrope & ȝomere,
 an eure þu art dumb a sumere.

This parallel may some day throw light on the date of the *Epistle of Valerius*. For the present I am concerned only to ask, Is not *The Owl and the Nightingale* related to some proverb resembling the Low German *Wat dem eenen stn Uhl ist dem andern stn Nachtigall* ("One man's owl is another man's nightingale") very much as Mr. Joseph

strength for dating *The Owl and the Nightingale* in 1177 or 1178, or at least not later than 1189. To whatever objections this conclusion may be open, I believe it is not only more precise but also better supported by evidence than any other date that has hitherto been propounded for a document in English between the charter of Henry the Second of 1154-61 and the proclamation of Henry the Third of 1258. If accepted, my conclusion will involve as a corollary considerable revision of the hitherto received chronology of Early Middle English literature.

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Jacobs has declared that animal fables are related to proverbs? See Jacobs, *The Fables of Aesop*, I, 204-5. I owe the Low German proverb to Dr. Richard Goldschmidt, a well-known biologist.

I surmise that Nicholas of Guildford was himself the author of *The Owl and the Nightingale*. It is difficult to see how so excellent a poet should have paid such a tribute to an obscure cleric unless the poet himself had been the cleric, conscious of great literary powers but lacking in the qualities that bring ecclesiastical promotion. Poets not infrequently paid themselves compliments during the Middle Ages, especially in Provence. And even in the nineteenth century Walt Whitman wrote laudatory reviews of his own books. That the author of *The Owl and the Nightingale* can hardly have been John of Guildford is one of a number of good points made by Koch in *Anglia Beiblatt*, XXI, 230-31. In writing this paper I have incurred special obligations to the excellent work on the subject by Wells, Gadow, and Breier.

THE EARLY POPULARITY OF MILTON'S MINOR POEMS

L'Allegro and Il Penseroso, which are now universally known; but which, by a strange fatality, lay in a sort of obscurity, the private enjoyment of a few curious readers, till they were set to admirable music by Mr. Handel. And, indeed, this volume of Milton's Miscellaneous Poems has not till very lately met with suitable regard.—Joseph Warton, *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope* (1757), I, 38.

On this statement, echoed in 1785 by Thomas Warton in his edition of Milton's *Poems on several occasions*¹ and by Wordsworth in his "Essay supplementary to the Preface of 1802"—where the recognition of the poems is postponed to about 1785—literary history has been based. In spite of the able protests of William Godwin² against the statements of Thomas Warton, those statements have prevailed even in the work of recent students of Milton.³ It is important, however, to note that Todd, a friend of Warton's, expressed surprise "that Mr. Warton should have asserted that for seventy years after their first publication, he recollects no mention of these poems in the whole succession of English literature."⁴ Todd thereupon corrected some of the mistakes in Warton's facts and cited some bits of evidence to disprove neglect. Masson,⁵ though conservative in the matter, seems rather to agree with the views here to be stated. There is no doubt, of course, that throughout the eighteenth century "Paradise Lost" was much more popular than Milton's other poems; and there is no doubt that the middle of the eighteenth century saw a great outburst of imitation and praise of the "minor" poems. But an increased vogue does not necessarily imply previous neglect, and literary historians have commonly said that the minor poems were neglected for a hundred years after their first publication. A fairly extensive, if cursory,

¹ See pp. x-xii of the 2d ed. (1791), to which all my references here are made.

² Godwin's *Lives of Edward and John Philips* (1815), pp. 286 ff.

³ R. D. Havens in *Eng. Stud.*, XL, 175 ff., 187 ff.; J. W. Good, *Studies in the Milton Tradition* (1915), pp. 141-42; Dowden, *Proceedings of the British Academy* (1907-8), p. 291.

⁴ Todd's (2d) ed. of Milton's *Poetical Works* (1809), I, 61-62.

⁵ See his *Life of Milton*, VI, 775 ff.

reading of English prose and poetry of the century following the Restoration has led me to the belief that phrasal echoes as well as critical comments and multiplicity of editions indicate for the poems a widespread and high regard from the time of their first publication. We shall then study the vogue of these poems before 1740, by which approximate date the poems are commonly thought to have attained due recognition.

I

It may be proper first to examine the usual form in which these poems were printed. The customary view, I believe, is that they were printed as a necessary part of Milton's "Poetical Works," and rarely except as such. At first sight this seems an entirely just view. In the period under consideration were printed eighteen separate editions of "Paradise Lost," and the poem appeared also eleven times in editions classed by Dr. Good as "Poetical Works."¹ The more important of the minor poems, aside from these eleven inevitable printings, were issued, variously grouped, on an average of five times each when clearly independent of the "Poetical Works." The following table, imitatively based on Dr. Good's results,² may be of assistance:

¹ *Studies in the Milton Tradition*, p. 25.

² See *op. cit.*, chapter ii. "Comus" was in 1738 printed four times in the form Dalton gave it for stage performance. I have omitted these editions, anticipating an objection that they are not Milton. The table may be further explained by giving the dates of editions (except the 18 of "Paradise Lost"). Under A we have "Comus" in 1637 and 1638; "Lycidas" in 1638. Under B the dates are 1645, 1673; under C, 1695, 1698 (the 1731 ed., Dr. Good to the contrary, is in two volumes); under D, 1705, 1707, 1713, 1720, 1721, 1725, 1727, 1730, 1731; under E, 1695; under F, 1716 and 1727; under G, 1671, 1672, 1680, 1688.

The initials of the minor poems are used throughout this article to abbreviate the names.

How Printed	Paradise Lost	Paradise Regain'd	L'Allegro Il Penseroso	Comus	Lycidas	Samson Agonistes
A. In separate editions	18	.....	.....	2	1	.....
B. <i>Poems on several occasions</i> . . . . .	.....	.....	2	2	2	.....
C. In <i>Poetical Works</i> (1 vol.)	2	2	2	2	2	2
D. In "Poetical Works" (2 vols.) (So called by Dr. Good)	9	9	9	9	9	9
E. <i>Paradise Regain'd</i> and minor poems . . . . .	.....	1	1	1	1	1
F. In Dryden's <i>Miscellany</i> . . . . .	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....
G. <i>Paradise Regain'd</i> and <i>Samson</i> together . . . . .	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	4
Total editions before 1740	29	16	16	16	17	16

It is noteworthy that the one-volume and two-volume editions of the *Poetical Works* have been separated here. In 1695 "Paradise Regain'd," "Samson Agonistes," and the minor poems appeared as a volume, and beginning with 1705, according to Dr. Good, this combination became the second volume of the "Poetical Works," as he calls them. It is clear that in some editions—such as that of 1695—the minor poems are regarded as subordinated to the three major works, for the minor poems are printed in two columns, while the others are not; but when they are (with "Paradise Regain'd" and "Samson," to be sure) given a volume by themselves, they cease in part to depend on the greater epic. Their independence seems more plausible when it is noted that this "second" volume is sometimes—I have not seen all the editions—printed without any indication of the fact that it is part of the "Poetical Works." A specimen title-page runs:

Paradise Regain'd./ A POEM./ In Four BOOKS./ To which is added/ SAMSON AGONISTES./ AND/ POEMS upon several Occasions./ With a Tractate of Education./ The AUTHOR/ JOHN MILTON./ The FIFTH EDITION. Adorn'd with Cuts./ London: Printed for J. Tonson, at Shake/ spear's Head, over-against Catherine-/ Street in the Strand. 1713./

The only indication of relationship of this volume to any other is a gilt "2" on the back; the words "Poetical Works" are nowhere to be found in it. The "sixth" and "seventh" editions of these poems (1725 and 1730) lack even this "2," as do some of the 1752 edition edited by Newton. Unfortunately, other editions that I have seen have been recently rebound, but the title-pages indicate no connection between the two volumes. At least, then, the idea that the shorter pieces were printed only as pendants to "Paradise Lost" should be expressed with great caution. Indeed, the fact that Tonson printed these poems eight times between 1705 and 1730 in a volume by themselves shows undoubted commercial demand; for it is practically certain that the volumes were not made to be sold only in sets. Tonson also included three of the poems—probably the most popular three—in Dryden's *Miscellany* for 1716 and 1727. The only conclusion safely to be drawn from printing during this period is that these poems in one combination

or another were so frequently before the public that it would be strange if they were not read. It is interesting to see that during the years 1712 to 1732 "The Rape of the Lock"—admittedly one of the most popular poems of its day—was reprinted, separately or in combination with other pieces, about a dozen times. In the same period "L'Allegro," "Il Penseroso," and "Lycidas" were, considering all combinations, printed about nine times. In this case reprintings do not prove much perhaps; but certainly the steady reprinting tends to disprove neglect.¹

II

Preliminary to any presentation of "critical" comment on these poems during our period, it is necessary to remind the reader that—Milton entirely aside—the critics of the time seem to have showed no great acumen; that criticism proceeded almost entirely to the discussion of "the greater poetry" (epic, tragedy, ode)—about which it has said little of permanent value. All lyric poetry was neglected by critics: in this sense Milton's minor poems were neglected. But they were no more neglected by critics than were the smaller pieces of Cowley, Waller, and Dryden. It is, furthermore, necessary to remark that whenever the poems are mentioned by critics (with perhaps two or three exceptions) they are mentioned with very high praise.² The shining exception is Dryden,³ who in 1693 alleged

¹ I have based my account of these editions upon Dr. Good's very explicit work (*op. cit.*, pp. 24–43). As a matter of additional record, I may cite Professor Arber's *Term Catalogues* (1903–6), II, 525, for a reprint of "Lycidas" (1694) with a Latin version by W. Hog, which Dr. Good does not count as an English edition—and which I have not counted here. On the other hand, the Boston Public Library copy of Tonson's 1695 edition of Milton seems merely to bind in unsold copies of the 1688 print of "Paradise Regain'd" and "Samson Agonistes." Dr. Good counts these two editions, and I have followed him. Similarly I have neglected the fact, unnoted by him, that the 1721 edition of "Paradise Regain'd," etc., uses the 1713 print of "Samson Agonistes." Quite evidently Tonson reprinted only such poems by Milton as the public wished to buy. I am frank to confess that I have seen only the editions of Milton that may be seen at Harvard, at the Boston Public Library, and in the various libraries of Chicago.

² This is true for everything except "Paradise Regain'd." Those who say, as does Dr. Good (*op. cit.*, p. 34) among others, that the minor poems were "almost uniformly subordinated to the lesser epic" should note the fact that while the minor poems are mentioned practically always with praise, "Paradise Regain'd" is spoken of in quite another tone. See, for example, Edward Phillips' *Life of Milton* (1694), p. ix; R. Meadowcourt's *Critique on Milton's Paradise Regain'd* (1732), p. 3; John Jortin's *Remarks on Spenser's Poems* (1734), p. 171; J. Richardson's *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost* (1734), p. xciv.

³ W. P. Ker, *Essays of John Dryden*, II, 30.

in his own breezy manner that the reason Milton used blank verse was "that rhyme was not his talent," and adduced as proof that the rhyme in Milton's early poems "is always constrained and forced, and comes hardly from him, at an age when the soul is most pliant, and the passion of love makes almost every man a rhymers, though not a poet." This opinion certainly indicates ignorance of the poems or unscrupulous argumentative practice—or probably both. William Benson, in his *Letters concerning Poetical Translations, and Virgil's and Milton's Arts of Verse, &c.* (1739), p. 61, quotes Dryden's remark approvingly; but Benson's rank as critic may be gauged by the fact that a main thesis of his *Letters* is that "the principal Advantage *Virgil* has over *Milton* is *Virgil's* Rhyme" (p. 8). These views, in any case, are highly exceptional. If we examine the notices of the poems to be found in biographies, essays, letters, and eulogistic poems, we shall see a considerable number of passages expressing high commendation. Because any attempt at "organization" of this material would be artificial, and because there is obvious advantage in seeing the historical cumulation of references to the poems, these exceedingly miscellaneous bits of evidence will be chronologically listed.

1637. Sir Henry Wootton's letter commendatory of "Comus" certainly started Milton criticism with superlative praise. Even if, with Thomas Warton, we discount the tribute as due in part to friendship, we still see the evident delight of the writer glow forth. The letter is usually reprinted with "Comus."

1637. Lawes, H. In the dedication prefixed to the first edition of "Comus" Lawes informs Viscount Brackley "that the often copying of it hath tired my pen to give my several friends satisfaction, and brought me to a necessity of producing it to the public view."¹

1645. Moseley, Humphrey. Moseley, the printer of the poems, prefixed to the 1645 edition some remarks addressed "To the Reader" which seem significant. In part they read:

The Author's more peculiar excellency in these studies was too well known to conceal his Papers, or to keep me from attempting to solicit them from him. Let the event guide itself which way it will, I shall deserve

¹ Quoted from the Clarendon Press ed. (1906), I, 46.

of the age by bringing into the light as true a birth as the Muses have brought forth since our famous SPENSER wrote; whose Poems in these English ones are as rarely imitated as sweetly excelled.¹

After a great deal of this has been credited to the eternal advertising tendency, it remains true that since Moseley was publisher for many poets, he could not afford to waste fond superlatives on poems that were not assured a success even before publication. To these early tributes by Wootton, Lawes, and Moseley might be added the flattering compliments paid the young poet by his Italian friends, but since we are primarily concerned with his English reputation, those are here omitted.²

Ca. 1648. Archbishop Sancroft thought highly enough of the "Nativity Ode" and the version of the "Fifty-third Psalm" to copy them from "John Milton's poems." Thomas Warton regarded this act as "perhaps almost the only instance on record, in that period of time [1645-1715], of their having received any, even a slight, mark of attention or notice."³ The statement is a fair sample of the lack of investigation upon which the Wartons based their theory of neglect.

1655. Cotgrave, John. *The English Treasury of Wit and Language*. Thomas Warton (*op. cit.*, p. vii) regards omission of the minor poems from this work as evidence of neglect, but Godwin calls attention to the fact that Cotgrave drew only from dramatic poets.⁴ Omission of "Comus" in such a case becomes regrettable but comprehensible.

1657. Poole, Joshua. *The English Parnassus: or a helpe to English Poesie*. In citing this as one of the books in which not "the quantity of a hemistich" of Milton is quoted, Warton made one of the worst blunders of his career. Godwin is quite right in saying that the "Poems on Several Occasions, published twelve years before, appear to be cited as often as the writings of almost any other author"—which means as often as the greatest Elizabethans are cited. Godwin quotes Todd as saying "there are few

¹ See Todd's ed. (1809), I, 61; the Everyman Library ed., p. 375; or almost any good edition for this letter.

² For this Italian reputation see Masson's *Life*, I, chap. viii, *passim*.

³ See Thomas Warton's ed. of Milton's *Poems upon several occasions*, 1791 (his 2d ed.), p. v.

⁴ *Lives of Edward and John Philips* (1815), p. 286.

pages in which quotations may not be found from Milton's poetry."

1660. Saumaise, Claude. *Claudii Salmasii ad Johannem Miltonum Responsio*. On page 5 of this work Saumaise jeers at Milton's false quantities in his Latin poems, and adds sarcastically:

Tametsi aetatem illis, qua scripta sunt, non apposuisset, facile tamen perspicere poteramus pueri esse poemata. Sed puerilia errata praestare debet jam vir, cum & paucos abhinc annos recudi Londini curaverit. Si stylus hic ejus semper fuisset, & amoribus cantandis aut naeniis mortualibus plorandis tempus tantum impendisset, pessimum poetarum longe antefferem optimo patronorum, qui pessimam causam tueretur.

This is not evidence of high regard, but I think it does argue the poems known in 1660. It begot later criticism. (See 1695, Morhof.)

1669. Phillips, Edward. *Joannis Buchleri Sacrarum Profanarumque Phrasium Poeticarum Thesaurus* (17th edition). Appended to this work was a section entitled *Tractatulus de Carminē Dramatico Poetarum Veterum, cui subjungitur Compendiosa Enumeratio Poetarum Recentiorum*, in which was included the first printed praise of "Paradise Lost." Although the work, like so many others of the time, is almost literally an enumeration, the minor poems get brief mention:

Joannes Miltonius, praeter alia quae scripsit elegantissima, tum Anglicè, tum Latinè, nuper publici juris fecit *Paradisum Amissum*, Poema, quod, sive sublimitatem argumenti, sive leporem simul et majestatem styli, sive sublimitatem inventionis, sive similitudines et descriptiones quam maximè naturales, respicamus, verè Heroicum, ni fallor, audiet: plurimum enim suffragiis qui non nesciunt judicare, censetur perfectionem hujus generis poematis assecutum esse.¹

Thomas Warton bars this testimony as coming from a relative. The superlative applied to the minor poems is typical.

1675. Phillips, Edward. *Theatrum Poetarum*, pp. 113-14:

John Milton, the Author (not to mention his other works, both in Latin and English, both in strict and solute Oration, by which his Fame is sufficiently known to all the Learned of Europe) of two Heroic Poems, and a Tragedy; namely *Paradice lost*, *Paradice Regain'd*, and *Samson Agonista*

¹ This passage is quoted from Godwin's *Lives* (1815) of Milton's two nephews, p. 145, note.

[sic]; in which how far he hath reviv'd the Majesty and true *Decorum* of Heroic Poesy and Tragedy: it will better become a person less related then myself, to deliver this judgement.

This affirmation of an international reputation for the early poems is valuable evidence against the theory of neglect.¹

Ca. 1681? Aubrey, John. *Brief Lives* (Oxford, 1898), II, 60-72. Aubrey's notes, concerned with biographical fact rather than criticism, mention the friendship with Diodati as reflected in the poems, and call attention to Milton's precocity by saying of the "Poems": "Some writt but at 18."

— Undated letters between Waller and St. Evremond afford invaluable evidence. Dr. Good dates the letters about 1673 "or later" (*op. cit.*, p. 141). Waller writes:

There is one *John Milton*, an old commonwealth's man, who hath in the latter part of his life, written a poem intituled *Paradise Lost*; and to say the truth, it is not without some fancy and bold invention. But I am much better pleased with some smaller productions of his in the scenical and pastoral way; one of which called *Lycidas* I shall forthwith send you, that you may have some amends for the trouble of reading this bad poetry. [He had enclosed verses of his own.]

And St. Evremond replies:

The poem called *Lycidas*, which you say is written by Mr. *Milton*, has given me much pleasure. It has in it what I conceive to be the true spirit of pastoral poetry, the old Arcadian enthusiasm. . . . What pleases me in *John Milton's* poem, besides the true pastoral enthusiasm and the scenical merit, is the various and easy flow of its numbers. Those measures are well adapted to the tender kind of imagery, though they are not expressive of the first strong impressions of grief.²

1687. Winstanley, William. *The lives of the most Famous English Poets*. Here we have one long sentence devoted to Milton in which Winstanley copies the misspelling of Milton's three major titles from the *Theatrum Poetarum*, without mentioning the minor poems at all. Phillips' sentence about Milton's fame as based on other works than these three roused all Winstanley's political antag-

¹ An ambiguity in Phillips' further praise of Milton's heroic poems on page 114 (under John Phillips) has amusingly misled the unintelligent Winstanley in his *Lives* (1687), p. 210—and also the *D.N.B.* (see John Phillips).

² These quotations are from *Letters supposed to have passed between M. de St. Evremond and Mr. Waller* (1809), pp. 133-38.

onism and he exclaims: "But his Fame is gone out like a Candle in a snuff, and his Memory will always stink, which might have ever lived in honourable Repute, had he not been a notorious Traytor."

1687. Ayres, Philip. *Lyric Poems*. In the Preface to this volume the writer defends "sonnets, canzons, madrigals, &c."—of which, either original or translated, his volume largely consists—saying:

For many eminent Persons have published several things of this nature, and in this method, both Translations and Poems of their own; As the famous Mr. *Spencer*, Sir *Philip Sidney*, Sir *Richard Fanshaw*, Mr. *Milton*, and some few others; The success of all which, in these things, I must needs say, cannot much be boasted of; and tho' I have little reason after it, to expect Credit from these my slight Miscellanies, yet has it not discouraged me from adventuring on what my Genius prompted me to.

This passage obviously is a complaint that lyric poetry (especially sonnets, he probably meant) in general is neglected. Milton as a lyricist is mentioned apparently with Ayres' favorites.

1688. Morhof, Daniel George. *Polyhistor sive notitia auctorum et rerum commentarii*. I have not seen this edition, but that of 1695 (the second), after a defense of Milton's Latin prose as compared with that of Saumaise, remarks:

Quicquid tamen ejus sit, ostendunt Miltoni scripta virum vel in ipsâ juventute: quae enim ille adolescens scripsit carmina Latina, unâ cum Anglicis edita, aetatem illam longè superant, quâ ille vir scripsit poemata Anglica sed sine rhythmis, quos ut pestes carminum vernaculorum abesse volebat, quale illud 12. libris constans *the paradise lost*. Plena ingenii & acuminis sunt, sed insuavia tamen videntur ob rhythmî defectum, quem ego abesse à tali carminum genere non posse existimo, quicquid etiam illi, & Italis nonnullis, & nuper Isaaco Vossio in libro poematum cantu, videatur.¹

The first part of this is amusing as a reply to Saumaise (*vide supra*), and the last part as a reaction to blank verse. There may be lack of judgment but there is no lack of praise with regard to the lesser poems. See 1660 and also 1732.

1691. Langbaine, Gerard. *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*. Milton is treated on pages 375-77. A page and a half are

¹ Liber I, cap. xxiv, pp. 304-5.

devoted to "Samson," mainly to its versification, and to "Comus." For "Comus" considerable title-page information is given. The other poems are merely listed; the "Poems in Latin and English" are dated 1645; Langbaine is ignorant of the date of "Paradise Lost." Thomas Warton (*op. cit.*, p. vi) has misrepresented these facts.

1691. Wood, Anthony. *Athenae Oxonienses*. This work, again, neglects the poetical genius of Milton, but does not neglect the minor poems more than the greater poems. The various poetical volumes are dutifully listed, and in column 880 it is said: "By his indefatigable study he profited exceedingly, wrote then several Poems, paraphras'd some of *David's Psalms*, performed the collegiate and academical exercise to the admiration of all, and was esteemed to be a vertuous and sober person, yet not to be ignorant of his own parts." In column 883 after listing the "Poems, &c. on several occasions" as published in 1673-4, he adds: "Among these are mix'd some of his Poems before mention'd, made in his youthful years." In column 884: "To conclude, he was more admired abroad, and by Foreigners, than at home; and was much visited by them when he liv'd in *Petty France*, some of whom have out of pure devotion gone to *Breadstreet* to see the House and Chamber where he was born, &c." This last shows that Phillips' statement about a continental reputation was not mere family pride. Probably his Latin and Italian poems had by 1690 aided his reputation throughout Europe more than had "Paradise Lost." At least Anthony Wood did not regard Milton as a poet of one poem.

1692. *The Athenian Mercury*, 16 January, 1691-2 (Vol. V, No. 14), prints an interesting discussion, "Whether Milton and Waller were not the best English Poets? and which the better of the two?" The poets are said to be "both excellent in their kind"; but Milton's merits are given the more attention. "Paradise Lost" and "Samson" receive most space, but the critic concludes his specification of merits by saying, "In his Juvenile Poems, those on Mirth and Melancholly, an Elegy on his Friend that was drown'd, and especially a Fragment of the Passion, are incomparable."

"Incomparable" is a word worth emphasizing. It is hard to see that the critic here is any less enthusiastic over the minor poems

than over "Paradise Lost" or "Samson," which naturally receive more space.¹

1692. [Gildon, Charles]. *Miscellany Poems upon Several Occasions*. Pages 29-33 print "Julii Mazarini, Cardinalis, Epitaphium: Authore Joh. Milton." This inclusion illustrates the interest of the time in anything signed John Milton.

1694. Phillips, Edward. *Life of Milton*. Prefixed to *Letters of State, Written by Mr. John Milton*. In this *Life* Phillips attends to biographical fact and neglects literary criticism. The "Nativity Ode," "L'Allegro," "Il Penseroso," and "Comus" are unmentioned. "The Vacation Exercise" and "Lycidas" as growing out of Milton's college experience are mentioned. Of the latter it is said: "Never was the loss of Friend so Elegantly lamented; and among the rest of his Juvenile Poems, some he wrote at the Age of 15, which contain a Poetical Genius scarce to be parallel'd by any *English Writer*" (p. ix).

1694. Hog, William. In the *Term Catalogues* (ed. Arber, II, 525) the following is listed for November, 1694: "Two poems (the one whereof was pen'd by *Clievland*; and the other by *Milton*) upon the death of a worthy and learned young gentleman, Mr. *Ed. King*, who was drown'd in the Irish Seas. To which is added, a Latin Paraphrase on both; which was pen'd by *W. H.* Quarto." See under 1690 and 1698.

1696. Gildon, Charles, editor. *Chorus Poetarum; or poems on Several Occasions*, etc. (For this date see the *Term Catalogues* [ed. Arber], II, 590. The title-page has the combination MDCLXIXIV.) Here Gildon prints (p. 19) "To Christina Queen of Sweden by Mr. Marvel." These lines have also been ascribed to Milton. Todd, in his edition of Milton (1809, I, 209), says of these verses to Christina: "They are ascribed to Fleetwood Shephard in a worthless book, entitled *Chorus Poetarum*, 8vo. 1684."

1697. Bayle, Pierre. *Dictionaire historique et critique*, II, 590. Here in a footnote Bayle treats of Milton's poetry. He devotes more space to the minor poems than to "Paradise Lost," but merely summarizes the remarks of Saumaise and gives dates for the Latin poems and the 1645 volume. See 1702.

¹ See Dr. Good, *op. cit.*, p. 142. I owe this reference and some others to the kindness of Professor R. S. Crane of Northwestern University. Sir Thomas Pope Blount, *De Re Poetica*, pp. 137-38, soon reprinted the entire passage without comment.

1698. Hog, William. *Comoedia Joannis Miltoni, viri clarissimi, (quae agebatur in Arce Ludensi,) paraphrasticè reddita, à Gulielmo Hogaeo*. So listed by Todd, *Milton's Works* (1809), I, 202. I have not seen the book. The preface should contain material valuable for this study.

1698. Toland, John. *A Complete Collection of the Historical, Political, and Miscellaneous Works of John Milton In Three Volumes. To which is Prefix'd The Life of the Author*. The *Life* which Toland here printed is filled with the highest enthusiasm for all Milton's works. This Warton explains away as due to the influence of Edward Phillips. The praise, however, has a glow of sincerity that casts doubt upon Warton's notion. Only a few passages can be quoted. From page 7:

He wrote another Latin Elegy to CHARLES DEODATI; and in his twentieth year he made one on the approach of the Spring: but the following year he describes his falling in love with a Lady (whom he accidentally met, and never afterwards saw) in such tender Expressions, with those lively Passions and Images so natural, that you would think Love himself had directed his pen, or inspir'd your own Breast when you peruse them.

From page 10:

Our Author in mournful Notes bitterly laments the immature fate of this young Gentleman, whom he denotes by the appellation of *Damon* in an Eclog nothing inferior to the *Maronian Daphnis*, and which is to be still seen among his Latin Miscellanies.

From page 16:

Thus far our Author, who afterwards made this Character good in his inimitable Poem of *Paradise Lost*; and before this time in his *Comus* or Mask presented at Ludlow Castle, like which Piece in the peculiar disposition of the Story, the sweetness of the Numbers, the justness of the Expression, and the Moral it teaches, there is nothing extant in any Language.

Later, page 44, Toland says:

Our Author's Juvenil and Occasional Poems, both in *English* and *Latin*, were printed in one small volume. I took notice of the best of 'em in many places of this Discourse; but the Monody wherein he bewails his Learned Friend Mr. King drown'd in the *Irish* seas, is one of the finest he ever wrote.

On pages 20, 24, and 35 of his *Life*, Toland quotes sonnets by Milton, four of which he notes as "never printed with his other poems."

Aside from these sonnets no poems are in any way treated as if Toland thought himself their "discoverer" or as if he thought himself dealing with poems that had ever suffered neglect. It is astonishing that anyone who has read his *Life* attentively should think the poems were disregarded in Toland's day.

1699. Gildon, Charles. *Lives and Characters of the English Dramatic Poets*. This reworking of Langbaine (1691) dwells naturally upon Milton's two dramatic pieces. Gildon mentions the indebtedness of Dryden's "Aureng-zebe" to "Samson" and cites sources for "Samson" itself. He gives brief facts regarding the presentation and printing of "Comus."

1702. Bayle, Pierre. *Dictionnaire historique et critique*. In this edition of his work Bayle adds material on Milton (see pp. 2112-18) from Toland's *Life*. This material deals with the poet's college experience and his Latin and Italian poems, which are mentioned with vague commendation. The surprising thing is that in the shuffle of revision Bayle drops all mention of Milton's major works—an omission notable in later editions of the *Dictionnaire*.¹

1705. *A Complete History of Europe, from the Year 1600 to the Treaty of Nimeguen*. Godwin (*op. cit.*, pp. 296-97) quotes this work, from the year 1674:

There is hardly anything that can make this year more remarkable than the death of the famous John Milton. . . . He has left us an inimitable poem in blank verse, called *Paradice Lost*; as also *Paradice Regain'd*, *Sampson Agonistes*, and *Occasional Poems*.

Although here the interest, being historical, is all in Milton's opinions, the mention is quotable as characteristic, and also because Edward Phillips, whom Warton thought ever ready to praise his slighted uncle, does not mention Milton's death in his continuation of Baker's chronicle—at least there is no mention in the 1730 edition.

1705. Sir William Trumbull, a retired Secretary of State, on October 19 returned to his young friend Alexander Pope a borrowed copy of the minor poems, writing as follows:

I expected to find, what I have met with, an admirable genius in those poems, not only because they were Milton's, or were approved by Sir Henry

¹ On Birch's (1738) revision of Bayle's unsatisfactory account of Milton see Dr. Good, *op. cit.*, p. 125, notes.

Wotton, but because you had commended them; and give me leave to tell you, that I know nobody so like to equal him, even at the age he wrote most of them, as yourself. [From the Elwin-Courthope ed. of Pope's *Works*, VI, 2.]

This is important as discrediting the ungenerous story by Thomas Warton to the effect that Pope "pilfered from COMUS and the PENSEROSO" epithets and phrases for "Eloisa to Abelard," "conscious, that he might borrow from a book then scarcely remembered, without the hazard of a discovery, or the imputation of plagiarism" (*op. cit.*, pp. x, xi). Warton's further story that his father was instrumental in bringing these poems to Pope's attention about 1717 is discredited by Trumbull's letter as well as by Pope's early poems, which are saturated with the youthful work of Milton. "Then scarcely remembered" is an absurd phrase to apply to anything written by Milton, with "then" referring to 1717.¹

1709. *Tatler* No. 98 (Steele), November 24, uses "Comus" as an example of the effectiveness of moral poetry.

1711-12. *The Spectator*. In No. 249 (December 15, 1711) Addison quotes with praise the passage on Laughter from "L'Allegro" (lines 11-32). In No. 425 (July 8, 1712), lines 61-72 and 147-154 of "Il Penseroso" are quoted, ostensibly from memory. One or two slight misquotations make this seem actually what is being done. "Comus the God of Revels" is mentioned in this paper. One would certainly expect more quotations from these poems in the *Spectator*, but on the other hand, outside the papers on "Paradise Lost" not a great deal of standard English poetry is quoted; attention is rather given to new poems.

1715. Hughes, John. *An Essay on Allegorical Poetry*, etc. (See W. H. Durham, *Critical Essays* [1700-1725], pp. 86-104, especially p. 93.) Here we find quoted with admiration lines 109-20 of "Il Penseroso." In the same essay, speaking of the story of Circe, Hughes remarks: "There is another Copy of the *Circe*, in a Mask, by our famous *Milton*; the whole Plan of which is Allegorical, and it is written with a very Poetical Spirit on the same Moral, tho with different Characters" (*ibid.*, p. 94).

¹ On Pope's indebtedness to Milton see the excellent article by Mary Stuart Leather in *Eng. Stud.*, XXV, 400.

1716. *Dryden's Miscellany*. "The First part of Miscellany Poems. Containing Variety of New Translations of the ancient poets: Together with Several original poems. By the Most Eminent Hands. Publish'd by Mr. Dryden The Fourth Edition." Here, at the reputed suggestion of Fenton, were included "L'Allegro," "Il Penseroso," and "Lycidas." They were reprinted in the fifth edition of this volume (1727).

1718. Gildon, Charles. *The Complete Art of Poetry*. This work, as Warton has said, strangely neglects Milton. Gildon seems to have been more interested in "Samson" than in Milton's other poems,¹ though he apparently realized the value already attached to anything by Milton.²

1719-21. Dennis, John. *Original Letters*, 1721. Under date of 1719 Dennis (see pp. 79-80), after quoting the epigram of Selvaggi and the verses of "Salsiki" (*sic!*), and mentioning the intimacy with Manso, says: "Thus, you see, the *Italians*, by his juvenile Essays, discover'd the great and growing Genius of *Milton*, whereas his Countrymen knew very little of him, even thirty Years after he had publish'd among them the noblest Poem in the World." Dennis' mistaken idea that "Paradise Lost" was recognized with shameful tardiness was very likely the father of the Warton notion about the minor poems. Few critics now would subscribe to Dennis' view.

1721. Dennis, John. *Original Letters*. In an undated letter, written "about sixteen years ago" and now printed, Dennis makes ironical retort to Collier's "Letter: Containing a Defense of a Regulated Stage." He says:

To King James succeeded King Charles the First; and then arose another famous Reformer, *John Milton* by Name, who not only left a Tragedy behind him, the Story of which he impiously borrow'd from the Bible, written, to leave him without Excuse, in his mature, nay declining Years, but has left a fine Encomium on Shakespear; has shewn an extraordinary Esteem for *Johnson*; and among all the Things that he thought fit to reform, so far had Prejudice laid hold of his Understanding, it never so much as came into his Head that the Stage was one of them [pp. 225-29].

¹ See *The Complete Art of Poetry*, p. 302; *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear*, Volume the Seventh (published with Rowe's ed., 1710), p. lvii; *The Post-Man Robb'd of his Mail* (1719), p. 243; and see Gildon's reworking of Langbaine, here cited under 1699.

² See under the years 1692 and 1696.

On pages 78–79, as Thomas Warton points out, Dennis quotes from the Latin poems as used in Toland's *Life*.

1723. Burchet, J. "To Allan Ramsay on his *Richy and Sandy*." Printed in the *Poems* of Allan Ramsay (1723), p. 170. Though ambiguous the following lines seem a tribute to Milton's pastoral poems:

Nor dost thou, *Ramsay*, sightless Milton wrong
By ought contain'd in thy melodious Song;
For none but *Addy* could his Thoughts sublime
So well unriddle or his mystick Rhime.
And when he deign'd to let his Fancy rove
Where Sun-burnt Shepherds to the Nymphs make Love,
No one e'er told in softer Notes the Tales
Of rural Pleasures in the spangled Vales.¹

1724. Jacob, Giles. *The Poetical Register; or, the Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets*. Pages 183–84 condense the material on Milton furnished by Langbaine's *Lives*, but add Dryden's epigram. In his *Historical Account of the Lives and Writings of the English Poets*, reprinted in this same year, Jacob devotes pages 100–106 to Milton. The literary criticism is taken almost verbatim from Toland's remarks on the precocity of Milton's college poems (which in turn had echoed Morhof), and also from the *Athenian Mercury* passage of 1692 which had pronounced the minor poems "incomparable." (These two volumes by Jacob were printed earlier than 1724 [1719, 1720], but I have not seen the first editions.)

1725. Fenton, Elijah. *Life of Milton* prefixed to the 1725 edition of the *Works*. (I quote from an 1829 reprint.) Fenton praises the minor poems very highly. He finds "the Mask of Comus, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, and Lycidas, all in such an exquisite strain, that, though he had left no other monuments of his genius behind him, his name had been immortal."

1727. Theobald, Lewis, editor. *The Works of Shakespeare*. In the Preface to Volume I, while commenting on the opening of "Twelfth Night," Theobald remarks: "The general beauties of those two poems of MILTON, intitled, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, are obvious to all readers, because the descriptions are the most

¹ Is this the passage referred to by Dr. Good, p. 141, n. 8? I have not seen the 1731 ed. of Ramsay.

poetical in the world."¹ He proceeds to show that these two poems with much art use the same images but excite opposite emotions by the different moods in which the images are presented.

1730. Mareuil. *Le Paradis reconquis, traduit de l'Anglois de Milton; avec quelques autres Pieces de Poësies.* "The four Pieces," remarks Birch (*Life of Milton*, pp. lv-lvi), "which the Translator has added, are *Lycidas*, *Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, and the *Ode on Christ's Nativity*."

Translation in quantity is very much more likely to result from a general fame of the works than from a personal partiality for them.

1730. Fenton, Elijah. *Observations on some of Mr. Waller's Poems.* On page c, in commenting on Waller's lines "To Mr. Henry Lawes," Fenton quotes Milton's sonnet to Lawes.

1731. Rowe, Elizabeth Singer. *Letters moral and entertaining*, Part II. That the minor poems were even by 1731 dear to the soft sentimentalists may be seen by the following: "As I was sitting in a summerhouse, my usual retreat in an afternoon, reading Milton's *Elegy on Lycidas*, a downy slumber closed my eyes, and sunk my sorrows in the pleasing oblivion" (quoted from Mrs. Rowe's *Works* [1796], I, 240).

1732. Bentley, Richard, editor. *Paradise Lost.* In this notorious edition Bentley uses the minor poems only once for illustrative material. He cites on page 2 "*Comus*," lines 43-44. This is doubtless to be classified as "neglect" of the minor poems.

1732. Pearce, Zachary. *Review of the Text of Milton's Paradise Lost.* Thomas Warton (p. xi) says that in this book the minor poems "frequently furnish collateral evidences in favour of the established text; and in the refutation of Bentley's chimerical corrections."

1732. Morhof, Daniel George. *Polyhistor Literarius* (3d ed.). From Tomus I, Liber VII, cap. iii ("De Poëtis Recentioribus"), p. 1070: "Recensuimus praecipuos Poëtarum Latinorum. . . . Ab Anglis commendari *Joh. Miltonus*, ut in Anglicis, ita in Latinis poëmatibus, solet." Here, as in practically all the encyclopedic

¹ On this passage see Warburton's letter to Birch (1737) in Nichols' *Literary History*, II, 81.

mentions of Milton from the very start, we find admiration of his lesser poetry taken for granted.

1734. Richardson, J. *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost. By J. Richardson, Father and Son, With a LIFE of the Author, and a Discourse on the Poem. By J. R. Sen.* It is impossible to quote all the enthusiastic praise the minor poems receive in this volume. "For their Dignity and Excellence they are sufficient to have set him among the most Celebrated of the Poets, even of the Ancients themselves; his *Mask* and *Lycidas* are perhaps Superior to all in their Several Kinds" (p. xv). Richardson has heard "*Lycidas*" placed above Theocritus. As explanatory material, or notes, for "*Paradise Lost*," passages are cited from other works the following number of times: from "*Paradise Regain'd*," 7; "*Comus*," 4; "*Il Penseroso*," 2; Sonnets, 2; one each from "*L'Allegro*," "*Lycidas*," and "*Samson*." Ten citations are from the Latin poems and seven from the prose works. Shakespeare is cited eleven times; Spenser, ten; Chaucer, two; and Cowley and Crashaw, once each. I note no citations from other English poets.

1734. Jortin, John. *Remarks on Spenser's Poems.* Pages 171-86 of this slight volume are devoted to "*Paradise Lost*," "*Paradise Regain'd*," and "*Samson*." The book consists mainly of quotations, with a bit of comment. Except for quoting two lines of "*Lycidas*" (p. 185), Jortin neglects the poems that interest us.

1734. In this year Warburton and Theobald were in correspondence annotating passages of the minor poems. See John Nichols' *Illustrations*, II, 634, 648. Annotation usually follows rather than precedes popularity.

1735. Duncombe, William. *Poems by John Hughes, with some select essays.* In his prefatory account of Hughes' life Duncombe quotes "*Lycidas*," lines 70-86, with application to Hughes.

1737. Warburton, writing to Birch in this year, remarks (Nichols' *Illustrations*, II, 79) of Milton: "He is the author of three perfect pieces of Poetry. His '*Paradise Lost*,' '*Samson Agonistes*,' and '*Masque at Ludlow Castle*.'" And again he says (*ibid.*, p. 81): "The '*L'Allegro*' and '*Il Penseroso*' are certainly masterpieces in their kind."

1738. Hayward, Thomas. *The British Muse, or, A Collection of Thoughts Moral, Natural, and Sublime, of our English Poets.* The Preface (by William Oldys) says on page xx: "In his choice of authors, he (i.e., the collector) has not used the noted poets of later date, as *Milton, Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Otway, Lee, Prior, Congreve*, and such of their successors as adorn our own times; he has chosen rather to devote himself to neglected and expiring merit." Nevertheless Thomas Warton (p. vii) adds this work to the list of anthologies that unreasonably neglect the minor poems. One need only quote Godwin (*op. cit.*, p. 287), who finds this omission by Hayward "no way extraordinary. . . . Hayward was far from suspecting what Warton has discovered, that Milton, either his larger, or his smaller poems, was a hidden treasure, or that his excellencies were among such as 'time and oblivion were on the point of cancelling.'" Of the five anthologies cited by Warton as his major proof of the neglect of the poems under consideration, it must now be evident that only two—those by Bysshe and Gildon—could properly have been mentioned.

1738. Birch, Thomas. A *Life of Milton* by Birch was prefixed to his edition of the *Complete Prose Works* in this year. In this *Life* Birch pays much attention to the minor poems and gives them high praise. His point of view is scholarly as well as appreciative, for he gives many facts about the poems and even collates the manuscripts of some to improve the text. This is the sort of work that is done on poems already popular—not the sort that would increase the general popularity of the poems.

1740. Peck, Francis. *New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton.* This curious work seems to be a printing of notes and "commonplace-book" remarks that Peck had been accumulating (see p. 84 for evidence of accumulative writing). Much space and praise are awarded the minor poems, which receive annotation in pages 132–70. The epics are dealt with in pages 171–211.

In completing this section of our evidence it may be well to observe that in Theobald, Warburton, Birch, and Peck we have a strongly developed tendency to treat the poems not primarily as

subjects of eulogy—though these commentators all praise highly—but as matter for historical study. Earlier we have seen the poems meet most astonishing recognition in 1657 from Poole, and we have seen them as objects of enthusiasm in the criticism of Edward Phillips, the *Athenian Mercury*, Toland, and Fenton. Both these strains of appreciation are evidence of a popularity which in the late thirties of the eighteenth century resulted in the poems' being used with musical settings. In 1738 Dr. Arne wrote music for the Rev. John Dalton's version of "Comus"; in 1739 Charles Jennens made an arrangement of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso"—adding a third section, "Il Moderato"—which Handel set to music. This music, according to Joseph Warton, was what rescued the poems from obscurity! In 1742 Handel made an oratorio out of "Samson," and there were later less eminent attempts on "Paradise Lost" and "Lycidas." If the passages quoted in the preceding pages indicate anything, they seem to indicate that Joseph Warton was mistaken in thinking these musical settings a cause instead of a result of popularity.

It is true that there are a few volumes in which we should expect to find Milton's minor poems praised, or at least mentioned, but in which the authors are quite silent about them. These volumes, however, are rare—much rarer than Thomas Warton apparently thought them. And when criticized—except by Saumaise and Dryden—the minor poems are always commended, usually with superlative praise. The case might rest here; but since the litterateurs of this period were fully as imitative as they were critical, it may be worth while to note some of the many borrowings from the minor poems before 1740.

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[To be concluded]

A SOURCE FOR THE STORM IN *THE TEMPEST*

It has long been one of the puzzles of Shakespearean criticism that no more definite source of *The Tempest* has been discovered. As a matter of fact three sources probably exist rather than one; there are at least three distinct ingredients in the play. One of these is the account of the storm. Another is the story of Prospero, which, though united to that of the storm, does not necessarily belong with it. A third element is the discussion of primitive man, and of man's relation to civilization and government.

Of the three points, the last is easiest to explain: Shakespeare had been reading Montaigne's essay "Of the Caniballes" and the comparison there given of civilized life with barbaric. It is likely that the idea of the island and its location come from this same essay. Jakob Ayrer's *Die Schöne Sidea* and Antonio de Eslava's *Primera Parte de las Noches de Invierno* furnish the best clues to the origin of the story of Prospero. It is with the first, the account of the storm, that I am here concerned.

Since the time of Malone it has been customary to assume that the account of the storm is based on the wreck of a vessel of Sir George Somers in the Bermudas in July, 1609. A report of this by Sylvester Jourdan was published in October of the next year, and is generally considered the direct source, though other narratives of the same event also appeared. That by William Strachey, often quoted and referred to, apparently did not appear until too late for Shakespeare's use. But none of the accounts contain any striking points of similarity to Shakespeare's storm, except such as are natural in any description of a shipwreck. It is doubtful if any one would have connected this wreck in the Bermudas with *The Tempest* had it not been for Ariel's reference to the "still-vex'd Bermoothes"; but this of course, far from supporting the belief that the Bermudas are the scene of the play, merely indicates the contrary; the point of the speech is that the Bermudas are at a considerable distance rather than near at hand.

This speech, however, was enough to suggest a reference to voyages to the Bermudas; as Furness points out, editors before Malone were familiar with these narratives, including Theobald, Warburton, Johnson, Farmer, and Steevens. "But none of these editors and critics had detected in the accounts of this shipwreck any clues leading to *The Tempest* or expressed any suspicion that this disastrous storm gave rise to the play." A careful comparison fails to show, it seems to me, any striking resemblances, and I am inclined to agree with Hunter, as quoted by Furness: "Mr. Malone has given the argument all the advantage it could derive from the artful aid of capitals and italics, but he seems to me to fail to show coincidence in anything, except what has been common to all storms and all disastrous shipwrecks from the beginning of the world." A connection has, however, come to be taken for granted, partly because no more plausible source has been suggested, and partly on account of various interesting inferences and theories derived from the belief that the scene of the play was the Bermudas.

A closer parallel is desirable before it can be said definitely that the source is known. That there is a source to be found seems reasonably certain from Shakespeare's method of work in his other plays; and the detachment of the whole incident from the rest of the comedy suggests that this source deals only with the storm, not with the other incidents of the drama. I believe the source is to be found in one of the *Colloquia* of Erasmus, called "Naufragium." Below I give a large part of this colloquy in an English translation by William Burton which appeared in 1606 as part of his book of translations from the *Colloquia* entitled *Seven Dialogues both Pithie and profitable*. "Naufragium" is the second of these, disguised on the title-page as: "2. Sheweth what comfort Poperie affordeth in time of daunger." Burton was a strong Protestant, and was doing his best in choosing his titles to capitalize the excitement against the Catholics which had been aroused by the recent Gunpowder Plot. I think that it will appear to any reader who will examine both this dialogue and the accounts of the storm in the Bermudas that the former is much closer to Shakespeare's account in substance, in form, and in tone. The matter of the colloquy and of the play is very similar; the form is that of

dialogue; and both, though narratives of events that are in themselves apparently tragic, treat these events in the vein of comedy. Burton in his translation rightly describes the colloquy as "A pittifull, yet pleasant Dialogue of a *Shipwracke*," and this would describe Shakespeare's wreck exactly.

It is very striking that both the storms are largely timeless and placeless. There is no indication in the first scene of *The Tempest*, aside from the Italian names, who the characters are, whither they are bound, where they come from, or where the storm occurs. This may be compared with the similar lack of definiteness as to time and place in *King Lear*; and it might be conjectured that the reason is the same in both cases—the source used was itself indefinite as to these matters. This exactly fits the "Naufragium"; here, as in the play, we merely find ourselves at the beginning on board a storm-tossed vessel, and see the sailors at work, the passengers in a panic, and the master going about among them. The action in the two cases starts at the same time, when the storm is at its height; we are dramatically introduced *in medias res*, without any preliminary explanations. As a Latin note in some of the editions of "Naufragium" remarks, the colloquy "starts abruptly, like a comedy."

It is a singular fact that in Shakespeare St. Elmo's fire appears, in spite of the fact that it is early afternoon and apparently light enough for Prospero and Miranda to see the struggles of the vessel from the shore. The explanation of this discrepancy, which I do not remember to have seen commented on, is to be found in Erasmus' narrative. He tells briefly of the night and the appearance of the ball of fire, and then skips suddenly to midday. Shakespeare, accordingly, introduces the picturesque description of the fire without noticing that he has put it at the wrong time of day. The appearance of this fire is the most striking feature of Ariel's report of the storm to Prospero, and it is to be especially noted that in none of the other accounts from which Shakespeare is sometimes said to have drawn is the fire described as descending from the mast and running about the lower parts of the ship.

In Erasmus the first of the characters to stand out clearly is a bad-tempered and contentious Italian, described as an ambassador

to the King of Scotland, who quarrels with the sailors and almost gets himself thrown into the sea by them. It is not hard to see in him the suggestion for Gonzalo in *The Tempest* and his very similar quarrels and protests.

There are many other points of similarity; a few may be suggested here. One of the speakers in Erasmus is named Antonius, a name which is perhaps the origin of Shakespeare's Antonio. In both narratives interested and sympathetic observers watch the wreck from the shore. In both the master and sailors give up hope and bid the passengers turn to prayers. The frenzy of the passengers and the description of their senseless conduct is similar, as is the account of their leaving the ship; Adam's escape in "Naufragium" is especially to be compared with that of the Prince in *The Tempest*. The general seamanship of the two accounts is much the same. The resolution to repent as a result of undergoing such perils, suggested to Adolphus by Antonius, is like the similar resolution of Alonso in *The Tempest*.

In addition to these and other likenesses in the incidents, there is a further important matter in connection with the style. The second scene of *The Tempest* is a long narrative of Prospero to Miranda, disguised as dialogue by having the listener frequently interpose short questions and comments. The form of this scene usually strikes the reader as a little odd and not especially dramatic, but it is exactly the method of Erasmus in the "Naufragium" and in the rest of the *Colloquia*. Many of the short speeches of the listener, Antonius, are strikingly like those of Miranda.

As copies of Burton's book are somewhat hard to obtain, at least in this country,¹ I give below extracts from his translation. The length of the whole dialogue is about twice that of the passages here given. It is worth noting that most of the parts omitted are those dealing with religious matters and the senseless prayers and attempted bargainings of the passengers with various saints. These Shakespeare naturally did not find suited to his purpose, though their general tone is indicated by Gonzalo's remark: "The wills above be done! but I would fain die a dry death."

¹ I have not succeeded in finding any copy in this country. The passages here given are from a transcript of the whole dialogue taken from the copy in the British Museum. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. A. Symons in having this transcript made for me.

Antonius. You tell me horrible things *Adolphus*, of your sea voyage, is this to be a Mariner: God keepe me from going to sea.

Adol. Yea, that I haue told you hitherto, is meere sport to those things you shal now heare.

Anto. I haue heard of euills more then enow, I trembled all the time you were reciting them, as if my selfe had beene in danger with you.

Adol. But to me my labours past were pleasing enough. But that night there happened a certaine thing, which for a great part of the night, tooke away all hope of life from the Maister of the ship.

Anto. What I pray you?

Adol. The night was somewhat light, and in the top of the maste stooode one of the mariners in the basket (for so I thinke they cal it) looking about to see if he could spie any land: fast by this man beganne to stand a certaine round thing like a bal of fire, which (when it appeareth alone) is to the shipmen a most feareful signe of hard successe, but when two of them doe appeare together, that is a signe of a prosperous voyage. These apparitions were called in old time *Castor* and *Pollux*. . . . By and by the fiery globe sliding downe by the ropes, tumbled it selfe until it came to the Maister of the ship.

Anto. Did he not die with feare?

Adol. No, Mariners are accustomed to monsters. It hauing stayed there a while, it roled it selfe along the brimmes of the ship, and falling from thence downe into the middle roomes, it vanished away. About mid-night the tempest beganne to increase more and more: did you euer see the Alpes?

Anto. Yes, I haue seene them.

Adol. Those mountaines are but hillockes in comparison of the waues of the sea: so often as we were heaued up with them, we might haue touched the Moone with our fingers; so often as wee went downe againe, it seemed unto us as though the earth had opened, and we had beene going directly to hell.

Anto. O madmen that commit themselues to the sea!

Adol. The mariners striuing with the tempest, but all in vaine, at length the Maister of the ship came vnto vs very pale.

Anto. That palenesse doth presage some great euil.

Adol. My friends (quoth he) I can be no longer Maister of my ship, the windes haue gotten the vpper hand, it remaineth now, that we commit our selues vnto God, and euery man to prepare himselfe for extremitie.

Anto. O right Scythian sermon!

Adol. But first (quoth hee) the ship must be disburdened, necessity hath no law, a sore weapon it is, there is no remeady, better it is to saue our liues, with the losse of our goods, than to lose both goods and life together. The truth preuailed, many vessels were throwne ouer into the sea, ful of rich marchandise.

Anto. This was indeede to suffer wracke.

Adol. There was a certaine Italian in the ship, who had gone Ambassador to the King of Scots, hee had a chest ful of plate, gold rings, cloth, and silke apparel.

Anto. He would not bestow them vpon the sea.

Adol. No, but desired either to perish with his beloued riches, or to be saued with them. Therefore he was somewhat wilful, and stooode against the rest.

Anto. What said the ship-maister?

Adol. We could be wel content (quoth hee) that thou, and that thou hast, should perish together: but it is not fit that all we should be in danger for the sauing of thy chest: if you wil not be ruled, we wil throw both you and your chest hed-long together into the sea.

Anto. A right mariners oration.

Adol. So the Italian lost his goods, wishing all euil both to the heauens and the hells, for that hee had committed his life to so barbarous an element.

Anto. I know that is the manner of Italians.

Adol. A little while after, when we saw that the windes raged more and more, and we had done what we could, they cut the ropes, and cast the sailes ouer-board.

Anto. O miserable calamity!

Adol. Then the Maister came to vs againe, friends (quoth he) the time doth exhorte euery man to commend himselfe to God, and to prepare himselfe for to die. He was asked of certaine, who were not altogether ignorant of seafaring, for how many houres he thought the ship might defend it selfe, he said that he could promise nothing, but aboute three houres hee said it was not possible.

Anto. This speech was yet harder then the rest.

Ad. When he had so said, he commanded al the ropes to be cut, and the maine-maste to be sawen downe close by the bore wherein it stood, and together with the saile-yardes to be cast ouer boord into the sea.

Anto. Why did he so?

Adol. Because (the saile being gone or torne) it serued to no use, but to burthen the ship: all their hope was in the sterne or rudder.

An. What did the passengers & shipmen in the mean time?

Adol. There you should haue seene a miserable face of things, the mariners singing *Salue regina*, they cried to the Virgine *Mary* for help. . . . Many falling flat vpon the boordes, did worship the sea, crying; O most gentle Sea, O most noble Sea, O most rich Sea, O most faire Sea, be quiet, saue vs: and thus they cried to the deafe sea.¹ . . . In the meane time, the ship rushed vpon a shallow, and the Maister fearing lest it would be split all in peeces, he bound it together with Cables, from the foredocke to the sterne.

Anto. O miserable shifts.

Adol. In the meane time there stands vp a certaine Masse Priest, an old man, about three score, he casting off all his cloathes to his verie shirt, together with his bootes and shooes, wished all the rest in like manner to prepare themselues to swimme. . . . While these things were thus in doing, the Master of the ship came againe vnto vs weeping, and said, let euerie man shift now for him selfe, for we are not like to haue anie vse of the ship a quarter of an houre, for it being torne in certaine places, the water came in apace. Within a little while after, the Master tolde vs that he had spied a holy Tower, or a Church. . . . In the meane time the Pilot as much as lay in him, did guide the ship that way, which was now torne and rent, and leaking on euery side, and had fallen all to peeces, if it had not beene bound together with Cables.

Anto. Things were now at a hard passe.

Adol. We were driuen so neare, that the inhabitants of that place might see vs, and in what daunger we were. They came running out by heapes vnto the shoare, and holding vp their cloakes, and their hats vpon poles did inuite vs to come vnto them. And casting vp their armes towards heauen, did thereby signifie how much they did bewaile our hard fortune. . . .

An. What became in the meane time of that same woman that was so quiet?

Adol. She was the first that came to the shoare: for we had put her vpon a broade table, and had made her so fast vnto it, that shee could not easily fall off, and we put a little boord into her hand, which she might vse in steade of an oare, and so bidding her farewell, wee thrust her off with a quant, that shee might be free from the shippe, where was all the daunger. . . . In such a strait, I had rather haue a peece of vile corke, than a golden candlesticke: while I was looking about for a thing to swimme vpon, at the last I remembered the lower end of the maste. . . . In the meane time wee drunke in a great deale of salt water: but the priest taught mee a remedie against it.

Ant. What was that I pray you?

Adol. So often as any waue came toward vs, hee woulde turne his noddle against it with his mouth close. . . . Doe you (quoth hee) what you thinke best to be done, I giue you all the maste, and I will betake my selfe wholly to the ground: and withall, when he sawe the billow go from him, he ran after it as fast as euer he could. And when the billowe came againe, he clasping both his hands together about both his knees, he stroue with all his might against the waues, hiding himselfe vnder them as Cormorants and Duckes vse to doe when they diue vnder the water. And when the billow was past him againe, he set forward and ranne.¹ . . .

Ant. But I beleeeue you will not go to sea againe in haste.

¹ Cf. *Tempest*, II, 1, 114-22; II, 2, 132.

Adol. I doe not meane it, vnlesse God shall depriue me of my wittes.

Ant. And I had rather heare such tales, than make triall of them: but thanks be to God that hath preserued you, and I hope you will be the better for this to him-ward while you liue.

Adol. God graunt I may.

In the case of *The Tempest*, a determination of the source is important for the dating of the play. The later limit of time is probably 1611; if the accounts of Somers' shipwreck were used, then the earlier limit could hardly be before 1610. There is nothing in the metrical tests to suggest a date different from this; on the other hand, these tests are not altogether consistent, and would not preclude dating the play as early as the time of the composition of *Pericles*. The idea that *The Tempest* is a sort of farewell to the stage and that Prospero is Shakespeare himself has caused many critics to attempt to set the date as late as possible. But if the source of the storm is "Naufragium," the play may have been composed before 1610.

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CHAUCER'S "OPIE OF THEBES FYN"

Chaucer's considerable knowledge of medical matters is well known. Witness his description of the Doctor of Physic in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*; the diagnosis of Arcite's condition after his fall from his horse in the *Knight's Tale* (A. 2743 f.); the specific mention of "signes of empoisoning" in the *Pardoner's Tale* (C. 889 f.); the "povre widwes" freedom from disease and the reason therefor in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* (B. 4026 f.); the fuller discourse of Pertelote on the probable cause of Chauntecleer's bad dreams; and the still more elaborate description of remedies (B. 4111-57). More recently we have learned from Professor Lowes¹ that, in attributing to Palamon the "loveres maladye Of Hereos" (A. 1373-74), Chaucer was wiser in mediaeval medicine than his commentators for many a day.

Let me call attention to two instances, not adequately explained, in which Chaucer has introduced specific references to mediaeval medicines where there were no such references in his originals. In the tale of Hypermnestra (*Legend of Good Women*, 2668-70) Chaucer makes "Egestes" tell his daughter of the draught he gives her for her husband:

Yif him to drinke whan he goth to reste,
And he shal slepe as longe as ever thee leste,
The nercotiks and opies been so stronge.

For this specific mention of narcotics and opium Ovid² has only the most general allusion to a soporific in

Quaeque tibi dederam vina, soporis erant.

In the second instance Chaucer's use of narcotics and opium is even more a departure from the original. Boccaccio in the *Teseide* has Palamon escape from prison by changing clothes with his

¹ *Mod. Phil.*, XI, 491.

² *Heroides* xiv. 42.

physician Alimeto. Chaucer makes the escape depend upon a wholly different circumstance (*Kt. T.*, 612-16):

For he had yive his gayler drinke so
Of a clarree maad of a certeyn wyn,
With nercotikes and opie of Thebes fyn,
That al that night, thogh that men wolde him shake,
The gayler sleep, he mighte nat awake.¹

Palamon himself had drugged the "gayler" with the finest opium in the world, "opie of Thebes," of which no adequate account has been given by Chaucer commentators.²

I have neither time nor mediaeval medical books sufficient to follow out minutely the sources of Chaucer's knowledge of Thebaic opium and narcotics, but some hints may be given. Thus the ancients knew two forms of opium, one a decoction of the whole poppy plant called meconium (Gk. *μηκώνειον*), as by Theophrastus (b. about 372 B.C.), the first botanist. The other was opium proper (Gk. *ὀπός*, *ὄπιον*) from the seed pod only, discussed by Dioscorides of Anazarba (ca. 77 A.D.), who wrote the most important work of the ancients on medicinal plants. Both these forms of opium continued to be known and used through the middle ages, and both are mentioned, for example, by Simon A Cordo (Januensis), who died some ten years before Chaucer was born. Chaucer's plural "opies" of the *Legend of Good Women* may therefore have been based on his knowledge of the two kinds of opium³ known in his time and long before. This at any rate seems probable, although it is possible he merely refers to opium as grown in different localities. Thus the commercial opium of the middle ages to the twelfth century is said to have come from Asia Minor.

¹ In the original (*Teseide*, V, st. 24) mention is made of wine which Panphilo had brought in, and he and the guard drink until they are *mezzo affatappiato*. Yet the wine is not said to be drugged, and plays a less essential part in Palamon's escape.

² Professor Skeat notes the occurrence of *Opium Thebaicum* in the margin of the Ellesmere and Harleian MSS. Beyond this he mentions merely that the term is found in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. Others have ineffective notes.

³ The word meconium has almost a place in Old English. In the *Leechdoms*, I, 156, a remedy for sore eyes mentions the "popig . . . þe Grecas mœcorias and Romane papaver album nemnaþ and Engle hwit popig hataþ." The word *mæcorias*, though not hitherto explained, I believe, must be a modification of Greek *μηκώνειον*, or of Latin *meconium*, probably in the plural form. I conjecture also that the OE. word had *æ*, or *a* for *o*, corresponding to Greek *η*, to which we have something like a parallel in Orm's use in early Middle English. The final *s* is paralleled by that in *lactucas* for *lactuca*, 'lettuce,' in *Leechdoms*, II, 212, 12.

Thebaic opium requires a further note. Pliny in his *Natural History* refers the cultivation of opium to Asia Minor only. But a commentator on Pliny, Bk. XX, cap. 76 (*Excursus de Opio* in the edition of the *Bibl. Clas. Latina*) gives the significant statement:

Arabes et officinae Thebaicum, seu quod in Egypto circa Thebas colligetur, opium prae caeteris commendarunt.

One of the most important of these Arabian physicians, the learned botanist and traveler Ibn Baithar (d. 1248), had this to say of opium and its origin in Egypt. I quote from L. Leclerc's French version:

Il n'est réellement connu ni en Orient ni en Occident, mais seulement en Egypte et particulièrement dans le Saïd, au lieu appelé Boutidj [the name in Arabic follows]. C'est de là qu'il provient et qu'on l'expédie dans toutes les autres contrées.

Simon A Cordo of Genoa (Januensis), who traveled widely to acquire knowledge of medicinal plants in their native haunts, is very explicit regarding opium Thebaicum in his *Clavis Sanationis*. As will be seen he also distinguishes meconium:

Opium ab opos que est lacrimus nomen extrahit. Opium verum que est melius fit scissis leviter capitellis papaverum nigrorum adhuc verentium terre ita ne scissura interiora penetret iteri ora et lac que egreditur collectum in vasculis desiccat tale tebaicum vacatur. Sed quando capita ipsa cui suis foliis contunduntur exprimiturque succus atque siccatur sit aliud opiumque miconis dicitur que patet per dia. ca. de miconio que est papaver.¹

Let me add a modern confirmation of Chaucer from *An Inquiry into the Nature and Properties of Opium* by Dr. Samuel Crumpe, London, 1793, p. 12:

Egypt, and especially the country about Thebes, was long famous for the quantity and excellence of its Opium, and hence the term Thebaic still given to some of its preparations.

The term Thebaic, by the way, is still preserved in Thebaine, one of the opium alkaloids discovered by Thiboumery in 1835.

Of the narcotics Chaucer mentions both times in connection with opium, he gives us no hint. But by the fourteenth century

¹ From the Venice edition of 1486, which is without pagination. His fuller statement regarding meconium need not concern us here. The transcript was made for me at the Surgeon General's Library in Washington.

numerous narcotics were known, with no such distinction of any one as in the case of Thebaic opium. Thus Bernard Gordon, the Bernard of Chaucer's Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales* (l. 434), who wrote his *Practica seu Lilium Medicinae* in 1307, under the caption *De stupifacientibus, somnum provocantibus, et de iis quae vomitum provocat*, has lists for internal and for external application. The former are:

Mitiora Sq. violaceus, syrupus de papavera; succi: lactucae, semper-vini, solatri, portulacae, cicutae; conserva: violarum, nymphaeae.

For external use he mentions:

Oleum violacium, oleum mandragoris, unguentem populconis, decoctum corticis mandrago., semen hyoscyami, lac muliebre, semen papaveris, decoctum salicis, opium, anethum viride in oleo coctum.¹

These, then, or some of them, we may assume to have been in Chaucer's mind when he added to his originals the explicit references to narcotics.

To return to Palamon's escape. It is not necessary for me to account for Palamon's manner of obtaining the drugs he used so effectively, though modern realism would certainly have done so more fully than by incidental allusion to the "helping of a freend" (*Kt. T.*, A. 1468). I suggest, however, that if Chaucer knew as much about the "loveres maladye of hereos" as our modern scholars, he must have known that "nercotiks" and even "opie of Thebes fyn" were a proper remedy for love-melancholy. They should therefore have been on the dressing table of an aristocratic prisoner afflicted so grievously as Palamon—and surely I need not account for the dressing table in a prince's prison chamber. Some new fury of jealousy against the more fortunate Arcite was all that was necessary to suggest the new use of the drugs. Compared, too, with Boccaccio's labored introduction of a physician who would risk death by impersonating Palamon, this is only another evidence of Chaucer's cleverness. Of course the sympathetic "freend" may have persuaded the jailor that Palamon's case of "hereos" required the remedies.

Professor Skeat did not make full use of the reference to opium Thebaicum in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*. It proves to be

¹ *Lilium Medicinae*, ed. of 1550, p. 915.

aptly in point however. Skeat refers it to Part III, Sec. ii, Mem. vi, Subsec. ii, without note of the edition he used. After some search I find it in Shilleto's edition, Part III, Sec. ii, Mem. v, Subsec. i, the very place it should be to support my conjecture. The whole "Member" is on *Cure of Love-Melancholy*, the "Heroical or Love-Melancholy" of Part III, Sec. i, Mem. i, Subsec. i, corresponding to Chaucer's "hereos" as Professor Lowes showed. The subsection in which the reference to Thebaic opium appears just at the close is devoted to the *Cure of Love-Melancholy by Labour, Diet, Physick, Fasting, &c.* The particular passage may as well be left in the Latin of Burton, but to make its aptness doubly sure it also mentions various narcotics, as Hyoscyamus (henbane), cicuta (hemlock), lactuca (lettuce), protulaca (purslane), all mentioned by Bernard Gordon quoted above. For the cure of love-melancholy these were to be used in external application. Hence the "clarree" which Palamon mixed for the unsuspecting jailor.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Thomas Warton, A Biographical and Critical Study. By CLARISSA RINAKER. University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. II, No. 1, February, 1916. Pp. 241.

Miss Rinaker's dissertation, *Thomas Warton, A Biographical and Critical Study*, is clearly the product of long and painstaking research, and as such deserves all the praise that industry must ever command. Important new and unpublished manuscript materials as well as a large mass of printed documents are for the first time brought to bear on the great critic's life and work, and the volume closes with a list of more than seven hundred books used by Warton in the preparation of the *History of English Poetry*.

The purpose of Miss Rinaker's study as announced by the author is to determine the intrinsic and historical importance of Thomas Warton. She professes to discuss "the relation of all his work—his poetry, his criticism, his history of English poetry, his various antiquarian works—to the literary movements of his day." By these words, as well as by the extremely inclusive title adopted for the volume, Miss Rinaker commits herself to the task of estimating the intellectual equipment of one of the greatest browsers in an age of great browsers and of determining the significance of one of the most significant writers in the whole range of English literary history. That this task, requiring, as it does, not only tremendous research but also unusual analytical power and constructive imagination, has not been accomplished successfully within the limits of an ordinary doctoral dissertation, is hardly to be wondered at.

In numerous instances the reasoning is illogical, the language self-contradictory, or the idiom un-English. For example, we read that although the task of reconciling modern romantic literature with classical standards was "impossible," the critics of the rationalistic school "did not hesitate to accomplish it" (p. 38); and that Warton had "more than the eighteenth-century antiquary's boundless curiosity" (p. 87). In spite of the fact that Warton is admitted to be "without much creative poetical genius" (p. 23), his work is declared to be "distinguished in every field." See also the conflicting statements as to Warton's influence on Scott (p. 119 and note; pp. 142 f.), the attitude of the eighteenth century toward Chaucer (p. 39, l. 9; p. 88, l. 8), and the character of the early eighteenth-century imitations of Spenser (p. 39, ll. 25 ff.; p. 41, l. 5). See further page 33, lines 29 and 32; page 52, line 18; and page 73, line 2.

As John Dennis observes (*Studies in Eng. Lit.* [1876], p. 194),¹ reliable biographical material on Thomas Warton is exceedingly scanty; but Miss Rinaker introduces into her account of Warton's life far more doubt than even the meager data at our disposal necessitate. Her excessive use of "probably," "perhaps," and periphrases of similar meaning betray the timidity of the unseasoned investigator who sees difficulties where none really exist, or who, determined to make out a case of some sort at any expense, violates the important principle of historical research that, in the absence of reliable evidence, agnosticism is infinitely preferable to guesswork. For instance, Miss Rinaker says that "especially during his first years at Oxford Warton probably did not devote himself exclusively to scholarly pursuits, but tasted the robust pleasures and petty trials of the lighter side of Oxford life" (p. 20).² It is difficult to see why Miss Rinaker was led to qualify her assertion by "probably," especially in the face of the poems which she accepts as evidence. Compare the picture of the student given in the lines quoted (p. 21) from the "Panegyric on Oxford Ale" with the remainder of the poem, which shows him reposing his "gladsome limbs" at a pot-house, where he passes the hours "while in repeated round Returns replenish'd the successive cup." That the "Ode to a Grizzle Wig" contains much autobiography few would deny, but the facts appear somewhat distorted when it is discovered that Miss Rinaker's words, "contributing his share to an afternoon's pleasure at Wolvercote," are derived from Warton's line, "whole afternoons at Wolvercote I quaff'd" (Mant, *Works*, II, 205). Such passages arouse the suspicion that Miss Rinaker feels called upon to whitewash the character of her author—a precaution hardly necessary from the standpoint of either eighteenth-century morals or general literary history. Later (p. 136) she remarks that "one is seldom justified in interpreting poetry autobiographically," and cautiously suggests that the obviously autobiographical sonnet "To the River Lodon" contains a "personal note."

Warton's relation to certain of his contemporaries appears to deserve more attention than Miss Rinaker bestows upon the matter.

In treating the important subject of the elder Thomas Warton's influence upon his more gifted son, the author might have made out a much stronger case had she assembled and properly weighed all the evidence. If we judge by her language, most of her conclusions are open to question; in two pages of observations on the relations between father and son "no doubt," "probably," "perhaps," and similar expressions occur at least a dozen times. The assumption that by 1748 (the year in which the elder Warton's poems appeared) the son, then twenty years of age, "had already come into [his] real poetical patrimony" is hardly justified by the facts,

¹ Dennis' criticism of Warton is apparently unknown to Miss Rinaker.

² Earlier (p. 13) she observes that "Warton's boyhood days seem not to have been entirely filled . . . with study."

and evidence could easily be adduced to show how profoundly the bent of the younger writer's mind was affected by the literary and antiquarian tastes of his father. Miss Rinaker refers (p. 12) to Thomas Warton as singularly attached to his brother Joseph, and she points out certain instances of contact between the two throughout life, but she pays insufficient attention to the valuable and easily accessible evidence of sympathetic relations between the brothers as bearing on the literary output of the younger. The obvious imitation of Joseph's "Enthusiast" (1740) in Thomas' "Pleasures of Melancholy" (1745) is but one of the clear indications of an early and close connection between the authors—indications which might have led Miss Rinaker to suspect that the publication of the *Observations on the Faerie Queene* and the *Essay on Pope* (Vol. I) only two years apart was not accidental and that the real explanation of Thomas' temporary abandonment of poetry is to be sought not so much in his sensitiveness and his inability "to weather the storms of unfavorable criticism" (Rinaker, p. 35) as in his desire to give expression to theories crystallized by the exchange of ideas with his brother (contrast Miss Rinaker's statement, p. 57, ll. 7 ff.). There is little reason to believe that Thomas Warton during his early career took his mission as a poet more seriously than other university men of his age who entertained the common-rooms of Oxford and Cambridge with their effusions.¹ Additional light might have been thrown on Warton's critical and poetical equipment had his connection with other writers of the mid-eighteenth century been more fully treated. For example, in his "Mons Catharinæ" (1760) Warton imitates Gray's "Ode on a Distant Prospect of Eton College" (1747), but Miss Rinaker does not mention the similarity between the Latin and the English poem; nor does she note Warton's blunder in attributing to Gray a translation of "The Awakening of Angantyr" (cf. Kittredge, Introduction to Phelps's *Selections from Gray* [Boston, 1894], p. xlix) or Gray's tribute to Warton in the advertisement to the 1768 edition of the former's poems. See further Mant, *op. cit.*, I, 28; II, 174, n.

In connection with the *Observations on the Faerie Queene* Miss Rinaker makes much of Warton's "special preparation" for the task before him and of his "extensive knowledge of the neglected periods of early English literature" (p. 44; cf. p. 61); but she gives no adequate account of this "special preparation" and this "extensive knowledge." One expects at least a selected bibliography illustrative of Warton's *Belesenheit* in 1754, such as that furnished in connection with the *History of English Poetry*, but none such is forthcoming. Some of the books given as sources of the *History* were known to Warton at the time he wrote the *Observations*—a noteworthy fact in the history of his literary growth. For instance, *Don Quixote*,

¹ The "Epistle from Thomas Hearne," which Miss Rinaker attributes to Joseph on the strength of the latter's reference to it as "my verses," was assigned to the proper author as early as 1810 in Chalmers' *Eng. Poets*, XVIII, 170, but Miss Rinaker does not refer to Chalmers in this connection.

which Miss Rinaker includes in her list of sources of the *History*, was used in writing the *Observations* and had been known to Warton as early as 1751 (cf. "Newmarket, A Satire").¹ Hickes's deservedly famous *Thesaurus*, one of the most widely read and respected scholarly works accessible to the pioneers of English romanticism, is represented in Miss Rinaker's list of sources of the *History* by Wotton's *Conspectus Brevis* (1708), but the original was used by Warton in his *Observations* and is there cited (ed. 1807, p. 89, note) along with the work of the seventeenth-century Swedish antiquary, Olaus Verelius. Among other works which are listed by Miss Rinaker as sources of the *History* and which were known to Warton in 1754, special attention should be called to Drayton's *Polyolbion*, a poem whose influence on Warton Miss Rinaker apparently makes little effort to estimate.

Although Miss Rinaker is safe enough in calling the *Observations* "the first important piece of modern historical criticism in the field of English literature" (p. 38), it is quite misleading to imply, as the author frequently does, that Warton was the first English critic to use the historical method—that he, to use Miss Rinaker's phraseology, "produced the historical method" (Preface). Even the hasty survey to be found in G. M. Miller's *Historical Point of View in English Criticism from 1570 to 1770* (*Angl. Forschn.*, Heft 35 [1913]), contains abundant evidence that Warton was by no means the first to apply the historical method to English literary criticism. Miller's conclusions, though detracting in nothing from Warton's importance as a critic, deprive him of the factitious merit of absolute originality claimed for him by Miss Rinaker, and, had they been known to her, would have prevented many unguarded statements. In fact, Miss Rinaker's whole tendency is to overemphasize the value of romantic at the expense of classical standards. Instead of adopting the impartial attitude of the best modern critics, she too obviously holds a brief for Warton's type of criticism as opposed to that of his predecessors.

It is surprising that Miss Rinaker regards it as "impossible to give an adequate idea of the variety of books" used by Warton in writing the *History of English Poetry* (p. 121), especially in view of the labor she has expended in identifying the editions consulted. The task is indeed difficult, but it is one which the critical biographer must not shirk. What is needed is an account of the use which Warton made of at least his chief authorities—the facts, theories, and documents which he regarded as worthy of elucidation or preservation, and his method of dealing with them.

Moreover, the principle by which Miss Rinaker is guided in the selection of books for her list is unfortunate, since it involves the omission of certain works which are important as sources of literary if not of historical information. The exclusion of Hickes's *Thesaurus* has already been referred to.

¹ Sixteen hundred and eight, given as the date of Jarvis' translation of *Don Quixote* (p. 188), is obviously a misprint. The earliest edition containing Warburton's essay was the second, in 1749. See further Rius, *Bibliografía crítica de las obras de . . . Cervantes* (Madrid, 1895), I, 262.

Oddly enough, Miss Rinaker appears to think that the *Thesaurus* is a glossary (p. 121).

A more careful examination of Warton's reading would have thrown much light on the sources from which the poet derived the "truth severe" which he later dressed "by fairy fiction." In spite of frequent emphasis on Warton's interest in the past as the keynote of his work, Miss Rinaker treats inadequately his attitude toward one of the most important sources of romantic and antiquarian enthusiasm in the eighteenth century—Northern Antiquities. Warton's references to Scandinavian literature and the services of the *History of English Poetry* in popularizing the traditions of the North are discussed by Farley, *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement* (Boston, 1903), pp. 90 f. (See further p. 77, n. 1; p. 86; cf. Drake, *Essays*, II [1810], 219.) Miss Rinaker does not refer to Farley's book nor to Kittredge's note (Phelps's *Selections from Gray*, p. xlix). Attention may be drawn to the "Dying Ode of Ragnar Lodbrog," since Miss Rinaker mentions the poem without grasping its significance. The author notes that the elder Warton versified two scraps of the song from the Latin quoted by Sir William Temple, but she fails to observe that both sons speak with enthusiasm of the Latin version (*Essay on Pope* [5th ed., 1806], I, 357 f.; *Hist. of Eng. Poet.*, ed. Hazlitt, I, 117, nn.), and that the younger probably had it in mind when, in his ode "On His Majesty's Birthday" for 1788, he wrote the lines about "the sons of Saxon Elva . . . Who died, to drain the warrior-bowl" (Mant, *op. cit.*, II, 125 f.). The poem had a distinguished literary career during the eighteenth century. The passage on the druid in the "Pleasures of Melancholy" (1745) is pointed out by Miss Rinaker as an evidence of Warton's "interest in native mythology," but she says nothing of Warton's share in propagating the eighteenth-century druidic myth, nor is the imitation ballad of "Hardy-knute" (which had appeared as recently as 1724 in Ramsay's *Evergreen*, II, 247 ff.) mentioned in connection with the obvious reference to that poem in the "Ode on the Approach of Summer."

In spite of the tremendous importance of the Ossianic question in literary circles from 1760 on, Miss Rinaker says nothing of Warton's attitude toward the authenticity of Macpherson's work and the general subject of the Celtic past. She ignores even such obvious sources of information as the dissertation on the "Origin of Romantic Fiction in Europe." Warton's labors as an antiquarian can be seen in their true perspective only in connection with investigations in this field during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, but Miss Rinaker gives no adequate account of such studies as a background for Warton's work. Valuable indications of Warton's interests found in certain of his minor prose works appear to have largely escaped Miss Rinaker. His *Life and Literary Remains of Ralph Bathurst* (1761) is referred to merely as "a labor of love" (p. 71); nothing

is said of the evidence it furnishes of Warton's acquaintance with Sprat's well-known *History of the Royal Society* and other seventeenth-century antiquarian and historical disquisitions. Attention might at least be called to Warton's enthusiasm over contemporary interest in the past (*Life of Bathurst*, p. 150), to his praise of Bathurst for vindicating "antiquarian learning" (*op. cit.*, pp. 53 f.), and to the note in which he transcribes from one of the Aubrey manuscripts the famous traditions about Spenser's fellowship at Pembroke, Milton's whipping, and Shakespeare's being a butcher's son (*op. cit.*, pp. 153 f.).

To the influence of the Latin and Greek classics on Warton's English work Miss Rinaker gives scant attention (p. 138), and she disregards his considerable body of Latin verse, although it contains a number of passages illustrative of his fondness for the past.¹

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Studies in the Syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels. With Appendices on Some Idioms in the Germanic Languages. By MORGAN CALLAWAY, JR. Hesperia, Supplementary Series No. 5. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1918. Pp. xvi+240.

The title chosen by Professor Callaway indicates a broader field than that actually covered; the present work is merely the first instalment of proposed studies in the syntax of the Lindisfarne Gospels and is concerned only with the participle and the infinitive. The next instalment is to be devoted to the subjunctive mood. The present work is accordingly an extension into the Northumbrian dialect of Professor Callaway's syntactic researches upon the participle and the infinitive in West Saxon (*The Absolute Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, 1889; *The Appositive Participle in Anglo-Saxon*, 1901; and *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, 1913) and is really supplementary to them. The principle object is to compare the syntax of these forms in Northumbrian with that of the same verbals in West Saxon, and both method of approach and classification and arrangement of material are similar to those of the earlier studies. Like the earlier studies, the present one is an extremely careful and detailed analysis: every form is recorded, the Latin correspondents are given whenever they are at all significant, forms unclassified by other investigators are assigned, every doubtful or unusual construction is annotated, and no difficulty is evaded. The consideration of each usage is followed by an explanation of the origin of the construction as native or foreign, not only in Northumbrian and Old English,

¹ Miss Rinaker's bibliography of Warton's works omits a new edition of *The Oxford Sausage* which appeared in 1777.

but also in the various Germanic languages. Not the least valuable part of the work is the independent evaluation of the evidence concerning the origins of various Germanic idioms presented in the numerous studies that have appeared since Professor Callaway's earlier publications, or that had escaped his attention in them. The list of works consulted includes some four hundred titles.

Professor Callaway's study incidentally throws into strong relief the incompetence of the Lindisfarne gloss as an English translation, particularly its close, frequently slavish, dependence upon and imitation of the Latin original. His method, however, usually discriminates native idioms from mere imitations of the original. If the glosser regularly renders a Latin turn of expression by a similar construction in Northumbrian, without any apparent effort at substitution, it may be inferred that the idiom employed is common to both languages. On the other hand, if he consistently tries to avoid a Latin idiom and to employ a different mode of expression, it is to be inferred that the substitute is a native idiom. These criteria and a comparison with corresponding usages in West Saxon and in the various Germanic dialects provide a basis for reasonably well-grounded conclusions.

This investigation shows that though the proportion of constructions closely based on the Latin—particularly certain uses of the infinitive with accusative subject—is considerably higher in Lindisfarne than in the West Saxon texts, yet in the main the dialect of Lindisfarne does not greatly differ from West Saxon in the use of the infinitive and the participle. This study also, practically without exception, confirms Professor Callaway in the views as to the origins of infinitive and participial constructions that he had arrived at in his studies in West Saxon. There are disclosed, however, a small number of constructions in Lindisfarne that are not found in West Saxon, though to call some of them "idioms," as is done in the Preface (p. iv), makes an impression as to normal and native usage to which one may take exception, and one which Professor Callaway destroys in his detailed consideration. In most cases these "idioms" are merely abject imitations of the Latin, sometimes even imitations of Latin expressions that the glosser had stupidly misunderstood. Of all five clear instances of the imperative infinitive (pp. 175-76), for example, one renders a Latin imperative infinitive, and the remaining four misrender Latin passive imperatives that have the same form as infinitives. Similarly, in every occurrence of the infinitive as object of a preposition (pp. 117-18), the Lindisfarne rendering merely follows the Latin slavishly, employing the uninflected infinitive to correspond to the Latin infinitive, and the inflected infinitive to correspond to the Latin gerundive.

Of the infinitive constructions not found in West Saxon, that most frequently occurring is what Professor Callaway terms the elliptical accusative with infinitive construction (pp. 180-95). It is made up of an accusative

substantive and a participle—usually present though not infrequently past; it renders a Latin accusative and gerundive without *esse*, or future participle without *esse*; and it depends usually upon verbs of commanding or declaring. To this mode of expression, which Professor Callaway rightly considers a “very close translation of the Latin original,” he finds interesting parallels as to both form and origin in some constructions of early Scandinavian dialects and in the High German gerund. A cross-reference suggests a comparison of this elliptical accusative and infinitive construction with the inflected infinitive and subject accusative. Such a comparison apparently shows that the glosser of Lindisfarne employed these two constructions indiscriminately in rendering the Latin gerundive and future participle. In translating a Latin accusative and future participle Lindisfarne has *cuoēða* (*ait*) and *foresæcga* (*pronuntiare*) followed by the inflected infinitive; and *forecuoēða* (*praedicere*), *foresæcga* (*prænuntiare*), and *soðsæcga* (*pronuntiare*) followed by the present participle. In translating a Latin accusative and gerundive Lindisfarne has *beada* (*praecipere*), *bebeada* (*praecipere*), *cuoēða* (*ait, dicere*), *forecuoēða* (*praedicere*), *foresæcga* (*praedicere, pronuntiare*), and *læra* (*docere, ammonere*) followed by the inflected infinitive; and *beada* (*commendare*), *cuoēða* (*ait, dicere*), *forecuoēða* (*praedicere*), *foresæcga* (*prænuntiare*), and *læra* (*docere*) followed by the present participle. Yet, though the inflected infinitive and the present participle are thus used apparently without distinction, there is indication of a preference. The inflected infinitive twice renders the Latin future participle and 32 times the gerundive; the present participle 8 times renders the Latin future participle and only 11 times the gerundive. Further (see pp. 123–24) the inflected predicative infinitive with “to be” denoting necessity or obligation, in 15 out of 21 occurrences renders the Latin gerundive, the remaining instances representing a variety of Latin constructions; and the inflected predicative infinitive with “to be” denoting futurity, though of not infrequent occurrence in the West Saxon Gospels, is not found in Lindisfarne (pp. 124–25)—the glosser usually employing the present participle.¹

It has been noted above that in Lindisfarne an inflected infinitive as object of a preposition occasionally renders the Latin gerundive as object of a preposition. It seems probable then that in the dialect of the glosser of Lindisfarne the idea of obligation or necessity as expressed in Latin by the gerundival periphrasis was expressed by the inflected infinitive with “to be,” but that, wooden translator as the glosser was, mere similarity in form induced him frequently to represent the Latin gerundive by the Old English present participle. To a mechanical word-by-word translator, too, the present participle was the nearest equivalent to the Latin future as well as

¹ For example, Matt. 11:3: “Tu es qui uenturus es?” is in the West Saxon Gospels, “Eart ðu ðe to cumenne eart?” and in Lindisfarne, “Arð ðu seðe to cymende wæs uel is?”

present participle, in the same way that the Old English present tense rendered both present and future tenses of Latin.¹

In his consideration of the absolute participle Professor Callaway finds two constructions that he did not find in West Saxon—the absolute nominative (10 examples) and the absolute accusative (21 examples). He regards the absolute nominative as not really an idiom but the result of a mixture of two constructions (p. 38), “the glossator wavering between a finite verb, which requires a nominative case, and an absolute participle, which requires an oblique case.” The absolute accusative he does consider a genuine Northumbrian idiom and regards it as one of several Northumbrian constructions in which accusative interchanges with dative, contrary to West Saxon usage (pp. 26–28). In most of the instances cited as accusative or nominative absolute, the substantive is unmistakable in case form, as it is either a pronoun, or a noun limited by a demonstrative or a definite article. A number of others, however, though Professor Callaway classifies them as absolute datives—probably regarding them as “crude”² or “weathered” forms—have no sign of case in either substantive or participle. Of the 30 past participles listed as absolute datives (pp. 7–10), at least 7 are thus indistinguishable from the nominative. The confusion in Lindisfarne of nominative, accusative, and dative in the absolute participial construction is paralleled by the confusion of these three case forms—particularly in the singular—in many other constructions, a confusion much wider than a mere interchange of accusative and dative. Professor Callaway quotes (p. 29) from Lindelöf’s *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Altnordhumbrischen* (Helsingfors, 1893) statements that in this Lindisfarne gloss the nominative and the accusative of feminine nouns had fallen together, and that there were traces of the coalescence of the dative with the nominative and accusative.³ Carpenter, *passim*, in *Die Deklination in der nordhumbrischen Evangelienübersetzung der Lindisfarner Handschrift* (Bonn, 1910), has shown in detail that confusion in nominative, accusative, and dative case forms, particularly in the singular, extended through nouns of all genders, adjectives, participles, and pronouns. If any inference as to idiom can be drawn from the case forms employed in the absolute participial construction in Lindisfarne, probably it is that the group of substantive plus participle was used without any distinct feeling for case, very much as it is in modern English.

The study as a whole is pleasingly free from the minor errors that usually obtrude themselves in a minute analysis. There are, of course, occasional

¹ In West Saxon the inflected infinitive with “to be” was the regular idiom for rendering both Latin periphrastic conjugations—with the future participle as well as with the gerundive (Callaway, *The Infinitive in Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 200–203).

² Professor Callaway’s use of “crude” as synonymous with “weathered” is altogether alien from that of Logemann, who first employed it (*Rule of St. Benet*, E.E.T.S., Orig. Series 90; Introduction V, § 3, p. xxxix), and of other students of Northumbrian, such as Lea and Carpenter.

³ The page reference to Lindelöf’s study is wrongly given as 299; it is 81.

lapses. *Druncniga* does not properly constitute an exception to the statement (pp. 102-3) that the objective infinitive that is active in form is active in sense, even though it renders a Latin passive (see *N.E.D.*, *drunken*, verb 1 and 2). *Awritta* in *were geneded ðæt awritta (cogeretur ut scriberet)* is not an infinitive (p. 169) but a preterite optative, as it is recorded in Cook's glossary. There is a slight inconsistency in recording the total number of present appositive participles as 168 in one paragraph and 167 in a paragraph immediately following (p. 61). The reference (p. 182) under *foresæcga* to Mark, Introduction, 4, 14 is inexact. The compositor may well be responsible for a confusing "uninflected" which occurs twice for "inflected" in the description of the prepositional infinitive (p. 90). The work suffers very little, however, from typographical errors, the only others observed being "prseent" (p. 67), "serictly" (p. 137), and a semicolon for a comma on page 168. One may be sure that no work of Professor Callaway's will be marred by slovenliness.

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The American Language. By H. L. MENCKEN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1919. Pp. x+374.

This book is an attempt at a comprehensive account of the English language as spoken in America. Its earlier pages are largely devoted to two subjects on which the author apparently wishes to start a controversy: one, that American philologists despise the actual speech of their own country; the other, that the American speech is preferable to the English, its new words more effective ("more honest, more picturesque, more thoroughly Anglo-Saxon," etc.). He is able to maintain the first view chiefly by rather devious methods—emphasis on the expressed views of authorities whose interest was chiefly in rhetoric, and disparagement of the work of the Dialect Society and of the scholars who have investigated problems in American speech. He makes much of the fact that no comprehensive study of our language exists. The reason, of course, is that no philologist has felt himself equipped to handle so vast a subject, one which requires an exact knowledge of all the dialects spoken in this country and in England. In advancing the second opinion he quotes only notably vigorous or picturesque Americanisms and disregards effective Anglicisms (e.g., *slacker*, *Anzac*, *tank*). With these unfortunate preconceptions and his lack of philological training the author naturally has a distorted view of many things. He will not recognize dialects in this country (p. 19); apparently he always thinks of standard English as the only language of England but judges American speech by its colloquial forms; whenever sounds are involved he is likely to make extraordinary errors, e.g., "G disappears from the ends of words

[presumably *ing* becomes *in*] and sometimes, too, in the middle, as in *stren'th* and *reco'nize*"; and he has a vague conception of differences in function of words (on p. 217, for instance, he thinks that the American use of *them* as a demonstrative proves that the derivation of *'em* from *hem* is wrong; on p. 219 he treats *ye* in *look ye* as objective; on p. 222 he seems to say that *me* in "I lit *me* pipe" is from *me*). One could fill pages with examples of the errors resulting from the author's lack of systematic training. Even his statements as to vocabulary are not reliable; e.g., *pail*, *coal-hod*, and *postman* are widely used in this country.

Yet, despite the extraordinary faults that make it untrustworthy, the book contains a great deal of interesting correct information, and on many points its author has sound philological ideas. It is a convenient and useful work for the general reader and the undergraduate student interested in language.

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The Tragedy of Tragedies, or the Life and Death of Tom Thumb the Great, with the Annotations of H. Scriblerus Secundus. By HENRY FIELDING. Edited by JAMES T. HILLHOUSE. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1918. Pp. viii+223.

Professor Hillhouse's edition of *The Tragedy of Tragedies* furnishes in compact form a large amount of hitherto uncollected data bearing on Fielding's early dramatic work as well as on the interests of the English literary public during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The editor has rendered the student of Fielding an especial service by reprinting with collations the first edition of the *Tom Thumb* of 1730 in juxtaposition with the enlarged version of the following year. In the introduction, appendixes, and notes he deals with the stage history of the play and with its burlesque of the heroic drama. A more exhaustive study of the circumstances under which the play was composed would probably show that Fielding's choice of chap-book accounts of Tom Thumb and Arthur as a vehicle for satire are more intimately connected with the contemporary reaction against the growing interest in antiquarian research and the "low" literature of the people than has generally been suspected. In connection with the editor's discussion of early eighteenth-century chap-book versions of the life of Tom Thumb, attention may be called to Ritson's reference (*Pieces of Anc. Pop. Poetry* [1791], p. 98) to a folio edition of *Thomas Redivivus* containing Wagstaffe's *Comment* and published the year before the first version of Fielding's play.

T. P. C.

The Case Is Altered. By BEN JONSON. Edited by WILLIAM EDWARD SELIN. Yale Studies in English, LVI. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1917. Pp. lxvi+216.

Like the editions of other plays of Jonson in the Yale Studies, *The Case Is Altered* is well printed and is elaborately edited with introduction, text, notes, glossary, bibliography, and index. Students will welcome especially the reprint of the text from the best copies of the quarto, and the facsimile of the three forms of the title-page. The notes contain valuable quotations and references that help to illumine difficult passages or obscure allusions and to illustrate Jonson's use of Plautus and other sources, but they are marred by gratuitous explanations of simple expressions and allusions and by an encyclopedic massing of information, often elementary and commonplace, on every point that will lend itself to comment. In the introduction the problems of text, authorship, date, literary satire, and sources are discussed. There is no notable contribution to our knowledge of the history of the play, though a somewhat elaborate attempt is made to apply metrical tests in order to solve the problem of authorship.

C. R. B.

British Criticisms of American Writings, 1783-1815. A Contribution to the Study of Anglo-American Literary Relationships. By WILLIAM B. CAIRNS. University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, Number 1. Madison, 1918. Pp. 97.

After a very brief preliminary survey of literary conditions, 1783-1815, we are here given a statement of the individual attitudes toward America of some two dozen writers and likewise the attitudes of the principal British periodicals. We have twelve pages on "the prevailing British attitude toward the intellectual development of America," and then chapters on the notices of non-literary American writings, of Franklin and Tom Paine, and of the various types of *belles lettres*. Two obstacles stand in the way of perfection in such a study: the fact that we lack first-class bibliographies of American literature of the period and the fact that Professor Cairns has not always had access to complete files of the periodicals consulted. The result is a competent and serviceable but by no means definitive study.

G. S.

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SCHRÄTEL UND WASSERBÄR

The Middle High German *Schrätel und Wasserbär*¹ is the first appearance of a clever tale whose history, relations, and distribution are of considerable interest. The story is as follows:

The king of Norway sends a polar bear ("wazzerber") as a gift to the king of Denmark. The bear and its leader have just landed in Denmark when night overtakes them and they hasten on to a house by the roadside. The Norseman explains to the farmer that the bear is not a dangerous monster and asks quarters for the night. This request the farmer would gladly grant, but he confesses that he has no power over his homestead after nightfall, for a malicious cobold ("schretel") drives him and his cattle away each evening. The stranger declares his reliance on God, and repeats his request, to which the host gives unwilling assent. Well supplied with food, man and bear prepare to spend the night in the bakery. While both are asleep a red-capped cobold scarcely three spans long comes up to the fire and begins to roast some meat on an iron spit.

¹ A summary with excerpts appeared in W. Grimm, *Irische Elfenmärchen* (1826), pp. cxiv-cxix (= *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 482 ff.). It has been edited several times: Mone, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Heldensage* (1837), pp. 281-88; Wackernagel, *Zs. f. d. A.*, VI, 174-84; von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, III, 261-70, No. 65; Wackernagel, *Altdeutsches Lesebuch*³, pp. 825-34; Weinhold, *Mittelhochdeutsches Lesebuch*⁴, pp. 104-10; Bachmann, *Mittelhochdeutsches Lesebuch*⁵⁻⁶, pp. 166-71. There is a translation into modern German by *O. Henke, *Drei altdeutsche Schwänke*, Barmen, 1888 (cf. *Zs. f. d. d. Unterricht*, III, 566), and a retelling by Baumbach, *Abenteuer und Schwänke* (1904), pp. 57-64.

In this and succeeding notes books and articles which I have not seen are indicated by an asterisk. A list of the variants of the tale will be found below, pp. 64-66.

Jealously it eyes the interlopers, particularly the bear, until passion so overcomes it that it strikes the bear on the back of the head. The bear snarls but makes no move. When the meat drips fat the "schretel" deals another blow and the bear "turns the other cheek." Finally, when the chop sizzles with the heat, the little fellow raises spit and all high above his head and brings it down on the bear's mouth. Then the bear does not prove to be so lazy after all, and the scuffle begins in earnest. For some time neither side has an advantage, but ultimately the cobold is obliged to give in. All the while the bear's master has been watching the mêlée from a safe retreat in the oven, and even when the disturber of the peace has fled he does not venture forth. On the morrow the householder inquires somewhat anxiously about the health of his visitors, and before they go on learns the events of the night. Later that morning when the farmer has gone out into the field to plow, the disheveled cobold comes running up to him with the query: "Is your big cat still alive?" With ready wit the farmer grasps the situation, and assures the cobold that the "old cat" in addition to being alive is now the mother of five young ones. Thereupon the cobold flees forever, and since then the farmer and his family have lived happily in the farmhouse.

This anonymous Middle High German story is a work of considerable artistic merit. Besides being one of the very few brief narratives in verse of that period which take their subject from Germanic popular tradition, it is almost unique in its avoidance of the offensive allusion and incident which are so characteristic of the contemporary fabliaux, French and German. Especially delightful are the clever use of onomatopoetic words and the amusing description of how the cobold sought the quarrel. The anonymity of the poem has awakened much discussion, and attempts have been made to father it on Heinrich von Freiberg, one of the more distinguished successors of the great Middle High German poets.¹ Recently, however, the tendency has been to discredit these efforts, and the case for Heinrich's authorship has found no defenders since the thorough and

¹ *J. M. Wiggers, *Heinrich von Freiberg als Verfasser des Schwankes von Schrätel und Wasserbär*, Rostock Diss., 1877; R. Bechstein, "Zu Heinrich von Freibergs Schwank," *Romanische Forschungen*, V, 172-82; A. Bernt, *Heinrich von Freiberg* (1906), pp. 166-67.

painstaking investigations of von Kraus.¹ By comparison with the variants cited below, it is possible to determine the provenance of the Middle High German story. In it alone of the central European versions is the hero a polar bear:

Er was der wizen einer,
ein grözer, niht ein kleiner.²

And the polar bear is found in all the Norwegian versions I have been able to see.³ Consequently it is extremely probable that the Middle High German writer drew his tale from Northern sources. Corroborative of this opinion is the fact that the scene of the poem is Denmark. If he had been drawing on local tradition, he would have made the hero a brown or black bear (like all the German popular tales) and would have had no occasion to lay the scene in the North.

A determined attempt has been made to correlate this tale with the Grendel episode in *Beowulf*—where likewise a house is freed from a monster.⁴ Mone enlarged upon this comparison, which had been first suggested by Wilhelm Grimm, and concluded that the two stories were intimately related;⁵ and it has even been asserted that they correspond completely.⁶ Of all who have touched upon the subject Laistner⁷ has evolved the most inclusive combinations. He regards the Grendel episode, *Schrätel und Wasserbär*, and the *Mühlknappensage*⁸ as closely related variations of the same theme:

¹ *Zs. f. d. A.*, XLVIII, 99–102; see also Glöde, *Literaturblatt f. germ. u. rom. Philol.*, X, col. 7.

² Vss. 17–18. On familiarity with the polar bear in the Middle Ages see von Maurer, *Anzeiger zur Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* (1863), p. 396, and G. Storm, "Hvíta björn og bjarnýr," *Ark. f. nord. fil.*, XIII, 47–53.

³ Variants 41, 43, 44–47 in the list below. The Danish and Swedish tales, with the exception of Schaldemose (Variant 33), who has a black bear, do not specify the kind of bear.

⁴ The effort to connect *Schrätel und Wasserbär* with the story of Siegfried leads to nothing. See A. and A. Schott, *Walachische Märchen*, p. 358, and von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, Vol. III, p. lxxiv.

⁵ W. Grimm, *Irische Elfenmärchen* (1826), p. cxix (= *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 482 ff.); Mone, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der deutschen Heldensage* (1837), p. 287; see also Simrock, *Beowulf* (1859), pp. 176 ff. Grässe (*Literaturgeschichte*, II, 3, 86) objects to Mone's theory.

⁶ N. Müller, *Die Mythen in Beowulf*, Heidelberg Diss. (1878), pp. 48 ff., 64 ff.

⁷ *Rätsel der Sphinx*, II (1889), 15 ff. Singer (*Schweizer Märchen*, I [1903], 72) follows Laistner's grouping.

⁸ The *Mühlknappensage* tells how a miller's apprentice spent the night in a haunted mill; attacked by a swarm of cats, he cut off the paw of one of them, and on the morrow

"Bär durch Bär vertrieben"; but in order to reduce these different stories to a combat between bears he has to resort to rather violent expedients. He further believes that *Schrätel und Wasserbär* is identical with an episode in the *Bärensohnmärchen*, in which the son of a bear and a woman (or a man who has been suckled by a bear) overpowers and binds a dwarf who has disturbed him while he is cooking.¹ This is in fact similar to *Schrätel und Wasserbär*, but the *märchen* lacks the repartee in which bears and cats are confused and on which the humor of the cobold story depends. According to Panzer,² who develops Laistner's theories and who seems also to approve of Laistner's opinions regarding *Schrätel und Wasserbär*,³ the *Bärensohnmärchen* is the ultimate source of *Beowulf*. On the whole, the tendency in *Beowulf* criticism has been either to disregard

the miller's wife was found to have lost a hand. Tales very similar to this are frequent in witch-literature. There is an early example in Gervase of Tilbury (*Otia Imperialia*, ed. Liebrecht, p. 45; cf. p. 137): "Scimus quasdam, in forma cattarum a furtive vigilantibus de nocte visas ac vulneratas, in crastino vulnera truncationesque membrorum ostendisse." For other examples see J. W. Wolf, *Niederländische Sagen* (1843), p. 477, No. 393; Boekennoogen, *Volkskunde*, XIX, 65-66, "Nederlandsche Sprookjes en Vertelsels," No. 111, "Van een betooverden molen"; Zand, *Ons Volksleven*, V, 115-16, "Kempische Sagen," No. 28, "Eene kat den poot afgekap't"; Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen*, No. 225, 1; Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen*, No. 134; Bartsch, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg*, Nos. 278, 279; Müllenhof, *Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig-Holstein*, No. 311; J. W. Wolf, *Hessische Sagen*, No. 109; Schmitz, *Sitten und Sagen aus dem Eifel*, p. 46; R. Kühnau, *Schlesische Sagen*, II, 221, No. 857; *ibid.*, III, 24, No. 1375; D. E. Jenkins, *Bedd Gelert*, p. 260; J. G. Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*, p. 181; P. I. Begbie, *Supernatural Illusions*, I, 258; **Mitt. d. nordböh. Exkursionsklubs*, V, 240; Relchhardt, *Zs. d. V. f. V.*, VI, 79; Jaworskij, *ibid.*, VIII, 332, No. 1; Liebrecht, *Heidelberger Jahrbücher*, LXV (1872), 842; Bergen, *Jour. of Am. Folklore*, XII, 68; Parsons, *ibid.*, XXX, 196, No. 54; Britten, *Folk-Lore Journal*, I, 53-54; E. M. Leather, *Folklore of Herefordshire*, p. 54; Jahn, *Volkssagen aus Pommern und Rügen* (1886), pp. 342-44. In J. Harland and T. T. Wilkinson, *Lancashire Legends, Traditions and Pageants*, p. 7, this tale is related to explain the legend of the white doe pursued by the specter huntsman at Eagle Crag, Todmorden.

For other tales of a monster which invades a hut and loses a hand in the ensuing conflict, see Kittredge, (Harvard) *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 228 ff.

¹ See Laistner, II, 21 ff. The *Bärensohnmärchen* is as follows: The hero (son of a bear, suckled by a bear, or otherwise of abnormal parentage) wounds the demon which has been plundering the king's apple tree. He then goes down into the underworld to seek three stolen princesses, and after his faithless comrades have drawn up the girls he is left below. By means of a talisman (or a bird) he makes his way back to the upper world, where he discloses the treachery of his companions, and marries the youngest princess. The combat with the dwarf is often an introductory episode.

The most complete list of variants is given by Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, II, 297-318 [No. 91, "Dat Erdmänneken"].

² *Studien zur germanischen Sagen Geschichte*, I, *Beowulf*, 1910. See pp. 74-95, "Der Dämon im Waldhaus," for a detailed discussion of the incident of the dwarf-combat.

³ *Studien*, I, 254.

utterly such relationships as these, or to consider them as too remote to be of importance.¹ The possibility of a close connection between *Schrätel und Wasserbär* and *Beowulf* has never been considered seriously by anyone except Müller—and his dissertation was not even reviewed in the learned journals of the day. These various studies, however, enable us to see the story of *Schrätel und Wasserbär* in its proper perspective, and to regard it as a member of a large group of tales on the same theme: "the defence of a hall or hut against the demon that haunts it."² Further, we can recognize that of all these tales it is most nearly related to the incident in the *Bärensohnmärchen*. But *Schrätel und Wasserbär* is more than that incident alone; a creative, artistic impulse has given it characteristic form and individual charm. It has not been sufficiently emphasized that *Schrätel und Wasserbär* is a clearly differentiated type of tale which has maintained itself for seven centuries by its own inherent merit.

The suggestion has been made that traces of *Schrätel und Wasserbär* are to be found in *Van Bere Wisselauwe*, a fragmentary Dutch poem which its author attached to the Charlemagne cycle by the mention of Charlemagne's name and court.³ The connection with French sources is superficial; the spirit of the fragment is, as Martin suggests, that of the German popular epic,⁴ and its analogues render a German origin probable. The contents of the fragment, so far as it is intelligible, are as follows:

The bear Wisselau throws the spear of a giant who has attacked him into the sea. The victim calls on King Espriaen for help and dies from the effects of his conflict with the bear. Espriaen comes to the shore to demand satisfaction for his vassal's death, but Gernout (Wisselau's master) says that the fault was the giant's. After

¹ Müllenhof, *Beowulf, Untersuchungen über das angelsächsische Epos* (Berlin, 1889), pp. 2 f.; Sedgfield, *Beowulf*, p. xxxv. O. L. Olson (*Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, III, 35) refuses to equate *Schrätel und Wasserbär* with the *Bjarkirímur*, which tell a story much like that of *Beowulf*.

² Kittredge, [Harvard] *Studies and Notes*, VIII, 230.

³ The latest edition is that by E. Martin, *Neue Fragmente des Gedichts Van den Vos Reinaerde und das Bruchstück Van Bere Wisselauwe* (*Quellen und Forschungen zur Sprach- und Culturgeschichte der germanischen Völker*, LXV), Strassburg, 1889.

⁴ See te Winkel in Paul's *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*, II, 1, 421, and J. J. A. Frantzen, "De invloed der Duitsche letteren op de Nederlandsche," *De Gids*, LIII (1889), 66 ff.

Espriaen has provoked a quarrel with the bear and Gernout has restored peace, he asks how many more such bears there are in the ship and, although there is only one, is told, "Four and all of them hungry." In fear of their release Espriaen returns to his castle, and thither also, when Wisselau has been dressed in a costly coat, go Gernout and the bear. Gernout then tells Wisselau to go into the kitchen, seize the food, throw the cook into his broth, and then bring cook and kettle into the king's hall. Just as Gernout is boasting how he overcame the bear and its four brothers, the seneschals run in with the news of the devastation in the kitchen, and after them comes Wisselau bearing cook and kettle. The terrified Espriaen reminds Gernout of his boasting; and as a demonstration *ad oculos*, Gernout, who orders the bear to submit in "gargoenscher tale" (which is unintelligible to Espriaen), has no difficulty in throwing the beast to the floor, where he scolds it for having eaten all the food in the kitchen. The king laughs; and the angry bear, who has burst the buttons of his coat, throws the coat into the fire. But none of Espriaen's giants would have ventured to order Wisselau from his place before the fire. Gernout, however, plans to get his master away from this country.¹ The fearful Espriaen suggests binding the bear for the night (Here the fragment breaks off.)

Substantially the same story is told as one of the episodes of the *þiðrekssaga*,² where, however, the trouble-maker is not a real bear but a man disguised in a bear's skin. It has already been pointed out by Martin³ and others that this portion of the *þiðrekssaga* is an anthropomorphization of *Van Bere Wisselauwe*. It is, however, not so clear⁴ that these two stories are to be connected with *Schrätel und Wasserbär*, although Martin says (p. 68):

Auf jeden Fall ist das ganze Abenteuer von hilfreichen Bären in die deutsche Heldensage [i.e., *þiðrekssaga*] ebenso wie in die niederländische

¹ Gernout's master has not been mentioned before.

² Ed. Unger, chap. 132-44, 181. The *þiðrekssaga* is derived from Low German sources. This episode and *Van Bere Wisselauwe* represent a story of which no clear trace remains in German literature. An incident in *König Rother* is in some way connected with these two stories, but it seems to have nothing to do with *Schrätel und Wasserbär*; see de Winkel, Paul's *Grundriss*², II, 1, 421.

³ *Neue Fragmente*, p. 67.

⁴ Leitzmann (*Literaturblatt für germ. u. rom. Philol.*, Vol. X [1889], col. 292) also fails to see the force of Martin's arguments.

Karlssage [i.e., Van Bere Wisselauwe] erst nachträglich eingeschaltet worden: es stand ursprünglich für sich. In dieser Selbständigkeit hat es sich noch in die spätere Zeit erhalten, als Kampf zwischen schretel und wazzerber.

That the episodes are later insertions both in the *Þiðrekssaga* and in *Van Bere Wisselauwe* may be granted; that they tell the same tale as our story is still a question. The attendant circumstances of the combat and the nature of the opponents offer no striking similarities; the fact that all three narrate a conflict between a bear and a cook—it will be remembered that the cobold is roasting a chop when the scuffle begins—is only a superficial resemblance. And what is more important, the concluding repartee is absent in Old Norse and Dutch, unless one sees a parallel in Gernout's statement that he has four hungry bears on board. Of this Martin says (p. 72): “Eine kecke Prahlerei scheint es zu sein, wenn Gernout noch vier andere Bären in seinem Schiffe verborgen zu haben behauptet; auch dies ist Stil der Spielmannspoesie.” Apparently then he does not consider it parallel to the conclusion of *Schrätel und Wasserbär*.

There is no evidence—unless the possibilities of relationships with *Beowulf* and *Van Bere Wisselauwe* be considered as such, and they do not lead to any very tangible results—that *Schrätel und Wasserbär* was widely known in the Middle Ages. Indeed there is no mention of it after the anonymous Middle High German poem until it appears in recent collections of popular tales. Ziehnert,¹ to be sure, says he had seen it in “old chronicles,” but he does not cite them, and it is impossible to fill in the gap in the story's history between the thirteenth and the nineteenth century. Its frequent occurrence in modern collections, however, and its wide distribution show clearly that it has enjoyed a continuous popularity. It is found in Finland, Scandinavia, Denmark, Esthonia, Bohemia, the German-speaking part of Central Europe as far south as Carinthia, and in Scotland. The variations in these different instances are such that literary transmission—which is possible only after the appearance of Ziehnert's collection of Silesian tales (1817) and the excerpts from the Middle High German manuscript in Grimm's *Irische Elfenmärchen* (1826)—is out of the question.

¹ *Sachsens Volkssagen*, II (1838), 22.

LIST OF VARIANTS

GERMANY: 1, "Schrätel und Wasserbär," von der Hagen, *Gesammt-abenteuer*, III, 261-70, No. 65 (see above, p. 57, n. 1); 2, Müllenhof, *Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig-Holstein und Lauenburg* (Kiel, 1845), p. 257, No. 346, "Der Wassermann und der Bär"; 3, Kuhn and Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen* (Leipzig, 1848), p. 203, No. 225, 2; 4, Engelen and Lahn, *Der Volksmund in der Mark Brandenburg*, I (Berlin, 1869), 21, No. 11, "Där Kobbolt vanne Wiëlmölle"; 5, O. Knoop, "Volks-tümliches aus der Tierwelt," *Blätter für pommersche Volkskunde*, VII (1899), 14-15, No. 5, "Der Bär und der Teufel" (Karls Hof, Kreis Neugard); 6, Schambach and Müller, *Niedersächsische Sagen und Märchen* (Göttingen, 1855), p. 66; 7, Seifart, *Sagen, Märchen, Schwänke und Gebräuche aus Stadt und Stift Hildesheim*, II (Göttingen, 1860), 52, No. 36, "Die Mühlenzwerge"; 8, H. Pröhle, *Harzsagen*², I (Leipzig, 1886), 110, No. 4; 9, A. Schleicher, *Volks-thümliches aus Sonneberg im Meininger Oberlande* (Weimar, 1858), p. 76, "Fän Schlaazleen"; 10, R. Eisel, *Sagenbuch des Voigtlandes* (Gera, 1871), No. 119; 11, Schönwerth, *Aus der Oberpfalz*, II (Augsburg, 1857-59), 187; 12, F. Panzer, *Bayerische Sagen und Bräuche; Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie*, II (Munich, 1858), 160-61, No. 256, "Holzfräulein"; 13, R. Kühnau, *Schlesische Sagen*, II, *Elben-, Dämonen- und Teufelssagen* (Leipzig, 1911), p. 222, No. 858, "Der Wassernix und der Bär in der Ölmühle" = *Haupt, *Sagenbuch der Lausitz*, I (Leipzig, 1862-63), 52 f., No. 49 (Märkische Lausitz); 14, *ibid.*, II, 238, No. 877 (Middle Silesia, Kreis Münsterberg); 15, *ibid.*, II, 242, No. 885 (Middle Silesian, Kreis Grottkau); 16, *ibid.*, II, 293, No. 923, 3 = *Mitteilungen der schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* (1901), p. 45 (Polish Upper Silesia, Kreis Beuthen); 17, *ibid.*, II, 305, No. 925, 6 = *ibid.* (1903), p. 57 (Polish Upper Silesia, Kreis Rybnik); 18, *ibid.*, II, 310, No. 926, 7 (Polish Upper Silesia, Kreis Cosel); 19, *ibid.*, II, 318, No. 927, 5 (Polish Upper Silesia, Kreis Neustadt); 20, *ibid.*, II, 345-46, No. 948 = *Fiedler, *Riesengebirge in Wort und Bild*, IX (1889), 129 = *J. Schade, *Was sich unsere Väter erzählten* (1903), p. 241 = *Deutsche Volkskunde aus dem östlichen Böhmen*, VIII (1908), 63, No. 156 (Northeast Bohemia); 21, A. Meiche, *Sagenbuch des Königreichs Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1903), p. 376, No. 496, "Der Wassermann und der Bär in der Schleifermühle"; 22, *ibid.*, pp. 445-46, No. 583, "Die Katzenmühle bei Buchholz" = J. G. T. Grässe, *Sagenschatz des Königreichs Sachsen*, 2d and enlarged ed., I (Dresden, 1874), 467, No. 525 = Bechstein, *Deutsches Sagenbuch* (Leipzig, 1853), p. 524, No. 633, "Die bösen Katzen." The foregoing prose tales are derived from the verses of W. Ziehnert, *Sachsens Volkssagen*, II (Annaberg, 1838), 21-28 and in one volume (Annaberg, 1851), pp. 192-98, No. 26 (the first edition of this book [1817] is at the same time the first appearance of *Schrätel und Wasserbär* in print).

WENDISH: **23**, Schulenberg, *Wendische Volkssagen* (Leipzig, 1880), p. 122; **24**, *ibid.* (a second version); **25**, *ibid.*, *Wendisches Volkstum* (Berlin, 1882), p. 59, "Der Hodernyks und der Bär"; **26**, *E. Kühn, *Der Spreewald* (1889), p. 111 (cf. R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I [Weimar, 1898], 72); **27**, E. Veckenstedt, *Wendische Sagen, Märchen und abergläubische Gebräuche* (Graz, 1880), pp. 195-96, No. 33.

AUSTRIAN: **28**, Vernaleken, *Mythen und Bräuche des Volkes in Oesterreich* (Vienna, 1859), pp. 180-82=Grohmann, *Sagen aus Böhmen*, p. 158; **29**, *ibid.*, p. 182 (Eineth, Moravia); **30**, *Cas. M.S. (1894), p. 98 (cf. Meiche, *Sagenbuch*, p. 376, n. 1). This seems to mean *Časopis Museálnej slovenskej Spoločnosti* and not *Časopis tovaršstva Mačicy Serbkeje*; but neither of these is accessible to me. It is not *Časopis Musea Kralovstvi Českeho*. **31**, G. Graber, *Sagen aus Kärnten* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 163, No. 208, "Ein Hausgeist"; **32**, *ibid.*, p. 75, No. 87, "Der furchtsame Waldmann."

DENMARK: **33**, F. J. Schaldemose, *Krønnike-Lises Aeventyr eller Fyenske Sagn* (Copenhagen, 1844), pp. 146-51, "Trolde og Bjørnen"; **34**, S. Grundtvig, *Gamle Danske Minder*, III (Copenhagen, 1861), 91, No. 3, "Trolde og Bjørnen" (his reference [III, 230] to Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen* [without page] seems to be erroneous; he says he has seen a MS version from Vendsyssel); **35**, J. P. Möller, *Folkesagn og andre mundtlige Minder fra Bornholm* (Copenhagen, 1867), pp. 26-27, "Bjørnegaarden"; **36**, E. T. Kristensen, *Sagn fra Jylland (Jyske Folkeminder, IV)* (Copenhagen, 1880), p. 312, No. 411, "Tusse og dens Hvalpe"; **37**, E. T. Kristensen, *Danske Sagn, som de har lydt i folkemunde*, Århus, 1892, 1ste Afdeling: Bjærgfolk, § 86, *Æventyrlige sagn om Bjærgfolk*, pp. 434-35, No. 1400; **38**, *ibid.*, pp. 435-36, No. 1401; **39**, *ibid.*, p. 436, No. 1402 (defective); **40**, E. T. Kristensen, *Efterslæt til "Skattegraveren"*, Kolding, 1890, pp. 158-59, No. 114, "Bjørnetrækkerne."

NORWAY: **41**, Faye, *Norske Folkesagn*² (Christiania, 1844), pp. 30-32; **42**, *R. Braset, *Gammelt paa Sporbemaal*, II, 35; **43**, Asbjørnsen, *Norske Huldre-eventyr*, II (Christiania, 1848), 47 ff., "Rensdyrjagt ved Ronderne" (the cobold story is pp. 77 ff.)=H. L. Brækstad, *Round the Yule Log* (London, 1881), pp. 145-50=W. Archer, *Collected Works of Henrik Ibsen*, IV, *Peer Gynt* (New York, 1908), pp. 276-78; **44**, Asbjørnsen and Moe, *Norske Folkeeventyr*, revideret udgave ved Moltke Moe, II (Christiania, 1899), 163-65, No. 56, "Kjætten paa Dovre"=Dasent, *Popular Tales from the Norse*² (Edinburgh, 1869), pp. 103-4, "The cat on the Dovrefell"=Bresemann, *Norwegische Märchen*, I, 183, No. 26; **45**, J. T. Storaker and O. Fuglestad, *Folkesagn, samlede i Lister og Mandals Amt*, 1ste Del (Flekkefjord, 1881), p. 10, No. 2, "Kvanvigtrøldet" (Parish of Hitterø); **46**, *ibid.*, pp. 40-41, No. 52, "Underjordiske paa Skjækkeland"; **47**, *ibid.*, pp. 113-14, No. 165, "Underjordiske paa Kvinlog"; **48-54**, Feilberg (*Jul*, II, 323-24) cites seven more Norwegian variants which have been inaccessible to me and some of

which I was unable to identify even with the help of the bibliography of Norwegian folklore in Paul's *Grundriss*², II, 1, 1169 ff.

SWEDEN: **55**, Kahle, "Aus schwedischem Volksglauben," *Zs. d. V. f. Vk.*, X, 198. It is presumably taken from Wigström, "Folketro ock sägner," *Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen ock svenskt folklif*, VIII, 3 (Nos. 61, 65, 1898, 1899), but he gives no reference; **56**, H. Hofberg, *Svenska Folksägner* (Stockholm, 1882), pp. 109-11, "Kisse i Norrhult" (Östergötland); cf. notes, p. 213. The review by A. Ramm (*Svenska landsmålen*, II, cxvii) adds nothing; **57**, E. T. Kristensen, *Danske Sagn*, Århus, 1892, I, 436-37, No. 1403 (Feilberg equates this with "Hazel," V, 25," which I have not identified. Although the scene of Kristensen's story is Sweden, it seems to have been collected in Denmark); ***58**, Feilberg (*Jul*, II, 323-24) cites Rääf, I, 55, which may perhaps be L. F. Rääf, *Samlingar och Anteckningen til en Beskrefning öfter ydre Härad i Östergötland*, Linköping, 1856.

SCOTLAND: **59**, Gregor, "Kelpie Stories from the North of Scotland," *Folk-Lore Journal*, I, 293.

ESTHONIA: **60**, O. Kallas, "Achtzig Märchen der Ljutziner Esten," pp. 385-86, No. 70, "Der Gehörnte und der Bär" (cf. summary in German, p. 173) in *Verhandlungen der estnischen Gesellschaft*, XX and separately.

FINLAND: **61-100**, Aarne, *FF Communications*, V, No. 1161 (cites 39 MS variants, of which one has been published in Finnish; it is inaccessible); **100-106**, Hackmann, *FF Communications*, VI, No. 1161 (cites 8 variants from Swedes in Finland; the two following are accessible); **107**, Åberg, *Nyländska Folksagor* (*Nyland*, II [Helsingfors, 1887]), pp. 6-7, No. 4, "Om tontn bjiörn"; **108**, Allardt and Perklén, *Nyländska Folksagor och -Sägner* (*Nyland*, VI [Helsingfors, 1896]), p. 75, No. 74, "Spöki."

The outline which has already been given of the Middle High German version will serve as a basis for remarks on the tale as a whole. Almost every later version has, to be sure, some peculiar, though often insignificant, trait of its own. In some cases it is apparent that these variations are changes which do not always improve the story; but since it would require an undue amount of space to discuss them all, I shall touch upon only the more significant. The nature of these peculiarities will perhaps be exhibited most clearly if we consider in succession the differences in the scene of the combat and in the figures of the victor and the vanquished, as the story is related by its different narrators.

Two places are mentioned as the scene of the conflict: a farmer's house (stable, etc.), and a mill. Of these the former is obviously

the earlier, for it occurs in the most widely scattered variants. The mill is found in nearly half the total number of variants; but these, with the single exception of the Scotch tale (Variant 59),¹ come only from Central Europe, from German, Wendish, and Bohemian sources. And even there the predominance of the mill as the scene is not unchallenged, for the farmer's house or stable appears in stories from Bavaria, Carinthia, Prussia, and elsewhere in Central Europe. Owing no doubt to the nocturnal habits of the miller and to the strange noises which issue from a mill, mills have come in German popular tales to be a center for all mysterious and uncanny acts and creatures. The localization at a mill as a later development of our story might for this reason be expected.

Concerning the "hero" of the tale, the bear, there is some divergence of opinion among the narrators. The readiest source of incoherency lies in the storyteller's recollection that the tale was to end with a threatening and false allusion to a number of bears. Consequently we find in several cases² that this recollection has suggested the introduction at the beginning of the story of several bears which take part in the scuffle. This trait cannot be original; in the earliest form of the story there must have been only one bear. Only if it were tame—some variants call it a "Tanzbär"—could it be brought to the haunted house for the adventure with the cobold. The tameness is overemphasized in a story from the Palatinate (Variant 11) in which a traveling journeyman³ who had with him "three bears as dogs"(!) offers to spend the night in the haunted place. The proper owner of a bear of this sort is a mime, and a development of this figure led to the substitution of apes,⁴ which such players often kept, for the bear. A dog takes the place of the bear in a Carinthian tale (Variant 32) because it is characteristically the animal which drives away unwelcome guests, and an entirely independent Norwegian version (Variant 45) has a "white dog" as its hero instead

¹ For convenience the variants will be cited by their numbers in the list above.

² Variants 7, 11, 14, 17, 23, 24.

³ Apparently the journeyman was more familiar than the travelling comedian in the capacity of a wanderer. The duplication of persons (travelling journeyman and bear-leader) which we find in Variant 2 is probably due to contamination, as Laistner (*Rätsel*, II, 16) suggests.

⁴ Variant 29; cf. Variants 16 (circus-man has bear and ape) and 31 (bear, ape, and dog).

of the usual polar bear.¹ On the other hand, the replacement of the bear by a boar, as in the Scotch tale (Variant 59), has no apparent cause, and does not commend itself. A story from Kreis Neustadt in Polish Upper Silesia (Variant 19) is completely disorganized by the substitution of a cat for the bear—a change suggested by the repartee which usually concludes the story.²

And also concerning the bear's opponent the narrators are by no means in accord. He is called "Kobold" (Variant 10), "Schrätel,"³ "Männchen" (Variant 15), or with less definiteness "Schreckgespenst" (Variant 31) and "der Böse" (Variants 22, 60). Once or twice he (she) is said to be a forest-creature: "Holzfräulein" (Variant 12) and "der Wilde Mann" (Variant 32). The conception of such house-haunting monsters varies constantly; in the same district they are thought of now as friendly and now as hostile guests.⁴ It is not always clear even to the narrator whether they are in origin forest- or water-demons, or whether they are more closely attached to the house and to man. In the former case they are likely to be strong, hostile, and dangerous; in the latter, weak, friendly, and helpful. Of course the story of *Schrätel und Wasserbär* implies,

¹ This is one of three variants collected in Norway by Storaker and Fuglestad (Variants 45-47) which exhibit an increasing degeneration ending in the complete destruction of the story. Variant 45 makes the substitution as noted above, yet the trolls ask a year later whether the "cat" is still in the house; Variant 46 finds the confusion of a dog with a cat even by a troll improbable and has the troll ask whether the "white dog" is still there. Finally Variant 47 leaves out the dog entirely, consequently also the question and answer about the "cat," and has in common with the others only a curious dialogue between the hunter and the trolls, which is as follows. Just as the leader of the trolls fills his glass the hunter cries, "Here's a draught for you, Sven Trone!" and fires a shot at him. The last of these three variants is reduced to this episode alone; in other words, we are no longer dealing with the original story. But it is plain, I think, that this corruption is the result of the substitution of a dog for the bear.

² It is intelligible only by comparison with better-preserved forms, as this summary shows: Two water-demons came to the now half-ruined mill near Mochau in order to cook fish before the fire. A cat stole their fish from them, and at its second attempt they beat it. The enraged cat then sprang into their faces; and since that time they have not been seen in the mill.

³ A small elf; see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*⁴, p. 396. A glossary of 1506 says: "Lemures sunt fantastica nocturnalina schrätel"; cf. Weinhold, *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, VIII, 446.

⁴ Cf. Grimm, *op. cit.*, ch. xvii, "Wichte und Elbe." The fullest recent discussion is that of H. F. Feilberg, "Der Kobold in nordischer Ueberlieferung," *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, VIII (1898), 1 ff., 130 ff., 264 ff. For a generously documented study which makes plain the capricious variations of the folk's conceptions of these creatures see Kittredge, "The Friar's Lantern and Friar Rush," *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XV (1900), 415-41, and especially pp. 430 ff. The "Bieresel" is usually a friendly creature something like the English brownie, but in a Low German version of our story (Variant 3) it is unmistakably hostile and pugnacious; cf. Laistner, *Rätsel*, II, 18.

indeed requires, pugnacity on the part of the bear's opponent; but notwithstanding this, the story has been transferred to the gentle house-elf in a few variants. It is quite evident on the slightest reflection, however, that this transfer is due to the wavering and uncertain ideas of the folk concerning such creatures. The friendliness of the water-demon in the following tale from Polish Upper Silesia (Variant 17)—characteristic rather of the house-elf than of the water-demon as a species¹—illustrates the point:

The narrator's grandmother owned the "Mittelmühle" at Sohran where the water-demon ("Wassermann") dwelt. In the evening he often came into the mill and warmed himself at the stove. He also received things to eat, and out of gratitude he set the mill going and ground in an hour or two as much flour as the miller could in a week. He liked to drink milk and often went into the cow-stable to milk the cows. Once a bear-leader spent the night in the mill. The bears were locked in the cow-stable and the cows were put elsewhere. At night the water-demon came to milk the cows. Since he knew nothing of the removal, he went in among the bears. They beat him so badly that he did not venture to return. Rising from the river, he asked the people of the mill a few days later: "Miller, miller, are the cats still here?" and was answered, "No, no, for they have gone away."²

The story is really left hanging in the air; apparently the water-demon does not return in spite of the implied hope that he will.

In a story from North Germany (Variant 4) the narrator has partially adapted his story to the nature of the house-elf, but with the same injury to its effectiveness as was evident in the preceding instance:

The bear-leader and his bear stop for the night at a mill. With peaceful intent "där Roetjeckije" comes in late at night, makes a fire, and begins to roast meat. The bear smells the smoke of the cooking, goes to the stove, and puts its paw on the dish. The frightened cobold screams and rushes out to hide itself in a pile of twigs. Four weeks later it stops the miller in a wood and asks, "Jssen där met sine grote Ouen un Poten un met sinen langen

¹ Cf. Golther, *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie*, pp. 145 ff.

² Question and answer are in Polish; the remainder in German.

Pelz noch doa?" The miller says yes, and that it has seven young—which scares Roetjeckije away permanently.

It is not easy to see why Roetjeckije was not driven away long before if his presence had become burdensome; and the same remark applies to "Der furchtsame Waldmann" (Variant 32), which is as follows:

The "Wilde Mann" cried, "Lena, give me some barley." Then he came to the peasant-woman to whom he had called and ate all the barley she gave him. Once she set a shaggy dog on him and he took flight. When he later repeated his cry, the peasant-woman said he should come and get the barley. He answered, "I am coming; but do you still have that bad cat?"

Most remarkable of these broken-down versions is one from Central Germany (Variant 9), in which there is no conflict at all. The miller realizes the value of the "schlaazla" to him and drives away the bear before any harm is done. Here then the corruption of the story is complete:

A bear-keeper spends the night in a mill; he ties his bear inside. When the "schlaazla" enter the mill at night and begin to sweep up the meal, they come upon the bear and it claws them. Then they cry to the miller that he should put out his "black cat," or they will not come again. He rises and puts out the bear.

The Danish and Norwegian have usually a number of trolls as the invaders of the house.¹ This is probably not original, but is due to a Scandinavian preference for bands of trolls rather than monsters which appear singly.² Such a multiplication of the bear's enemies is not in keeping with the story, which is to end in a dialogue; but the Norse versions escape any complications by having one troll speak for the group. In a Swedish tale (Variant 55) the representative of the group is slightly differentiated from the other trolls; since this story has certain curious features of its own it is worth summarizing:

A huge troll-woman and a host of smaller trolls haunted a room from which a man and a bear drove them. Generations later a

¹ The variant from Fyen, Denmark (33) is the only exception to this rule; in it the house is haunted every night by one troll.

² It is also characteristic of these Norse visitors that they appear on Christmas Eve; such a restriction to a particular night is not found in the other variants.

monstrous woman asks a wood-chopper, "Is the big cat in Norrholt still alive?" Fortunately he knows of the conflict from tradition and has sufficient presence of mind to guess what the words "big cat" mean. So he answers, "Yes, she is lying on the stove and has seven young, all worse than she is." The troll-woman cries for protection at the very mention of the bear, but cannot call on God.¹ Then she turns away and in so doing shows the hollow back that these forest-women often have.

Here the forest-woman has been made conspicuous as the leader of the trolls and she is therefore the logical person to take part in the dialogue.² Only a few of the Central European variants³ speak of more than one haunting monster. A tale from the Harz (Variant 13) exhibits a confusing corruption which springs in part from the augmentation of the bear's enemies:

An old soldier, having asked and received permission to spend the night in a mill which the miller had found untenable, settles himself comfortably by the stove and lights his pipe. At midnight a troop of dwarfs come in and set the table with gold and silver dishes which at once fill themselves with food. Then six appear who bear their king, Hibich, on a litter. Hardly has Hibich sat down when he smells the scent of tobacco; and following his orders, his men attack the intruder with golden knives and forks. But a few blows of the soldier's stick drive them all out in such haste that they forget to take their precious utensils with them. Some of these the old man sells and some he keeps to supply him with food. On the morning after this adventure miller and soldier are sitting in the mill when they hear three knocks on the window and a voice inquires, "Miller, do you still have your bad cat?" To this the ready-witted soldier replies, "Yes, she has twelve young every night." Thenceforth peace prevails in the mill.

¹ Only in this matter of the troll's inability to utter the divine name—a wholly inessential point so far as our story is concerned—are the tales cited in Kahle's note parallel; cf. *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, X, 198, n. 1.

² The lapse of several generations between the visits of the troll is found only in this tale; elsewhere the interval is much shorter and varies from one day to seven years. In fact, a Danish version (Variant 36) goes to the opposite extreme by having the repartee take place on the very same night as the conflict.

³ A North German story (Variant 7) has dwarfs, and a Wendish one (Variant 24), three nixes.

It is quite obvious from the dwarf's query that the real hero of the combat, the bear, has been wholly forgotten¹ by the narrator, who is not even conscious of his omission when he comes to the question about the "cat."

In the variants which have been discussed the bear's opponent has been thought of as a land-creature; but there are many instances in which he is called a water-demon of some sort: Nix, Wassermann, Hastrmann, or kelpie. It seems probable that, as the story was told again and again, a demand for greater definiteness in the descriptions of the participants made itself felt. Since the scene, owing to a similar effort to gain vividness, had been localized in a mill, it was natural to conceive the haunting monster as rising from the water. That it was from the first a water-demon seems less likely; in each district the prevailing type of haunting monster would be introduced into the story, as we have already seen, for example, in the case of the Norse trolls. The figure of the "Nix" or "Wassermann" is a more colorful one than that of the cobold, and the descriptions of it are often remarkably vivid. The monster dripping with water brings fish or frogs to roast in the mill. It is seen in the mill-dam, and its appearance is often associated with some disorder in the workings of the mill: the wheels stop turning and the water ceases to flow.

There are two versions which are of particular interest as containing certain märchen elements. In a story from Schleswig-Holstein (Variant 2) the haunted mill burns down every seven years. On the eve of the conflagration the miller says to a wandering journeyman, "If the mill doesn't burn while you are in it to-night, then I will give it to you and you shall have my daughter besides," which recalls "my daughter and half my kingdom" of the märchen. A Bohemian tale (Variant 28) contains almost exactly this last phrase and is interesting enough to justify a summary:

A hard-hearted, dishonest miller owned a mill near the city of Moldautain on the right bank of the Moldau. Before long the report became current that the mill was haunted. The miller repented of

¹ This lapse of memory has already been noticed by Sprenger, *Zs. f. d. Ph.*, XXVIII, 429. E. H. Meyer (*Mythologie der Germanen* [Strassburg, 1902], p. 186) fails to see that Pröhle's tale is merely a corruption of *Schrädel und Wasserbär* and consequently misinterprets it.

his thefts, but it was too late. Just as he was on the point of abandoning the mill a comedian with apes and parrots begged quarters for the night. The miller warned him of the danger, saying, "No one has been able to drive the monster away, although I have offered the half of my wealth to such a man." The comedian declared his willingness to stay, especially in view of the miller's offer. He then made himself comfortable in the mill. At eleven o'clock two feet appeared through the ceiling; at quarter past, a hand; at half past, another; at quarter to twelve, the body. On the stroke of midnight the wheels stopped, the water rushed more violently, a head with long green hair fell in, and the parts united to form a "Hastrmann" who sprang about and threatened the comedian. The latter sent one ape after another against the demon until it fled in defeat. In the morning he informed the miller of the situation, collected his reward, and went on this way. One evening the "Hastrmann" knocked on the window and asked, "Do you still have the cat?" The miller answered, "Yes, I have her and six young ones besides." "Then I shall never again enter your mill."

The most curious feature in this story is the piecemeal entrance of the "Hastrmann." This mode of entrance¹ is found in an episode of the "Fürchten lernen" cycle (Grimm, *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, No. 4). "Fürchten lernen" tells the adventures of a youth who seeks to learn what fear (or shuddering) is. He undergoes a variety of terrifying trials without success, until finally his wish is satisfied by some unexpected, yet ordinary happening, such as a sudden ducking in cold water. One of these trials is usually the spending of three nights in a haunted house and on one of them a demon appears in the fashion just described. The episode of the stay in the haunted house as it is found in the *märchen* has a remote analogy to the theme of *Schrätel und Wasserbär*; this similarity may have suggested the borrowing of a particular motif. In a Swedish tale from Finland (Variant 108) the spook says on entering the hut,

¹ For parallels see Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, I, 30, n. 1; MacPhail, *Folk-Lore*, IX, 88; Begbie, *Supernatural Illusions*, II (1858), 10; Sébillot, *Rev. des trad. pop.*, IX, 172; *Journal of Am. Folklore*, XII, 64-65; Parsons, *ibid.*, XXX, 195, n. 2, 217; G. Graber, *Sagen aus Kärnten* (Leipzig, 1914), p. 173, No. 228, "Fall äbe"; *Zs. f. öst. Vlk.*, VII, 198, No. 32; and a singularly gruesome example in Seymour and Neligan, *True Irish Ghost Stories*, p. 234.

"Puff, puff, it smells of Christian blood here"; the phrase is familiar in märchen.¹

The Swedish "Kisse i Norrhult" (Variant 56) is noteworthy for the fact that it contains an incident from a totally different cycle of tales. The essential portion of the story is as follows:

Seven years after the trolls have been driven out from a house in Norrhult, a man from that village is walking home from Norrköping when he is stopped by a stranger on a black horse who asks him to mount and ride. He does so, and notices before long that they are not riding on the highroad but high in the air. When the horse stumbles the stranger explains that its foot had struck Linköping church steeple. The stranger asks about the "cat" in Norrhult, and is assured that it is still alive and the mother of many young. The troll, for the stranger is of course one, lets his companion dismount and then rides off.

It is quite unnecessary for the story to continue, as it does, with the visit of another troll to Norrhult and the usual dialogue; the retention of the ordinary conclusion shows that this episode of the aerial ride is an insertion into the story. The episode of the man borne home through the air by a troll (or the devil) is a familiar one in the story of Henry the Lion and in similar tales in which the long-lost husband reappears just at the moment when his wife is about to marry again.²

Since the Middle High German poem, the story of *Schrätel und Wasserbär* has received no literary treatment until 1817, when it appeared, under the title of "Die Katzenmühle bei Buchholz," in E. W. A. Ziehnert's collection of *Sachsens Volkssagen* (Variant 22). Ziehnert was an industrious versifier of local story, but his literary ability hardly rose above mediocrity. His aim was to give the tales of the old chroniclers and of popular tradition a permanent form which should at the same time preserve the flavor of the original and heighten "den oft hartnäckigen und wenig ergiebigen Stoff durch das Colorit der Phantasie." What he has actually done with this

¹ Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen*, I, 289-92.

² For a discussion of this type of story see W. Splettstösser, *Der heimkehrende Gatte und sein Weib in der Wellitteratur*. There is a good collection of such stories (from Denmark) in Kristensen, *Danske Sagn*, I, 410-417, § 81, Ridd med bjærgmanden.

story is to dilute the brief folk-tale—which for its effectiveness depends a great deal on its brevity—into twenty-three 7-line stanzas; and although he says it is told "von mehreren Chroniken," he is obviously acquainted with it only as a popular tale. The first stanza is characteristic of his "style" and of his leisurely manner:

Man sagt wohl oft: "Vor weisen Männern
hat auch der Teufel selbst Respect."
Und doch lass' ich mir's nicht bestreiten,
dass er sogar den weisen Leuten
schon oftmals unter's Dach geheckt,
und folgende Geschichte lehrt,
dass er sich nicht an Weisheit kehrt.

He continues: The miller at Buchholz usually did not pay very close attention when grinding corn, and although he was no doubt an honest man, he was soon able to buy the mill and build an adjoining stable.¹ Hardly was the stable finished when the Evil One appeared in it and drove out the miller's asses. Since they would not re-enter their stalls, the miller generously took them into his house. The devil was left in the stable, where he often made more noise than the miller in the mill. This state of affairs continued until a night when two men with two bears asked for quarters. Although the stable was haunted, they did not refuse the miller's offer of it for their beasts. During the night the devil came and the ensuing conflict awakened the miller and his guests, who rushed out just as the bears were victorious. Ziehnert's description of this scene shows his efforts at humor and his predilection for foreign words:

Sie gehn hinaus, und sehn—o Freude!
wie just der Teufel retirirt,
und sich—das war doch ohne Zweifel
recht eigentlich ein dummer Teufel!
aus seiner Wohnung fortskissirt.
Die Bäre hatten obgesiegt,
und waren wohlauf und vergnügt.

The story concludes with the return of the devil, the usual dialogue, and his flight.

¹ The haunting of the mill because the miller is dishonest appears also in Variant 28, summarized above, p. 65.

Higher than Ziehnert's quasi-literary version the story has not risen; but it is at least honored with brief mention in the work of a master. For Ibsen alludes to it in *Peer Gynt*, when a lad with a bear's skin says mockingly to Peer:

Look, the cat of the Dovrë! Well, only his fell,
It was he chased the trolls out on Christmas Eve.¹

But after all, the story of *Schrätel und Wasserbär* belongs to the folk. A Heine or a Burns might have given it the permanent form that Ziehnert sought; but its rough humor and imagination are characteristic of the common people.

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¹ V, iv (Archer's translation [1908], p. 221). H. Logemann (*A Commentary, Critical and Explanatory, on the Norwegian Text of Henrik Ibsen's "Peer Gynt," Its Language, Literary Associations and Folklore* [The Hague, 1917], p. 298, note on line 3833) summarizes the story as given by Asbjørnsen and Moe and makes reference to the important collection of variants in Feilberg, *Jul.*, II, 323-24. I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr. A. LeRoy Andrews for information about both of these books.

HERDER AS JARNO IN *WILHELM MEISTER*, BOOK III

Goethe's statement that he always had some definite person in mind for each of his characters, and his well-known use of certain incidents out of his own life for plots and of certain friends for characters, have given rise to much interesting speculation regarding these possible originals. The recent interest in the study of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* has taken a decided turn in that direction.¹ A re-reading of this novel has suggested a possible parallel between some phases of the relation of Jarno to *Wilhelm Meister* in Book III, and of Herder to Goethe in Strassburg. One must be careful not to draw the comparison out too far. It cannot be said that Goethe meant to give us in Jarno a picture of Herder as complete in detail as is the picture of himself in *Wilhelm Meister*, his "dramatic double." Nor can it be said that the Jarno of Book III corresponds to Herder on the whole. One would have to assume even more strained relations between Herder and Goethe at the time of the composition of this book, 1783-84, than actually existed, to think that Goethe would make such uncomplimentary use of his friend. But there is at any rate much more resemblance between Jarno and Herder than between Jarno and Karl August, a similarity which R. M. Meyer suggests.²

The main point of contact between the characters of Jarno and Herder is best shown by the reaction of Wilhelm Meister and Goethe upon meeting the older men. "Wilhelm . . . empfand gegen den Fremden, ob er gleich etwas Kaltes und Abstossendes hatte, eine gewisse Neigung."³ And Goethe says of Herder in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*: "Ich . . . ward immer mehr von ihm angezogen . . . seine Anziehungskraft wirkte immer stärker auf mich. . . . Es währte jedoch nicht lange, als der abstossende Puls seines Wesens eintrat und mich in nicht geringes Missbehagen versetzte."⁴ Just

¹ Cf. Eugen Wolff, *Mignon*, München, 1909; Hans Berendt, *Untersuchungen zur Entstehungsgeschichte von Wilhelm Meisters theatralischer Sendung*, Dortmund, 1910.

² R. M. Meyer, *Goethe* (Berlin, 1905), II, 417.

³ *Goethes Werke* (Weimar, 1898), XXI, 262.

⁴ *Ibid.* (Weimar, 1889), XXVII, 303-4.

how important a trait of Herder's character this repellent element was, the following passage from Haym's life of Herder will serve to show:

Noch alle Freunde Herders, die ihm so nahe standen, dass er sich ihnen gegenüber gehen lassen konnte, hatten diesen "abstossenden Pol seines Wesens" erfahren. . . . Nur natürlich aber, dass Goethe dieses Anziehen und Abstossen mehr als ein anderer erfuhr, denn der junge, bisher noch von jedermann verzogene Heisspohn gab ohne Zeifel in Aeusserungen und Betragen dem älteren, reiferen Manne gar mancherlei Blößen.¹

Although most of the evidence of this phase of Goethe's relation to Herder is found in *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, the following extract from a letter, written toward the end of the year 1771, gives ample contemporaneous evidence of the same state of affairs:

Vor wenigen Tagen hab' ich Sie recht aus vollem Herzen umfasst, als säh' ich Sie wieder und hörte Ihre Stimme. . . . Ich kann nicht läugnen, dass sich in meine Freude ein bisschen Hundereminiscenz mischte, und gewisse Striemen zu jucken anfangen, wie frisch verheilte Wunden bei Veränderung des Wetters.²

The relation in both instances was disturbed by considerable adverse criticism from the older man. Herder did not hesitate at all to tell the young Goethe what he thought of his hobby of collecting seals, of his finely bound but unused library of classics, or of his immature enthusiasm for art. In *Dichtung und Wahrheit* Goethe writes: "Von diesem seinem Widersprechungsgeiste sollte ich noch gar manches ausstehen. . . . Herder konnte allerliebste einnehmend und geistreich sein, aber eben so leicht eine verdriessliche Seite hervorkehren."³ Goethe describes his state of mind in this same connection: "Indem nun also auf der einen Seite meine grosse Neigung und Verehrung für ihn, und auf der andern das Missbehagen, das er in mir erweckte, beständig mit einander im Streit lagen, so entstand ein Zwiespalt in mir, der erste in seiner Art, den ich in meinem Leben empfunden hatte."⁴ And Jarno criticizes quite in the same tone everything that is dear to Wilhelm Meister: his preference for the French drama, his enthusiasm for the castle

¹ R. Haym, *Herder* (Berlin, 1880-85), I, 394.

² *Goethes Werke* (Weimar, 1887), Abt. IV, Vol. II, p. 12.

³ *Ibid.* (Weimar, 1889), XXVII, 305-6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 307-8.

theater and troupe of players, and his interest in Mignon and the harper. Wilhelm Meister finds in himself the same inner discord that Goethe had experienced: "Die letzten Worte Jarnos klangen noch in seinen Ohren. Ihm war unerträglich, das Paar menschlicher Wesen,¹ das ihm unschuldigerweise seine Neigung abgewonnen hatte, durch einen Mann, den er so sehr verehrte, so tief heruntergesetzt zu sehen."²

The relation of Jarno to Wilhelm Meister is like that of Herder to Goethe in intellectual as well as in personal matters. The older men, while thoroughly versed in German literature, have a decided preference for the English; both convince their younger friends of the inferiority of the French classical drama by introducing them to a study and an appreciation of Shakespeare, and the young men are inspired by the same boundless enthusiasm for the English poet. There is a striking resemblance between Goethe's ideas on Shakespeare, borrowed largely from Herder and expressed in his "Rede zu Shakespeares Tag," and the impression which Wilhelm Meister gains from reading Shakespeare. They are attracted alike by the deeper truth contained in these "books of fate" in comparison with the French rationalistic drama; they feel, without being able to understand or define, Shakespeare's intimate portrayal of the whole range of character, his handling of historic forces, an irresistible power in the action, and an organic connection between action and character, which they had not found in the French drama. To them Shakespeare was more true to nature than was life itself. All these correspondences strengthen the assumption that Goethe had Herder and himself in mind when he wrote this part of the novel.

Again, Jarno is the first person who really impresses Wilhelm Meister with a sense of his own intellectual inferiority. The Wilhelm who had always been the leader in this circle, who had never yielded a point to anyone, now recognizes a superior in his line from whom he has something to learn: "Er hätte gern mit diesem Manne noch vieles gesprochen, der ihm, wiewohl auf eine unfreundliche Art, neue Ideen gab, Ideen, deren er bedurfte."³ A letter from Strassburg at

¹ Mignon and the harper.

² *Goethes Werke* (Weimar, 1898), XXI, 313.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

this time shows how deeply Goëthe felt this inferiority to Herder and his dependence upon him at this time:

Herder, Herder, bleiben Sie mir, was Sie mir sind. Bin ich bestimmt, Ihr Planet zu sein, so will ichs sein, es gern, es treu sein. Ein freundlicher Mond der Erde. Aber das—fühlen Sie's ganz—dass ich lieber Mercur sein wollte, der letzte, der kleinste vielmehr unter siebenen, der sich mit Ihnen um eine Sonne drehte, als der erste unter fünfen, die um den Saturn ziehn. Adieu, lieber Mann. Ich lasse Sie nicht los. Ich lasse Sie nicht! Jacob rang mit dem Engel des Herrn. Und sollt' ich lahm drüber werden!¹

And while the account of this incident in *Dichtung und Wahrheit* lacks, of course, the emotional element of the letter just quoted, it bears substantial evidence to the very same fact:

Ich blieb auch wohl ganze Tage bei ihm und gewöhnte mich in Kurzem um so mehr an sein Schelten und Tadeln, als ich seine schönen und grossen Eigenschaften, seine ausgebreiteten Kenntnisse, seine tiefen Einsichten täglich mehr schätzen lernte. . . . Und da ich ihn für das anerkannte was er war, da ich dasjenige zu schätzen suchte was er schon geleistet hatte, so musste er eine grosse Superiorität über mich gewinnen. Aber behaglich war der Zustand nicht: denn ältere Personen, mit denen ich bisher umgegangen, hatten mich mit Schonung zu bilden gesucht, vielleicht auch durch Nachgiebigkeit verzogen; von Herdern aber konnte man niemals eine Billigung erwarten, man mochte sich anstellen wie man wollte.²

He speaks again and again of the great advantages of this intercourse with Herder:

Da seine Gespräche, jederzeit bedeutend waren, er mochte fragen, antworten oder sich sonst auf eine Weise mittheilen, so musste er mich zu neuen Ansichten täglich, ja stündlich befördern. . . . Nun wurde ich auf einmal durch Herder mit allem neuen Streben und mit allen den Richtungen bekannt, welche dasselbe zu nehmen schien.³

And an even greater acknowledgment of indebtedness is contained in the following passage:

Was die Fülle dieser wenigen Wochen betrifft, welche wir zusammen lebten, kann ich wohl sagen, dass alles, was Herder nachher allmählich ausgeführt hat, im Keim angedeutet ward, und dass ich dadurch in die glückliche Lage gerieth, alles was ich bisher gedacht, gelernt, mir zugeeignet hatte, zu complettiren, an ein Höheres anzuknüpfen, zu erweitern.⁴

¹ *Goethes Werke* (Weimar, 1887), Abt. IV, Vol. I, p. 264.

² *Ibid.* (Weimar, 1889), XXVII, 307.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 308.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 313.

A paragraph at the close of chapter eight of Book III of *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, which describes the place that Jarno occupies in the development of Wilhelm, fits the case of Herder and Goethe so exactly that one is forced to consider it a direct allusion:

Der Mensch kommt manchmal, indem er sich einer Entwicklung seiner Kräfte, Fähigkeiten und Begriffe nähert, in eine Verlegenheit, aus der ihm ein guter Freund leicht helfen könnte. Er gleicht einem Wanderer, der nicht weit von der Herberge ins Wasser fällt; griffe jemand sogleich zu, risse ihn ans Land, so wäre es um einmal nass werden gethan, anstatt dass er sich wohl selbst, aber am jenseitigen Ufer, heraushilft und einen beschwerlichen weiten Umweg nach seinem bestimmten Ziele zu machen hat.¹

So extensive and exact a correspondence between the relation of these two characters to one another and the relation of Goethe to Herder during the Strassburg period can hardly be a matter of chance.

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¹ *Ibid.* (Weimar, 1898), XXI, 290-91.



THE IE. ROOT **QĒU-*: 'NUERE, NUTARE, CEVERE;
QUATERE, CUDERE; CUBARE, INCUMBERE.' I

A large group of words, in form and meaning easily derivable from one stock, may be referred to a common IE. root **qēu-* (or **qēuē-*), which seems to denote primarily a motion back and forth, up and down, whence a great variety of derived meanings with all their connotations. Even in prehistoric times this family of words had spread over the IE. world. Like all families, its members have not only been blended within its own limits but have also been crossed with other groups from without, so that many of its offspring can no longer claim a pure descent, and others, though deserving, cannot prove it. The records certainly, if properly interpreted, would admit to full membership some whom all exclude and bar others whose claim is now unquestioned. And these records, older and more enduring than Babylonian brick or Egyptian stone, have more interest for us than the dreams of fancy; for in them are revealed the hidden processes of the mind, the unconscious cerebrations, the very reflex in man to the outside world in all that goes to make up his life: his pains and pleasures, work and play, failures and strivings, grovelings and aspirations.

For the root here discussed cf. especially Berneker, *Slav. Et. Wb.*, I, 645, 679 ff. The main words there given are put under Nos. 1, 2, and 3, to which are added others. The meanings found in these words recur again and again in other bases of the form **qēuax-*. There is at least no formal or semantic reason why we should not derive them from the same primitive root.

Though this article is intended mainly to throw light upon Germanic etymologies, each group of words is treated from the IE. viewpoint, the only possible way of making a connected and unified whole.

1. Lat. *cēvēre* 'move the haunches; flatter, fawn,' OBulg. *po-kyvati* 'κινέιν, σαλεύειν, nicken, den Kopf schütteln'; Russ. *kivat* 'winken, nicken, heben und senken,' LRuss. *kývaty* 'wackeln, nicken, 331]

schütteln, winken,' Czech. *kývati* 'winken, nicken, wedeln, bewegen, schütteln,'—*se* 'wanken, schwanken,' Pol. *kiwać* 'hin und her bewegen, wedeln, nicken,'—*się* 'wanken, wackeln, schwanken,' *kinąć* 'nicken, schwingen' (cf. Berneker, *Slav. Et. Wb.*, 679 f. with lit.), to which add Gr. *κυνέω* ('fawn upon, fondle'), 'kiss; bill (of doves),' *προσκυνέω* 'do obeisance or homage, prostrate one's self before; worship, adore,' *πρόσκυνες* 'flatterers, fawners' (later associated with *κύων* 'dog'), and Av. *fra-*, *apa-kavō* 'vorn, hinten buckelig.'

2. Closely related to these are the following words, used for the most part in a figurative sense: Lith. *kuvētis* (sich ducken) 'sich schämen,' Lett. *kāuns* 'Scham, Schande, Schmach,' *kāunētis* 'sich schämen, blöde sein,' Goth. *hauns* 'niedrig, demütig,' *haunjan* 'niedrig machen,' OHG. *hōnen* 'höhnern,' OE. *hēan* 'abject, humiliated; of low rank, mean; poor,' *hēnan* 'fell, strike down; bring to subjection; humble, humiliate; ill-treat, afflict; insult,' Gr. *καυνός*· *κακός*, *σκληρός* (Zupitza, *Gutt.*, 110 with lit.), Slovak. *o-kúňat' sa* 'zaudern, zögern, sich schämen,' Czech. *o-kouněti se* 'zaudern, tändeln, zögern,' Serb.-Cr. *kúnjati* 'schlummern, bes. sitzend und mit dem Kopf nickend; kränkeln,' LRuss. *kuńáty* 'nicken, hocken, schläfrig, saumselig sein' (Berneker, 645), OE. *hwōn* 'little, few, some,' *sb.* 'a little.'

Here also belong, from the base **qǔ-ǵo-*, *qǔēi-*, *qǔōi-*: Lith. *kvaĩlas*, *kvailūs* 'dumm, stumpfsinnig,' Lat. *vīlis* 'low, base, mean, vile; low in value, of little worth,' Lith. *kvaĵė* 'eine krumme, niedrige,' schlechte Fichte,' NE. *whin* 'furze, gorse,' Norw. dial. *kvein*, 'dünner Grashalm'; NE. *whit* 'a-little, a particle'; OE. *gehwāde* (Germ. *ai* or *ē*?) 'slight, small, young': LRuss. *kujáty* 'hocken, säumen,' etc. For a similar development in meaning cf. No. 14a.

3. Serb.-Cr.-ChSl. *po-kymati* 'nuere,' 'nod,' Slov. *kímati* idem, Russ. dial. *kímát* 'schlafen' (Berneker, 680): Norw. dial. *hūmen* 'krybende sammen, af ildebefindende el. kulde,' 'hunched up, cowering with cold or illness,' *hýma* 'være vranten; være døsigt osv.,' 'be sullen; be dumpish, doze,' *huma* 'staa raadløs og ørkesløs; være ufrisk, slap, mat, døsigt, sløv, blive sløv af alder,' 'lop around, dawdle, be or become limp, feeble, stale,' etc., *humen* 'limp, weak, as after overexertion or spree; weak with age; heavy and damp (of air),' OE. *hēamol* (small, mean) 'miserly, frugal,' Skt. *kōmala-h* 'zart,

weich,’ *kumārā-h* ‘Kind, Knabe.’ Here also probably Gr. *κῶμα* (**q̥ōm̥*) ‘a deep sleep,’ *κωμοῦσθαι* ‘fall into a deep or sickly sleep.’

4. LRuss. *kúlyty*, *s-kúlyty* *śa* ‘sich zusammenziehen vor Kälte u.s.w.,’ *za-kúlyty* ‘lähmen, krümmen,’ WhiteR. *kulác* *śa* ‘sich tief verneigen,’ Pol. *kulić* ‘zusammenziehen, krümmen,’—*się* ‘sich zusammenrollen,’ *kulawy* ‘hinkend, lahm,’ *kuleć*, ‘hinken’ (cf. Berneker, 642), Gr. *κόλαξ* (**q̥olak-* ‘stooper, cringer’) ‘flatterer, fawner,’ *κολακεία* ‘a cringing, fawning.’

Here belong, from ‘bent, rounded, curved: bunch, hump,’ the following: Gr. *κῆλη*, *κᾶλη* (**q̥əḷelā*) ‘tumor: hernia,’ ChSl. *kyla* ‘hernia,’ Russ. *kilá* idem; ‘Knorren am Baum,’ *kilunǎ* ‘Bruchkranker; unversehnittener Eber,’ Serb.-Cr. *kila* ‘Bruch; Auswuchs an einem Baum,’ ON. *haull* ‘hernia,’ OE. *hēala*, OLG. *hōla* idem (**q̥əul-*): Ir. *cúl* (**q̥ūlo-*) ‘Rücken,’ Welsh *cil* ‘tergus, tergum,’ Corn. *chil* cervix: Lat. *culcita* ‘bolster, pillow,’ Skt. *kūrcā-h* ‘Bündel, Ballen, Büschel’; Czech *kulhati* ‘hinken,’ Pol. *kulgać*, *kulhać* idem (Berneker, 642): Lat. *valgus* ‘bent, wry; bow-legged,’ OE. *hylec* ‘bend, turn,’ *gehylced* ‘spread out, diverging,’ NE. dial. Shetl. *holk* ‘hump, humpback,’ *vb.* ‘walk bent or humped up; hobble, limp.’

The following related words may come from the same primary meaning, or from ‘bent in, hollow,’ in reference to the hollow bones or stalks: Skt. *kulyam* ‘Knochen,’ Gr. *καυλός* (**q̥əulos*) ‘stalk, stem, shaft, quill,’ Lat. *caulis* idem, Lith. *káulas* ‘Knochen,’ *kaulėlis* idem, ‘Steinchen aus den Früchten des Steinobstes; Knöchel am Fuss; Würfel,’ *kaulūtis* ‘der Stein einer Steinfrucht,’ Lett. *kauls* ‘Knochen; Stengel; Kern im Steinobste,’ *kauligs* ‘plump, ungeschickt,’ *kaulis* (in form like Lat. *caulis*) ‘ein plumper ungestalteter Gegenstand; ein Mensch, der alles plump und ungeschickt macht.’

Compare also the following, which may be genuine Slav. words: Russ. *kulǐ* ‘Sack, Mattensack; plumper Mensch,’ *kulén’a* ‘feister Mensch,’ White Russ. *kul’* ‘Sack als Mass, Bund wovon,’ LR. *kul’* ‘Bund Schilf; ausgedroschene Garbe; Plumpsack,’ Pol. *kul* ‘Bündel; Säckchen am Fischernetz,’ Serb.-Cr. *kǔlja* ‘Bauch, Wanst,’ *kǔljav* ‘dick, bauchig, schwanger’ (Berneker, 642): Skt. *kúvalam*, *kōlam* (bunch) ‘die Frucht von *zizyphus jujuba*,’ *kōlā-h* ‘Eber.’

From ‘bend: sink down, fall; be hollow,’ etc., come Skt. *kūlam* ‘Abhang, Ufer,’ *kulyā* ‘Graben, Kanal, Bach’; Lat. *cūlus* ‘die

Mündung des Mastdarms, das Loch,' *vallis* (**qʷalnis*) 'hollow (alarum, femorum); valley,' *vallessit* (sink, fall) 'perierit,' OHG. *hol* 'hohl,' *hol*, *hulī* 'Höhle,' ON. *holr* 'hollow,' *hol* 'hollow, cavity; the hollow part of the body,' OE. *hol* 'hollow, hole, cave, den,' *holian* 'hollow out,' Goth. *us-hulōn* 'aushöhlen,' *hulundi* 'Höhle,' Ir. *cuil* (**qūlī*-), Welsh *cil* 'secessus, recessus, fuga'; OE. *holh* 'hollow, hole'; *holc* 'hollow, cavity,' ME. *holk* 'hollow part,' *holken* 'hollow out, thrust out,' NE. *hulk* 'take out the entrails (of hare); in mining, take down or remove, as the softer part of a lode, before removing the harder part,' MLG. *holken* 'aushöhlen,' Swed. *hålka* idem; EFris. *holken*, *hölken*, 'hohl machen, aushöhlen,' *holke*, *hölke* 'kleine Vertiefung, Loch,' Norw. dial. *holka* 'a depression in the land.'

a) With the above compare **qēul*-, *qūēl*-, etc., in the following: NHG. Styr. *huletzen* 'schaukeln, hutscheln,' Lett. *kūletis* 'sich unruhig hin und her legen'; Gr. *κλινδω*, *κλινω* 'roll, roll along; pass. roll, wallow; wander': *κάλη* 'trot, amble,' OPruss. *po-quelbton* 'knieend,' ON. *holfenn* 'gewölbt,' *huelfa* 'wölben,' Swed. *hvälv* 'wölben; (um)wälzen; (um)kippen; umschlagen,' OE. *hwæalf* 'vaulted; hollow, concave,' *subst.* 'vault, arch,' *behwielfan* 'vault over, cover,' NE. dial. *hulve* 'turn over, turn upside down,' ME. *whelmen* 'turn,' *oferwhelmen* 'overwhelm,' OSwed. *hwælma*, Swed. *vålm* 'Henhaufen' (with *-lm-* from *-lbm-*, or compare Lat. *culmen*), NIce. *hwilft* 'hollow,' MLG. *welfte* 'Gewölbe,' Goth. *hwilftri* 'Sarg,' Gr. *κόλπος* 'curve, fold; bosom, lap; hollow, bay, creek; fistula.'

5. MHG. *hüren* 'kauern, zusammengebückt sitzen,' *behüren* 'knicken, zertreten; belästigen, überwältigen,' NHG. Swiss *hüren* 'kauern, geduckt sitzen,' *gehüren* 'sich ducken vor etwas, sich unterziehen,' MLG. *hurken* 'mit gebogenen Knien niederhocken,' Du. *hurken* 'squat,' *hurk* 'squatting posture,' NE. dial. *hurch* 'keep closely together, cuddle up,' *hurk* 'crouch, cower; stay idly in one place,' *hurkle* 'crouch, cower, stoop, squat down; huddle together,' ME. *hurkelen* 'hang down, overhang; nestle,' Gr. *καυρός* *κακός*, Skt. *kōra-h* 'bewegliches Gelenk,' *kūrpara-h* 'Ellbogen, Knie' (cf. author, *PBB*, XXIV, 529 f.; *MLN*, XIX, 2 f.), Gr. *καρπός* (**qurpos*) 'the joint of the arm and hand,' *καρπάλιμος* 'swift,' OHG. (*h*)*werfan*, (*h*)*werban* 'sich kreisförmig drehen, umrollen, sich wenden, zurückkehren, wandeln, sich bemügend erstreben; tr. rings bewegen,' OE.

hweorfan ‘turn, return; depart, wander, go; change, vary,’ *gehwierfan* ‘overturn, destroy; exchange, barter,’ Goth. *ƿairban* ‘wandeln,’ etc. (Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*, 62).

Compare Lat. *varius* (**q̥u̯rios*) ‘changing, various, different; parti-colored,’ *variāre* ‘change, vary; diversify, variegate, adorn’ (:OE. *hweorfan* ‘turn: change, vary’); Russ. *čurū* (turning-line, cross-balk, *limes*) ‘Grenze, Grenzscheide, Schranke, Rand, Mass,’ LRuss. *cúráty ša* ‘sich zurückziehen, sich absondern, meiden,’ Lith. *kiauras* (**q̥ēuros*) ‘hohl, löcherig,’ Lett. *zaurš* ‘was ein Loch hat, hohl ist,’ *zaurums* ‘Loch’ (‘hole’ from ‘give way,’ cf. No. 9); *kváryty* (overturn; tread down) ‘anrühren und dadurch verderben (von Haustieren und Kindern),’ Serb.-Cr. *kváriti* ‘verderben,’ *kvâr* ‘Beschädigung,’ *kváran* ‘verdorben,’ Slov. *kváriti* ‘beschädigen, verderben,’ *kvára* ‘Schade, Nachteil, Fehler,’ Slovak. *kváriť* ‘verderben, zehren, vermindern’: MHG. *behüren* ‘knicken, zertreten; belästigen, überwältigen,’ OE. *gehwierfan* ‘overturn, destroy.’

Here also, as well as to **qer-*, may belong Lat. *curvus* ‘crooked, bent, curved; winding (*flumen*); rising high (*mare*); bent, stooping,’ *curvāre* ‘crook, bend; make to yield, move,’ Gr. *κυρτός* ‘curved, bent, arched; convex; round (shoulders)’: Lat. *curtus* (contracted, shrunk) ‘diminished, shortened, short, defective.’

As in other words for ‘bend, incline, yield,’ so here develop the meanings ‘yielding, gentle, mild,’ etc., in ON. *hýrr* ‘sweet, smiling, mild,’ NÍcel. also ‘fuddled,’ *hýrast* ‘lie quiet, rest; be gladdened, brighten up,’ OE. *hīere* ‘safe, pleasant, good,’ MLG. *hüre* ‘sanft, lieblich, zart,’ MHG. *gehiure* ‘sanft, anmutig,’ OHG., OS. *unhiuri* ‘unheimlich, schrecklich,’ NHG. Swiss *gehür* ‘geheuer, sicher; ruhig, gemütlich; gebühlich, massvoll, mässig’ (in this sense compare *gehören, gehörig*).

6. ON. *hoka* ‘waver; sit or stand in a bent posture,’ ON., NÍcel. *hokinn* ‘bowed, bent,’ *húka* ‘squat, sit in a squatting posture,’ Swed. *huka*, Dan. *hüge*, Westf. *húken* ‘hocken, kauern, sitzen,’ MLG., MDu. *húken* ‘hocken, kauern,’ Du. *huiken* ‘ducken, kauern,’ MHG. *hüchen* idem, (über etwas) *hüchen* ‘darüber herfallen,’ NHG. Styr. *hauchen* ‘mit vorwärts hängendem Oberleibe und gebeugt gehen,’ Swiss *hücken* ‘niederkauern, von Hühnern; hinken; refl. sich ducken, still halten,’ *gehücken* ‘sich still halten, zufrieden geben,

sich unterziehen,' NE. *hotch* 'jerk, move awkwardly, jog along, limp, trot slowly and clumsily,' *hockle* 'hobble, shuffle along,' *huckle* 'stoop from weakness or age, crouch, go with a slow, halting pace,' Norw. *hykla* 'in gebückter Stellung unsicher und vorsichtig einhergehen,' ON. *hokra* 'hocken, kauern; kriechen,' Norw. *hokra* 'humpeln, hinken,' NE. dial. *hocker* 'clamber or scramble awkwardly over or up anything, walk awkwardly,' NHG. Styr. *hockern* 'zusammengekauert oder gebückt sitzen,' *hocketzen* 'hüpfen, springen,' Als. *hücklen* 'auf dem Eise in kauernde Stellung schleifen; sich setzen; hüpfen,' ON. *heykjask* 'zusammenkriechen, kauern,' Faroe *hoykja seg* 'sich setzen,' Norw. dial. *hauken* 'sammenfalden og sygelig udseende,' 'weak and sickly looking,' MDu. *hucken* 'unter einer Last gebeugt gehen,' NHG. *hocken* 'squat,' MDu., MLG. *hocke* 'Getreide- oder Heuhaufen, Hocke,' perhaps also OE. *hocc* 'mallow,' Skt. *kuñja-h* 'Laube, Gebüsch.'

With this group are compared Lith. *kúgis* 'grosser Heuhaufen,' *kaugė* 'Heuhaufen,' *kaugurė* 'kleiner, steiler Hügel,' Lett. *kaude* 'Aufhäufung; Schober' (cf. Zupitza, *Gutt.*, 110 with lit.). Here also, with the primary meaning 'bending, moving to and fro,' Lat. *vagus* 'roving, wandering, unsteady, wavering,' *vagor* 'wander, rove.'

7. Skt. *kucāti*, *kuñcatē* 'zieht sich zusammen, krümmt sich,' *kōcayati* 'zieht zusammen, verkürzt, verringert,' *kūcī* 'Pinsel,' *kuca-h* (bunch) 'weibliche Brust,' *kōca-h* 'Einschrumpfen'; Goth. *hūhjan* 'häufen, sammeln,' *hiuhma* 'Haufe, Menge,' *hauhs* 'hoch,' ON. *haugr* 'Hügel,' MHG. *houc* idem, NHG. *hügel* 'hill,' Swiss *hügen* 'hinken,' MHG. *hoger*, *hocker* 'Höcker, Buckel'; Serb.-Cr. *čučati* 'hocken, kauern,' Slovak. *čučeti* 'sich bergen,' Russ. *kúča* 'Haufen,' *kúčkať* 'zusammenballen, häufen,' Slov. *kúča* 'Büschel, Schopf, Quaste,' Russ. dial. *kúčeri* fem. pl. 'Locken,' Russ. *kúka* 'Faust,' Bulg. *kúka* 'Haken; Krücke,' Slov. *s-kúčiti* 'beugen,' Lith. *kúkis* 'Misthaken,' Lett. *kukurs* 'Höcker, Buckel,' *kákis* 'Zwerg,' Lith. *kaūkas* 'Beule; Zwerg, zwerghafter Geist,' *kaukarà* 'Hügel,' Upper Sorb. *kwačić* 'umbiegen, krümmen,' *kwaka* 'Haken; Joch, Kuppel der Zugtiere und zum Wassertragen,' Slov. *kváka* 'Haken; Klinke,' *kvěčiti* 'krümmen, biegen.' Fick, I⁴, 380; Zupitza, *Gutt.*, 110, 121; Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*, 56; Berneker, *Et. Wb.*, 161, 637, 639, 655.

To these add Gr. *κακός* (**q̥uəqos* or **q̥uŋqos* cringing, low, vile) ‘low, base, mean, vile, bad; cowardly, feeble; unhappy, wretched,’ Lat. *vacillo* ‘move back and forth, waver,’ and the following words unexplained in Berneker, *Et. Wb.*, 676 f.: Czech *kyka* ‘Stock, Stumpf,’ Russ. *kíčka* ‘Querbalken; ausgerodete Baumstämme,’ LRuss. *kýkíl* ‘verkümmelter Finger; Ellenbogen; Stumpf, Daumen,’ *kýknuty* ‘krepieren,’ OBulg. *kyčiti* ‘sich aufblähen, stolz sein,’ Russ. *kičít* ‘stolz machen,’ -*ša* ‘sich brüsten,’ etc. Compare Goth. *hūhjan* ‘häufen, sammeln,’ Russ. *kúča* ‘Haufen,’ etc., above.

8. Gr. *κυκάω* (move back and forth) ‘stir up, mix, confuse’ (**q̥uk-*): Lith. *kuszėti* ‘sich regen,’ *kuszinti* ‘anrühren,’ OPruss. *enkausint* idem (author, *AJP*, XXVIII, 59), Russ. *kiščít* ‘wimmeln,’ LRuss. *kyšity* idem, *kyštó* ‘Nest, Lagerstätte’ (Berneker, 672): *kývaty* ‘winken, nicken, wedeln, bewegen, schütteln,’ *kujáty* ‘hocken; säumen’ (No. 1): OBulg. *küşiněti* ‘zögern, verweilen,’ ChSl. *küşinŭ* ‘βραδύς, χρόνιος,’ Russ. *kósnyj* ‘verharrend, träg,’ *kosnět* ‘in etwas verharren, bleiben,’ *kosnít* ‘zaudern, zögern, trödeln,’ but probably not Lett. *kust* ‘müde werden,’ *kusls* ‘schwach, klein und zart von neugeborenen kindern,’ Lith. *kūszlas* ‘schwächlich, kümmerlich’ (idem *ibid.*).

Here as elsewhere occurs the double development ‘bend, round out’ and ‘bend in, become hollow’: Skt. *kōṣa-h* (Höhlung) ‘Behälter, Kufe,’ *kukṣi-h* ‘Höhlung, Bauch, Mutterleib,’ with which compare Goth. *hugs* ‘Landgut,’ Lith. *kāuszas* ‘grosser Schöpflöffel,’ *kiāuszė* ‘Hirnschädel,’ *kiaūszis* ‘Ei’ (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*, 66; author, *MLN*, XIX, 3).

9. OE. *on-hūpian* ‘draw back, recoil,’ ON. *hopa* ‘bound backward, draw back, recoil,’ NÍcel. *hopa*, ‘move back, retreat,’ Lat. *cubāre* ‘lie down, incline: lie in bed, sleep; be sick; recline at meals; slope,’ -*cumbo* ‘lie down, recline,’ *cubile* ‘couch, bed; nest, lair,’ *cubitum* ‘bend, curve: elbow, cubit,’ Gr. *κύβος* ‘iliac cavity,’ *κυβερνάω* ‘steer, guide,’ *κυβιστάω* ‘tumble headlong, plunge, dive,’ *κύβητος* ‘ὁ κατακύβας,’ ‘one who stoops or bows, one ecstatic or frantic,’ *κύμβη* ‘hollow, bottom of a vessel; boat; wallet,’ *κύμβος* ‘any hollow: a hollow vessel, cup, basin,’ LRuss. *kub* ‘aus Holz ausgehöhltes Geschirr’ (cf. author, *MLN*, XIX, 3; Walde², 205; Boisacq, 528): Russ. dial. *kúbló* ‘Vogel-, Eichhorn-nest; Lagerstätte des Ebers, Saubucht; eigenes Heim, Nest,’ *kúblit-ša* ‘sich zusammenkauern;

nisten,' LRuss. *kúbtó* 'Vertiefung im Boden, die das stäubende Huhn macht; Nest des Hasen,' Upper Sorb. *kubto* 'Gut, Bauerngut,' *kublać* 'mit dem Nötigen versehen; pflegen; erziehen,' -so 'gedeihen,' Czech *kublati se* 'weilen, zaudern,' *vy-k. se* 'langsam aufkommen nach einer Krankheit' (Berneker, 598). Or these may come from the base **qēubh-*.

The above represent the meaning 'move to and fro, up and down: dive, bend down, stoop, incline, lie; bend in, be hollow.' From 'bend, curve out, arch,' etc., or 'bend, press together,' come the following: Gr. *κύβος* 'cube, die; vertebra,' *κυβή· κεφαλή*, Goth. *hups* 'hip, Hüfte,' OE. *hype* idem, etc., NE. *hump* 'protuberance, swelling, bunch, esp. on the back,' Norw. *hump* 'Unebenheit, Knorren, Knollen,' LG. *humpe* 'dickes Stück,' *humpeln* 'hump, hobble,' Icel. *huppur* 'hip, groin'; NE. *heap*, OE. *hēap*, 'heap, multitude, gathering,' OS. *hōp* 'Haufe, Schar,' OHG. *houf* idem, *hūfo* 'Haufe, Erdhaufen, Grabhügel,' *hiufila* 'Wange'; OE. *hēope* 'hip (of the dogrose),' OS. *hiopo* 'Dornstrauch,' OHG. *hiufaltar* 'Hagebuttenstrauch,' etc.; Norw. dial. *hupp* 'Quaste,' NHG. Styr. *hopf* 'dummer Kerl. Töpel,' 'chump,' OHG. *hopfo* (bunch) 'Hopfen,' MLG. *hoppe* idem, OE. *hoppe* (tuft) 'ornament, small bell,' *gehopp* 'small bag,' ME. *hoppere* 'hopper (of a mill); seed-basket,' NE. *hopper*: Russ. *kúbokŭ* 'Becher, Pokal,' *kubýška* 'bauchiges Gefäss mit Hals; kleiner gedrungener Mensch,' *kúbovina* 'Ausbauchung, Wölbung' (Berneker, 636): Russ. *čubŭ* 'Schopf,' 'tuft,' LRuss. *čub* 'Schopf, Busch,' *čubatŭ* 'bei den Haaren zausen,' Czech dial. *čub* 'Vogelschopf,' Slovak. *čub* 'Schopf, Federbusch; Bergkappe, Gipfel,' Pol. *czub* 'Schopf, Büschel,' *czubić* 'beim Schopf packen': OHG. *witu-hoffo*, -*hopfo*, NHG. *Wiedehopf*, named from its tuft or crest.

Compare the same meanings in words with IE. *p*: (a) 'Hole, hollow, hollow or inclosed place or object': Skt. *kū-pa-h* 'Grube, Höhle, Brunnen,' Gr. *κύπη· τρώγλη, κύπελλον* 'cup,' Lat. *cūpa* 'tub, cask,' ON. *húfr* 'the hulk or hull of a ship,' OE. *hŷf* 'hive,' *hūfe* 'hood,' OHG. *hūba* 'Haube,' *hof* 'umschlossener Raum beim Hause, Hof, Gut, Fürstenhof,' OS., OFris., OE. *hof* 'inclosure, dwelling, house, temple,' ME. *hovel* 'hovel, hut,' ON. *hof* 'temple.' With *hof* from **qupo-* compare IE. **qūāp-* becoming **qāp-* (by dissimilation?) in Gr. *κήπος* 'garden, orchard,' OHG. *huoba* (this could represent

Germ. *χwōō) ‘Stück Land von einem gewissen Masse,’ NHG. *hufe*, *hube*, Styr. *hube* ‘Bauerngut mit Gründen von bestimmtem Flächenmasse, Wohn- und Wirtschaftsgebäuden und Bespannung.’

Compāre the words for ‘bend: hollow, bed, nest, lair, den,’ etc., with other forms: OE. *hop* ‘Schlupfwinkel,’ Lat. *cubile* ‘couch, lair, nest,’ Russ. dial. *kúbló* ‘Nest, Lagerstätte; Heim,’ etc. (*vide supra*). Skt. *kōṣaḥ* ‘Behälter, Kufe,’ *kukṣiḥ* ‘Höhlung, Bauch,’ LRuss. *kyšló* ‘Nest, Lagerstätte,’ etc. (No. 8). OE. *hwicce* ‘chest,’ ME. *whucche*, *hucche* idem, NE. *hutch* ‘chest, box; coop, pen’ (cf. No. 6). Gr. *kýros* ‘hollow (of a ship, vase, body),’ *κρίς* ‘chest, trunk, box,’ Lith. *kūtis* ‘stall,’ OHG. *hutta* ‘hut, tent,’ *hūs* ‘house’ (cf. Boisacq, 444 f.). Lat. *cūnae*, *cūnabula* ‘nest, cradle,’ *cumera* ‘chest, box,’ **qumesā* ‘hollow’: ON. *huammr* (**hwamza-*) ‘Winkel, kleines Tal,’ OE. *hwamm* ‘corner, angle’ (cf. Nos. 2, 3). OE. *hol* ‘hollow, hole, cave, den,’ *holh* ‘hollow, hole,’ *holc* ‘hollow, cavity,’ Lat. *vallis* ‘hollow; valley,’ Gr. *κόλπος* ‘curve: hollow, bay,’ OE. *hwealf* ‘hollow, concave,’ NICel. *hwilft* ‘hollow,’ Goth. *hwilfri* ‘Sarg’ (cf. No. 4). Lith. *kiauras* ‘hohl,’ Lett. *zaurums* ‘Loch’ (No. 5): ON. *huer*, OE. *hwer* ‘kettle, pot,’ Gr. *κέρος* (**q̥ernos*) ‘a large dish.’

b) ‘A rounding over; a gathering, collection: hump, heap,’ etc.: OBulg. *kupŭ* ‘Haufen,’ Russ. *kĭpa* ‘Haufen, Menge,’ Czech *kupa* ‘Haufen; Gruppe,’ Schober, Sorb. *kupa* ‘Hügel,’ OBulg. *sŭ-kupiti* ‘συνάγειν,’ Pol. *kupić* ‘häufen, sammeln,’ Lith. *kaũpas* ‘Haufe,’ *kaũpti* ‘häufeln,’ *kupti* ‘auf einen Haufen legen, aufräumen,’ *kupetá* ‘Heuhaufen,’ *kuprà* ‘Höcker,’ Russ. *kĭprŭ* ‘Steissbein, Bürzel,’ OHG. *hovar* ‘Buckel,’ OE. *hofer* ‘hump; goiter, swelling’ (Berneker, 646): Norw. *hov* ‘Anhöhe, kleiner Hügel,’ OLG. *huvel*, MLG. *hovel* ‘Hügel, Höcker,’ MHG. *hübel* ‘Hübel,’ NHG. Swiss *hubel* ‘Hügel, kleine Erhöhung im Boden, auf Wiesen, Häufchen; Geschwulst, Beule am Körper; Klümpchen Garn,’ Swab. *hoppe* ‘kleiner Hügel, mit Rasen überwachsener Erdhaufen; kleines Eitergeschwür, Ausschlag,’ *hoppel* ‘kleine Erhöhung auf einer Fläche, bes. kleines Hautgeschwür; Zapfen der Forche und Fichte,’ *hopperen* ‘hüpfen, springen; hinken,’ *hopperen* ‘stolpern,’ *hoppelig* ‘uneben, rauh,’ *hopplen* ‘einen ungleichen, aufspringenden Gang haben,’ ‘hobble,’ Styr. *hoppel* (chump) ‘gutherziger aber einfältiger Mensch; aufgeblasener Dummkopf,’ EFrís. *hubbel* ‘Unebenheit, Höcker, Erhöhung,’

Du. *hobbel* 'Holperigkeit, Höckerigkeit; Höcker, Beule, Knoten,' NE. *hob* 'a round stick or peg used as a mark to throw at in certain games; a structure inserted in a fireplace to diminish its width; a hub,' *hub* 'lump, ridge, small protuberance; a small stack of hay (dial.); a block of wood for stopping a carriage-wheel; the nave of a wheel,' *hubble* 'a small lump, protuberance,' etc.: Czech dial. *čup(ek)* 'Berghöhe mit flachem Gipfel,' Russ. *čupŭ* 'Schopf,' LRuss. *čuper* 'Haarschopf,' Serb.-Cr. *čŭpa* 'Büschel Haare,' *čŭpati* 'rupfen,' -*se* 'raufen' (base **qēup-*), NHG. Swab. *häuben* 'schmerzhaft am Haare zupfen, zerren schütteln,' *häublen* 'an den Haaren ziehen, rütteln, körperlich züchtigen.'

Compare the following: Lat. *cumulus* 'heap, pile,' *cumuläre* 'heap, pile up' (cf. Nos. 1, 3). Lat. *cacūmen* 'peak, point,' *cacūminäre* 'make pointed,' Skt. *kakūd-* 'Gipfel, Spitze, Höcker,' *kakūdmant-* 'mit einem Höcker oder Gipfel versehen' (*kākūd* 'Mundhöhle, Gaumen' belongs in development to *a* above): ON. *huass* 'pointed, sharp,' *huáta* 'pierce, durchbohren,' OSwed. *hŕta* (**hwōtian*) 'den Boden mit einem Pfahl durchbohren' (here the development in meaning is slightly different, cf. No. 14a). Skt. *kakūbh-* 'Kuppe, Gipfel,' *kakubháh* 'emporragend, hervorragend': Gr. *κῦφος* 'hump, hunch,' *κῦφός* 'bent, bowed forward' (No. 10). Cf. also Nos. 4, 6, 7, 11, 14, 14a.

10. Gr. *κύπτω* 'bend forward, stoop; bow down under a burden; hang the head in shame,' *κυπτάζω* 'keep stooping: go poking about, potter about,' *κῦφός* 'bent, bowed forward, stooping,' *κῦφος* 'hump, hunch,' *κῦφων* 'a crooked piece of wood, esp. the bent yoke of the plow,' *κῦφώ* 'bend, crook forward; pass. have a humped back,' *κύφελλα* 'the hollows of the ears,' *κυψέλη* 'any hollow vessel: chest, box; beehive' (or this with original *b* or *p*), Skt. *kumbhā-h* 'Topf, Krug; (dual) die beiden Erhöhungen auf der Stirn des Elefanten,' Av. *xúmbō* 'Topf, Vertiefung,' Russ. *kúbló* 'Nest; Lagerstätte,' *kúblit-sa* 'sich zusammenkauern; nisten,' Czech *kubliti se* 'weilen, zaudern,' etc. (or these with IE. *b*, cf. No. 9): early NE. *hove* 'remain in a suspended or floating condition, as a bird in the air or a boat on water, be poised; lie at anchor; wait, tarry, stay, remain; brood over, as a bird,' ME. *hoven* 'tarry,' *hoveren* 'wait, linger,' NE. *hover* 'keep lingering about, wait near at hand; move about waveringly,

cautiously, or hesitatingly; hang fluttering in the air; be in a state of suspense, waver; *tr.* protect or shelter, cover with the wings and body (of a fowl),’ dial. ‘undulate, wave, shake; go about in an awkward, aimless manner; wait, stay, delay, linger,’ NE. *hobble* ‘go with a hop or hitch, limp; tie the legs together so as to impede free motion, clog, hopple.’

11. MHG. *hüste* ‘auf dem Felde zusammengestellter Haufen Getreide, Heu,’ *hüsten* ‘Getreide und Heu in Haufen setzen,’ MDu. *huust* ‘heap’; Russ. *kistĭ* ‘Quast, Troddel; Pinsel; Traube; Hand,’ LRuss. *kyst*, *kýstka* idem, Bulg. *kiska* ‘Strauss,’ Pol. *kiśc*, *kistka* ‘Quast, Reisbesen, Busch; Haarbüschel,’ *o-kiśc* ‘Eiszapfen,’ Lower Sorb. *kistka* ‘Handvoll Ähren; Schwanz’; Russ. *kustŭ* ‘Busch, Strauch, Staude,’ LRuss. *kust*. ‘Strauch, Strauss’ (cf. Berneker, 652, 679, with references). Unnecessarily referred to the base **qūpst*-. The words may come from a base **qēus*-, **qūšs*- ‘bend, bulge, swell,’ etc.: OE. *hos* ‘pod,’ **huseca*, ME. *huske* ‘husk,’ Gr. *κύστις* ‘pouch; bladder,’ Lat. *vespīx* (**qūšp*-) ‘thicket.’ Cf. No. 17h.

12. Skt. *cōdati* ‘treibt an, drängt, schafft schnell herbei,’ NPers. *čust* ‘flink, tätig, passend,’ Lett. *pa-kūdīt* ‘antreiben, ansputen,’ ChSl. (*po*-)*kuditi* ‘tadeln, schmähen,’ OBulg. ‘zugrunde richten,’ *pro-k.* ‘verderben,’ Slov. *kúdit* ‘rügen, tadeln; verschmähen,’ Gr. *κυδάζω* ‘revile, abuse,’ *ὁ κύδος* *λοιδορία, κακολογία* Hesych., *kūdos* idem, *κυδοιμός* *πόλεμος, θόρυβος, παραχή* H., *κυδοιμέω* ‘make an uproar, spread confusion and alarm; throw into confusion and alarm, war against,’ OSw. *hȳta* (**hūtian* ‘drive’) ‘threaten,’ ON. *hossa* ‘dandle, toss,’ MHG. *hiuze* ‘munter, frech,’ *sich hiuzen* ‘sich erkühnen,’ *hotzen* ‘schnell laufen; schütteln, in Bewegung setzen,’ *hossen* ‘schnell laufen’ (:Skt. *kutsáyati* ‘schmäht’), *hutzen* ‘sich schwingend, schaukelnd bewegen,’ *hütznern* ‘sich schnell bewegen, zappeln,’ NHG. Swab. *hützen* ‘hetzen, trieben,’ *hutzlen* ‘ausspotten, foppen,’ *hotteren* ‘zittern’ (or this with Germ. *d*), Swiss *hützen* ‘aufspringen, jählings auffahren,—schrecken; auch von leblosen Dingen; springen, hüpfen,’ *hotzen* ‘sich schaukelnd auf und nieder bewegen; sich zusammenziehen, krümmen vor Lachen; stocken, nicht von stattem gehen,’ *hotzeren* ‘rütteln und gerüttelt werden,’ *hotzlen* ‘rütteln, hart schaukeln, ruckweise auf und ab, hin und her schwanken, bewegen; erschüttern; zusammenrütteln,’ Styr. *hutzen* ‘sich ruhelos

im Bette wälzen,' Pruss. *hutzen* 'schlagen, schelten,' *hotzen* 'wiegen; in den Armen schaukeln; tanzen,' MDu. *hotten* 'shake,' WFlem. *hotteren* 'schudden, hutselen, daveren,' 'shake, tremble,' Norw. *hutre* 'shiver with cold,' NE. dial. *hott* 'move by jerks, shake with laughter,' *hotter* 'move unsteadily or awkwardly; hesitate; hobble, totter; shake with laughter; shudder, shiver; shake, jolt, stir up, vex; talk indistinctly, mumble,' *hutter* 'stammer, stutter, speak with difficulty,' Swiss *hotteren* 'rütteln; wanken, hinken; schaukelnd ungeschickt reiten; stolpern; trippeln, hüpfen; schüttelnd lachen, hotzeln,' *hutteren* 'cacabare'; ON. *huatr* 'rasch, feurig,' 'active, vigorous,' *huass* 'sharp,' *huata* 'antreiben, beschleunigen,' *huetia* 'antreiben, schärfen,' Goth. *ga/vatjan* 'anreizen, wetzen,' *hwōtjan* 'drohen,' OSwed. *hōta* idem, ON. *huāta* 'durchbohren,' OS. *far-hwātan* 'verfluchen,' OHG. *firhwāzan* 'verfluchen, verdammen; verderben; läugnen, widerlegen,' MHG. *verwāzen* 'verstossen, verbannen; verderben; verfluchen, verdammen': OBulg. ChSl. *kuditi* (above). Cf. author, *MLN*, XX, 43, with references; Boisacq, 529; Berneker, 637 f.

Here also, from **q̣mēd-*, **q̣mād-*, may belong Gr. ἐκεκήδει 'wich,' κεκάδοντο 'sie wichen,' κεκαδών 'beraubend,' κεκαδήσαι · βλάψαι, κακῶσαι, στερεῖσαι Hesych., ἀποκαδέω · ἀσθενέω H. Compare especially ON. *huāta* 'durchbohren,' OHG. *firhwāzan* 'verstossen, verfluchen; verderben,' OBulg. *po-kuditi* 'zugrunde richten,' *pro-kuditi* 'διαφθείρειν, ἀφανίζειν,' *pro-kuda* 'φauλότης,' Russ. *pro-kúda* 'Schaden, Verlust,' Pol. dial. *prze-kudzić* 'verderben; langweilen,' Serb.-Cr. *kùdati* 'abreissen, zerreißen,' Lith. *kūdas* 'hager, mager,' etc. Cf. No. 14.

13. Lith. *kučēti* 'aufrütteln, aufmuntern,' *atsi-k.* 'sich aufraffen,' *kutrus* 'hurtig, rüstig, emsig,' *kutravóti* 'jemd. hurtig machen, bes. durch Schläge zur Arbeit antreiben': Czech *kutati*, *kutiti* 'treiben, tun, zetteln, schäkern; (se) wühlen, graben, schüren,' Slovak. *kutať* 'wühlen, graben,' ChSl. *kutiti* 'machinari,' *u-kutiti* 'κατασκευάζειν.'

With these compare the following, which probably have IE. *dh.* ChSl. *kydati* 'werfen,' OBulg. *is-kydati* 'herauswerfen,' Russ. *kidat* 'werfen,' *kídkiĭ* 'rasch, geschwind, gleich bereit, gierig,' *kidĭ* 'weicher, lockerer Schnee,' LRuss. *kýdaty* 'werfen, schleudern,' Serb.-Cr. *kùdati* 'herauswerfen, ausmisten; ab-, zerreißen,' *kùnuti se* 'sich

fortpacken,’ Slov. *kídati* ‘herauswerfen; ausmisten,’ Czech *kydati* ‘klecken, auswerfen; misten,’ Pol. *kidać* ‘werfen,’—*kogo* ‘jemd. eilig wohin senden,’ Lower Sorb. *kidaś* ‘giessen’ (Berneker, 676).

With the second group compare Gr. *καθαρός* (**q̥adh₂ros* ‘emptied, made clear’) ‘clear, open, free (space), in Il. esp. of a space clear from dead bodies; pure, clean from guilt or defilement; pure, unmixed, bright, clear (water); spotless, faultless,’ *κάθαρμα* ‘that which is thrown away in cleansing: offscouring, scum, defilement; worthless fellow, outcast, scum’ : OBulg. *sŭ-kydati se ěkκενοῦσθαι*.

That the primary meaning of the first group was ‘swing, bend, drive’ or the like is evident from the Germ. words given below. We may also compare Lat. *vātius* (**q̥at̥ios*) ‘bent inward, crooked,’ *vatax* ‘having crooked feet,’ *vascus* ‘crooked, bent.’ Here also may belong *quatio* ‘shake; beat, strike, drive; break in pieces, shatter; agitate, move, excite; plague, vex, harass,’ *quassus* ‘shaken, beaten, shattered; broken down, worn out,’ from **q̥uyat-*, becoming Lat. **quat-* after *q* from IE. *q* had fallen together with *q* from *k̑*. In the same way may be explained Gr. *πάταγος* (older **κ̑ufat-*) ‘clattering, clashing; dashing, plashing (of waves); rattling (of wind),’ *παράσσω* ‘beat, knock; clap; strike, smite,’ etc. Compare Lith. *kvatėnti* ‘laut lachen,’ Du. dial. *hodderen* ‘thump, bang,’ Swiss *hotteren* ‘rütteln; wanken; schüttelnd lachen,’ *hutteren* ‘cacabare.’

The following Germ. words may have either IE. *t* or *dh*. It is not always possible to decide. OE. *hūdenian* ‘shake,’ NE. Sc. *hod* ‘bob up and down in riding, jog,’ dial. *hoddle* ‘waddle, walk awkwardly or quickly’ (: Lith. *kutėti* ‘aufrütteln’), *huddle* ‘throw together in confusion; perform in haste and disorder, put together or produce in a hurried manner,’ Du. dial. *hodderen* ‘aanhouden stooten, met het bijdenkbild van dof gerucht maken,’ ‘thump, drub,’ NHG. *hudeln* ‘in Eile und nur obenhin tun; jem. achtlos und zugleich empfindlich behandeln, plagen, quälen’ (: Czech *kutiti* ‘treiben, tun, zetteln, schäkern’), Swiss *hudlen* ‘schlottern, bammeln; schütteln, rütteln und damit zerstören; höhnen, hart behandeln; zanken, schimpfen; unordentlich arbeiten,’ *hodlen* ‘rütteln; schwabbeln, bes. von der schwankenden Bewegung der Wamme fetten Rindviehs beim Gehen; trippelnd davon eilen; mit dem grossen Sieb Getreide reinigen,’ *hodlen, hudlen* ‘Waren führen, bes. Getreide,’ *hodel* ‘Händler,

herumziehender, Zwischen- oder Kleinhandel treibender Kaufmann,' *hoderen* 'rütteln, schütteln, von Fuhrwerken auf rauhem, holperigem Wege oder von schlechten Karren; unordentlich, unregelt vonstatten gehen; etwas rollend bewegen; etwas schlecht, unordentlich verrichten,' *huderen*, *hüderen* 'wirr werden, in Verwirrung geraten, zerfallen; durch einander werfen, verwirren; in Stücke schlagen, zertrümmern; unordentlich, flüchtig, übereilt, liederlich arbeiten, schlecht verrichten; schlemmen, prassen, liederlich leben; in grossen Flocken schneien,' *hotten* 'Zugtiere (mit dem Ruf *hott*) antreiben; von Zugtieren: vorwärts gehen; von Tieren und Menschen: gehorchen, folgen; vorwärts, vonstatten gehen, gelingen,' LG. *hudern* 'vor Kälte zittern.'

14. Closely related to these are other words from the bases **geut-*, **geud(h)-* with the underlying meaning 'spring back, recoil: crouch, cower; shrink, shrivel,' and from these, adjectives meaning 'shrunken, shriveled, small,' and nouns meaning 'a small mass or lump, a little bunch, tuft,' etc.

NE. *huddle* 'crowd or press together promiscuously, gather together in a mass or flock,' *subst.* 'a confused crowd or cluster, jumble; obs. an old decrepit person,' NHG. Swiss *hotten* 'kauern,' *hottel* 'nachlässiger Mensch; untüchtige Weibsperson; Windel,' *hotzen* 'sich zusammenziehen; stocken, nicht vonstatten gehen,' Styr. *hottel* 'verlumpter Landstreicher,' Swab. *hauderen* 'kauern,' *hotteren* 'auf den Boden, in die Knie sinken, kauern, hockend sitzen oder sich setzen,' *hotter* 'Haufe von Erde, Schnee, Kies udgl.,' *hutzlen* 'zusammenschrumpfen,' Swiss *verhutzelt* 'runzelig, zgschrumpft, wie dörres Obst,' *hutzlen* 'gedörres Obst,' *hotzlen* 'Ziege mit langen, struppigen Haaren; unordentliches, struppiges Weib; Weissdornbeere,' *hotz* 'die geringsten der noch als Gespinnst verwendeten Abfälle des Flachses,' MDu. *hotten* 'gerinnen,' Du. *hotten* 'zusammenkommen, sich sammeln, gerinnen, gedeihen,' MDu. MLG. *hotte* 'geronnene Milch,' Swed. dial. *hott*, *hodd* 'kleiner eingeschrumpfter Mensch,' NE. dial. *hut*, *hud* 'a heap; a lump of earth; a ridge of clay in a river-bed; a small stack in a field,' *vb.* 'pile in heaps, put up grain in the fields, stack peats,' *hodden* 'a coarse cloth made of undyed wool of the natural color' (compare Swiss *hottel*, *hotzlen* above), OE. *gehwæde* 'slight, small, young.'

Lith. *kūsti* ‘abmagern,’ *kūdimas* ‘die Abmagerung,’ *sukūdēš* ‘zusammengeschrumpft,’ *kūdas* ‘hager, mager,’ *kūdikis* ‘ein kleines Kind,’ Lett. *kūds* ‘mager,’ *kūde* ‘Kohlstrunk,’ *kūdi* ‘langsam,’ *kūditis* ‘langsam vorwärts kommen’; Russ. *kudělī* ‘zum Spinnen vorbereiteter Flachs,’ *kudělīl* ‘zausen,’ Lith. *kūdas* ‘Schopf der Vögel,’ Russ. *kudērī* ‘Locke, Haarlocke,’ *kūdrit* ‘Wolle zusammenrollen, filzen,’ LRuss. *kūdra* ‘Weib mit krausen Haaren,’ Slov. *kóder* ‘Haarlocke; Zotte, Flocke; Pudel,’ Czech *kudla* ‘Zotte,’ etc.

Lith. *kiaūsti* (*kiautaū*) ‘verkommen, im Wachsen zurückbleiben,’ Serb.-Cr. *zà-kušljati* idem, *kúšljati* ‘den Flachs verwirren,’ *kušljav* ‘verworren,’ NE. *huddle*, NHG. *hutzeln*, etc. (see above): Russ. *kita* ‘Stengel und Blätter langstieliger Pflanzen; zusammengerolltes Heubündel,’ *kítka* ‘Kätzchen an den Bäumen,’ LRuss. *kyta* ‘Quaste, Büschel; Strauss, Rispe,’ Czech *kytka* ‘Strauss, Busch; Knochel, Reiste Flachs,’ etc.

a) The same underlying meaning: ‘draw together, shrink, shrivel, become small, thin; draw or roll together, form into a small rough mass, tuft,’ is in the following: OE. *hēan* ‘abject; mean; poor,’ Gr. *καυρός* *καρός*, *σκληρός* (No. 2), Icel. *húnn* ‘knob; handle of a door,’ perhaps also in the sense ‘young bear, cub,’ Russ. dial. *kuna* ‘beide Hände voll, Gáspe,’ Bulg. *kúnka* ‘Händchen; Handwurzel,’ Pol. *kulić* ‘zusammenziehen,’ Slov. *kúljav* ‘verstümmelt,’ Russ. *kuľtá* ‘Hand ohne Finger, Fuss ohne Zehen,’ OPruss. *kaules* ‘Dorn,’ Lith. *kaulinės* ‘Hagedorn,’ and perhaps *káulas* ‘Knochen’ (unless the primary meaning is ‘hollow’ (No. 4), Skt. *kúvalam*, *kōlam* ‘die Frucht von zizyphus jujuba.’) Norw. dial. *hūmen* ‘hunched up, zusammengezogen vor kälte u.s.w.,’ OE. *hēamol* ‘miserly,’ Skt. *kōmala-h* ‘zart, weich,’ *kumārā-h* ‘Kind, Knabe’ (No. 3). MHG. *hūren* (sich zsziehen) ‘kauern,’ Swiss *hūri* ‘Eiterbeule,’ *hūrli* ‘niedriger Hügel,’ *hūreli* ‘kleine Person,’ Slovak. *kvárit* ‘zehren, vermindern’ (No. 5). ON. *heykjask* ‘zusammenkriechen, kauren,’ Norw. *hauken* ‘weak and sickly looking,’ NHG. *hocken*, *Hocke*, OE. *hocc* ‘mallow,’ Skt. *kuñja-h* ‘Laube, Gebüsch’ (No. 6). Skt. *kōcayati* ‘zieht zusammen, verkürzt, verringert,’ *kōca-h* ‘Einschrumpfen,’ Gr. *καυκαλῖς* ‘an umbelliferous herb,’ Slov. *kuča* ‘Büschel, Schopf, Quaste,’ Russ. *kuka* ‘Faust,’ Lett. *kūkis* ‘Zwerg,’ Czech *kyka* ‘Stock, Stumpf,’ LRuss. *kýkil* ‘verkümmerter Finger;

Stumpf, Daumen' (No. 7). Lett. *kust* 'müde werden,' *kùsls* 'schwach, klein und zart,' Lith. *kùszlas* 'schwächlich, kümmerlich' (No. 8). Lat. *cubo*, *-cumbo*, Gr. *kúβos* 'cube,' OHG. *hopfo* 'Hopfen,' OE. *hoppe* 'ornament, small bell,' Norw. dial. *hupp* 'Quaste,' OHG. *witu-hoffo*, *-hopfo* 'Wiedehopf,' Lith. *kublỹs* 'Mistlerche,' LRuss. *čub* 'Schopf, Busch,' Czech dial. *čub* 'Vogelschopf,' OE. *hēope* 'hip of the dogrose,' OG. *hiopo* 'Dornstrauch' (No. 9). OBulg. *sǫ-kupiti* 'συνάγειν,' Swiss *hubel* 'kleine Erhöhung, Häufchen; Geschwulst, Beule; Klümpchen Garn,' Swab. *hoppel* 'kleine Erhöhung, kleines Hautgeschwür; Zapfen der Forche und Fichte,' *hoppelig* 'uneben, rauh,' Russ. *čupř* 'Schopf,' LRuss. *čuper* 'Haarschopf,' Lat. *vēprēs* 'thornbush, bramblebush' (No. 9b). Swab. *hutzlen* 'zusammenschrumpfen,' Swiss *hutzlen* 'gedörrtes Obst,' *hotzlen* 'Ziege mit langen, struppigen Haaren; Weissdornbeere,' Lith. *sukūdēs* 'zusammengeschrumpft,' *kūdas* 'hager, mager,' etc. Both Germ. and Lith. words may have IE. *dh* or *d*. In the latter case compare Gr. *κύνδαλος* 'peg, wooden pin,' *κυδίας* τὰ ἀνθη τῶν ὀδόντων, ON. *huáta* 'durchbohren,' *huass* 'scharf,' Lat. *cuspis* 'point, spit, sting (of bee), spear,' *cuspidio* 'make pointed, spitzen.' To these add the following:

Goth. *hawi* 'Heu,' *kovýlū* 'Pfriemgras, *Stipa pennata*, *capillata*' (Uhlenbeck², 76), base **qau̯iō-*, **qau̯i-* 'bunch, tuft, panicle.'

OBulg. *cvětŭ* 'Blüte,' Russ. 'Blüte, Blume; Farbe,' OBulg. *po-cvisti* 'blühen,' Lith. *kvētỹs* 'Weizen' (Berneker, 656, 657 f.), base **qveit-* 'form into a tuft, swell, bloom,' with which compare Goth. *hvaiteis* 'wheat' from **qvoidiō-* 'tuft.' For meaning compare Skt. *pūla-h* 'Bündel, Büschel,' Lith. *purė* 'Quaste': *purai* 'Winterweizen,' OPruss. *pure* 'Trespe,' ChSl. *pyro* 'spelt,' Gr. *πῦρός* 'wheat' (Class. Phil., IX, 152). Compare Lat. *vireo* 'be green; flourish, bloom,' which may be from **qwis-* or **quir-*.

15. Gr. *κεύθω* 'hide, cover up, conceal,' *κευθμών* 'hole, den, cave, hiding-place; lair; sanctuary,' OE. *hȳdan* 'hide, conceal': OE. *hōþma* 'darkness,' ON. *húm* idem, and many others (cf. Zupitza, *Gutt.*, 127 f.), root **qēu-* crossed in many words with **sgeu-* 'cover.'

The meaning 'hide' comes from 'crouch down, draw back,' and 'hole' from 'sink down.' In some cases 'cover' implies an overturning or turning upside down of a hollow object, or a rounding over or vaulting over. For these different meanings compare Serb. *čučati*

‘hocken, kauern’: Slovak. *čučetí* ‘sich bergen’ (No. 7). For ‘hole, hollow’ cf. No. 9. For ‘round over, cover,’ No. 4a.

16. From **qēu-* ‘bend over’ may be derived a number of words meaning ‘fall upon, seize; crush, injure,’ etc.

a) MHG. *hūchen* ‘kauern,’ (über etwas) *hūchen* ‘darüber herfallen.’

b) MHG. *hūren* ‘kauern,’ *behūren* ‘knicken, zertreten (erde und gras); belästigen, überwältigen,’ Gr. *κῦρω, κυρέω* ‘fall upon, light upon, hit, obtain; befall, turn out, happen,’ *κύρμα* ‘booty, prey, spoil,’ Skt. *cōráyati* ‘stiehlt,’ Slov. *kváriti* ‘beschädigen, verderben,’ etc. (No. 5). But OE. *hȳr* ‘hire, wages; usury,’ *hȳran* ‘hire,’ OFris. *hēra*, MDu., MLG., MHG. *hūren* ‘mieten, pachten,’ OFris. *hēre*, OS. *hūria* ‘Heuer, Pacht,’ etc., belong to Gr. *κύριος* ‘having power, ruling; lord, master,’ *κῦρος* ‘power, authority,’ *κῦρώω* ‘make valid; settle, finish, accomplish, perform,’ Skt. *ṣūra-ḥ* ‘stark; Held,’ etc., root **keuā-*, whence also Gr. *πᾶμα* ‘possession, property,’ *παῖσασθαι* ‘have in one’s power, possess,’ etc. (cf. Boisacq, 748, with lit.).

Similarly the enlarged base **qwerp-* develops: MLG. *werven* ‘tätig sein, handeln, verhandeln, sich bemühen um, trachten nach; tr. betreiben, sich bewerben um, ausrichten, vollführen, gewinnen, erwerben,’ MHG. *werben* ‘sich wenden; in Bewegung setzen, betreiben, ausrichten, erwerben,’ etc.

c) OE. *geholian* ‘obtain,’ MHG. *hol(e)n* ‘holen, herbeibringen, erreichen, erwerben und mit sich fortführen, finden; refl. sich erholen, erheben,’ *geholn* ‘erwerben, verdienen,’ *erholn* ‘einbringen, erwerben, erfrischen, erquicken; refl. sich erholen,’ OHG. *holēn, holōn* ‘holen, herbeiholen’ (confused with *halōn* ‘rufen, einladen,’ Lat. *calāre*, with which it originally was unrelated): Pol. *kulić* ‘zusammenziehen’ (No. 4).

d) Skt. *kuṣṭīti, kuṣṇḍīti* ‘reisst, zerrt, zwickt, knetet,’ Av. *kuṣaiti* ‘tötet,’ NPers. *kuṣtan* ‘töten’ (Horn, NPers. Et., 191). The underlying meaning here is ‘bend, press, beat down.’ Compare Lett. *kāusēt* ‘müde machen, die Kräfte aufreiben’ (No. 17h), OE. *hūsc* ‘mockery, insult,’ *hȳscan* ‘revile; deride,’ OS., OHG. *hosk* ‘Spott,’ MHG. *hosche* idem, *hoschen* ‘spotten; verspotten,’ OE. *hosp* ‘insult, contempt,’ *hyspan* ‘scorn, revile’: *hīenan* ‘fell, strike down; bring to subjection, humiliate; afflict; insult’ (No. 2).

e) Skt. *cōdati* 'treibt an, drängt; schafft schnell herbei,' Serb.-Cr. *kidati* 'abreißen, zerreißen,' OE. *ā-hwettan* 'excite, incite; provide,' Gr. *κεκαδών* 'beraubend,' *κεκαδῆσαι* · *βλάψαι*, *κακῶσαι*, *στερησαι* (No. 12).

f) Lith. *kutėti* 'aufrütteln,' Czech *kutiti* 'treiben, tun, zetteln,' ChSl. *u-kutiti* 'κατασκευάζειν,' Swiss *huderen* 'durch einander werfen, verwirren; in Stücke schlagen, zertrümmern' (No. 13).

g) Lat. *incumbo* 'lean toward: fall upon, rush toward, upon' (gladio, in gladium, ad amnem, in hostem); Skt. *cōpati* 'bewegt sich, rührt sich': Lat. *occupāre* 'take possession of, seize; fall upon, attack; occupy, employ,' *occupatio* 'a taking possession of' (: *incubatio* 'unlawful possession'), *recuperāre* 'recover, regain, retake,' *se recuperāre* 'recover, sich erholen' (: Upper Sorb. *kubtać* 'pflegen; erziehen,' -so 'gedeihen,' Czech *vy-kublati se* 'langsam aufkommen nach einer Krankheit') (No. 9).

17. A number of words for 'pant, palpitate; boil, seethe; burn, blaze' come naturally from 'rise and fall, heave, waver, flutter,' while others have in them the underlying idea 'draw together, shrivel, scorch.' In the latter case the word may be used also of the shriveling effect of frost or cold winds. In Gr. *καίω* both ideas seem to be present.

a) Gr. *καίω*, *καῶ* (**κάϕιω*) 'burn, light, kindle, set on fire; scorch, parch; wither up, pinch (of frost); pass. burn, be on fire; be inflamed with passion,' *καῦμα* 'burning, glow, heat (of the sun); shriveling effect of frost,' *καυθμός* 'a scorching, esp. a disease in trees produced by keen winds,' *καῦσις* 'a burning heat,' *καυστός* 'burnt,' *καυστικός* 'burning; corrosive, caustic,' *κήϊα* · *καθάρματα*, *κηῶεις* 'fragrant,' etc., root **qēu-*, *qəu-* (Boisacq, 393 f. with lit.): Russ. *kivát* 'winken; heben und senken,' LRuss. *kývaty* 'wackeln, schütteln,' Czech *kyvati* 'winken, wedeln, bewegen, schütteln,' -se 'wanken, schwanken.'

b) Lett. *kwitēt* 'flimmern, glänzen,' *kwitināt* 'flimmern machen,' OE. *hwipa* 'breeze,' Icel. *hviða* 'squall of wind; fit,' NE. dial. *whid* 'whisk, scud, move nimbly,' sb. 'a quick motion, a rapid, noiseless movement,' *whidder* 'shake, tremble; whiz, whisk,' base **qūt-* 'shake, vibrate.'

c) Du. *hui* (**huja-*) 'Molken, whey,' *wei* idem, NE. *whey*, Scotch *whig* 'sour whey, buttermilk,' OE. *hwæg* 'whey,' Norw. dial. *kvīn*,

kvein in the expression *sþur sum k.* ‘sour as *k.*,’ *kveinsþur*, *kveensuure*, *viinsuur* ‘biting, sharp, sour,’ *kvínende* (*gviinane*) *suur* idem, *k. salt* ‘bitterly salty,’ *kvīna* (burn, be caustic?) ‘be acrid, of taste or smell’; ‘swarm, wimmeln,’ ON. *hutta* ‘geronnene Milch,’ Norw. dial. *kvīta* ‘old sour milk,’ Germ. root **hwī-*, **hwai-*, **huja-* ‘sich regen, wimmeln; gären, sauer werden.’

d) Lett. *kwēlēt*, *kweldēt* ‘glimmen, glühen; brennenden Schmerz verursachen,’ *kwēle* ‘Glut, glimmende Kohlen,’ *kulda* ‘der Vorofen, in welchem die Kohlen zusammengeschürt werden,’ Lith. *kulė* ‘der Brand im Getreide, von welchem die Ähren schwarz und staubig werden,’ ‘smut,’ *kulėti* ‘brandig werden,’ *kulis* ‘Brandkorn,’ Skt. *kūlayati* ‘versengt’ (Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.*, 62), Lat. *culīna* ‘kitchen,’ ‘locus in quo epulae in funere comburuntur.’

These may be directly derived from the root **qēu-* in No. 17a, or independently developed from the base **qēul-*, **qūl-*. Compare No. 4a, and Bulg. *kul’aša* ‘Art Brei,’ White Russ. *kul’eš* ‘Art Maispolenta,’ *kul’ešić* ‘durchrühren,’ Russ. *kulētū* ‘dünner Grützbrei; Salzbrühe mit Erbsen.’ Here also, according to Zupitza *Gutt.* 57, OE. *hwelian* ‘suppurate,’ *hwylca* ‘tumor, boil.’ But these are better referred to the root **keyā-* ‘swell’ (author, *Class. Phil.*, III, 81).

e) Skt. *cōpati* ‘bewegt sich, rührt sich,’ *kūpyati* ‘gerät in Wallung, zürnt,’ *kōpáyati* ‘erschüttert, erzürnt,’ OBulg. *kypěti* ‘wallen, überlaufen,’ ChSl. *kyprū* ‘locker, porös,’ Czech *kyprý* ‘locker, aufgelaufen (von Mehlspeisen), early’ ‘strebsam, emsig, eifrig, frisch,’ Russ. *kipět* ‘wallen, sieden; aufbrausen; wimmeln,’ Czech *kypěti* ‘gären, aufgehen; aufwallen, aufsieden,’ Pol. *kipieć* ‘Sieden, wallen,’ -*się* ‘wimmeln,’ Lett. *kupt* ‘gären,’ *kúpēt* ‘rauchen, dampfen, stäuben,’ Lith. *kūpīti* ‘schwer atmen,’ LRuss. *kvápyty ša* ‘sich sputen, eilen,’ Czech *kvapiti* ‘eilen,’ *kvapný* ‘eilig,’ Lith. *kvāpas* ‘Hauch, Duft, Wohlgeruch,’ *kvepėti* ‘duften,’ *kvėpti* ‘hauchen,’ Lett. *kwēpēt* ‘räuchern,’ Gr. *καπνός* ‘smoke, vapor,’ *καπύω* ‘breathe, gasp,’ *καπυρός* ‘dried by the air; parching,’ *κάπος · ψυχή, πνεῦμα* Hesych., *κέκηφε τέθνηκε* H. (or this to No. 10), Lat. *vapor* ‘steam, exhalation; warmth,’ *vapidus* (worked, fermented) ‘flat, stale, spoiled (wine); rotten, stinking,’ *vappa* ‘stale wine,’ from **vapvā*: Gr. *κάπος · πνεῦμα*, *καπύω* ‘breathe.’ Walde², 807; Boisacq, 408 f.; Berneker, 565, 655, 677 f.

Walde, *loc. cit.*, refers these to a base **qeyēp-* 'wallen, auch von gärenden Stoffen,' and Boisacq defines it similarly 'bouillonner; se dit aussi de matières qui fermentent.' Berneker, who includes groups of words which the others omit, leaves the base undefined. It is certain that the primary meaning was not 'wallen, bouillonner,' but that this goes back to an earlier meaning such as 'rise and fall, heave.' In fact NE. *heave* is used in a number of significations expressed by derivatives of the base **qeyēp-*. So we may add to the above words the following: Early NE. *hove* 'raise, lift; swell, inflate, puff up or out; rise, swell out,' *hove(n)* 'swollen, bloated, puffed out, esp. of cattle which swell with overeating,' NE. dial. *hover* 'light, puffy, raised; not pressed down; of soil: light, loose; hunched up, cold, shivery; of birds and animals: having the coat or feathers ruffled from cold,' *vb.* 'spread lightly or loosely; pack hops lightly' (: ChSl. *kyprū* 'locker, porös,' etc., *vide supra*), Norw. dial. *hoven* 'swollen up,' Dan. *hoven* 'geschwollen, aufgedunsen, dick; aufgeblasen,' *hovne* 'schwellen, an-, aufschwellen, sich ausdehnen, aufbauchen' (or less likely: Skt. *çōpha-h* 'Geschwulst, Geschwür, Beule,' etc., root **kēyā-* 'swell,' *Mod. Phil.*, VI, 444 f.), NE. *huff* 'a swell of sudden anger or arrogance, a fit of petulance or ill humor,' dial. *huff* 'blow, puff; breathe heavily, pant; swell, puff up; rise in baking; become angry, rage,' *hubble* 'stir, bustle, confusion, noise, tumult,' *hobble*, *hubble* 'shake, jolt; dandle, toss; move unsteadily, shake with a quivering motion; swarm with vermin; move with difficulty' (: Russ. *kipěl* 'wallen, siedend; aufbrausen; wimmeln'), EFr. *hubbeln* 'abwechselnd auf und nieder steigen, sich wellenförmig bewegen,' Du. *hobben* 'hin und her schwanken, schaukeln,' *hobbelen* 'schwanken, schaukeln, hüpfen, stolpern, stottern,' *huppelen* 'hüpfen, springen,' MDu. *hobbelen* 'drehen, wälzen,' *hubbelen*, *huppelen*, *huppen* 'hüpfen, springen,' MHG. *hupfen*, *hüpfen*, *hopfen*, OE. *hoppian* 'hop,' etc. (or these to the closely related No. 9).

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(To be concluded)

THE HOSTAGE

AN ARABIAN PARALLEL TO SCHILLER'S BALLAD "DIE BÜRGSCHAFT"

To what extent the friendship motif, chiefly known by the story of Damon and Pythias, and brought to literary perfection in Schiller's ballad, has become popular can be concluded from the fact that it has been widely and variously treated from classical times down to modern days. The references to both classical and medieval writers and works on this subject, as given by Oesterley in his edition of the *Gesta Romanorum*,¹ show that it was most extensively utilized by Western writers. Of these Oesterley cites twenty-seven as having treated the subject up to, roughly, the fifteenth century. Two references mention works in which Eastern types of the subject appear.

It is of interest to state here that Oesterley, in speaking of the principal sources of the *Gesta*, has not mentioned the oldest occidental collection of oriental sayings, half of which appear in some form or other in the *Gesta*. This is the *disciplina clericalis* of Petrus Alphonsi (*sic!*), a converted Jewish intellectual (baptized January 1, 1106), and body surgeon of Alphonse I of Spain. Excerpts from this work are found in the *Exempla* (beginning of thirteenth century) of Jacques de Vitry, in *Liber de doctrina loquendi et tacendi* (1245) of Albertano da Brescia, in *Summa de regimine vite* of Johannes Vallensis, in Jacobus de Cessolis, 'Schachbuch,' and in numerous other works. Besides, there were Spanish translations (as early as 1292), *Castigos et documentos*, and subsequently, so that the work was fairly well known. Still, among the numerous collections of moralizing tales which influenced the development of the *Gesta*² the *disciplina clericalis* as such is not mentioned. Yet the name Petrus Alphonsus (*sic!*), apparently mistaken as a patronymic, appears at the head of chapter 171 of the *Gesta*, while no reference to the source appears in the notes on that chapter. It happens

¹ Herm. Oesterley, *Gesta Romanorum* (Berlin, 1872), p. 728.

² Oesterley, *op. cit.*, pp. 246, 252, 253.

that this chapter deals with the Damon and Pythias story, and its Eastern parallel, as told by Petrus Alphonsi, is found in his work as *exemplum* II under 'de integro amico'.¹

It must be said, however, that while no mention is made by Oesterley of the *disciplina clericalis* as a source of the *Gesta* in his long introduction, he cites the name of "Petr. Alphons." in the notes at least thirteen times. The fact that the *disciplina* has thus failed of being mentioned may be explained from his reference (p. 268) that the statement of the sources has been frequently omitted since they often proved incorrect and that some references, as found by him, were not to the author but to the commentator and to glossed texts, which may be wholly unknown or were never printed. Some of these references were found, as he states, in Holkot's *Moralitates*.

As to its character the *disciplina clericalis*, though replete with Eastern sayings, ranks as a Western moralizing work, intended, not so much to make the Occident acquainted with Arab wisdom, as to exemplify Christian teachings. Consequently, much of its material found its way into the sermon literature of the Middle Ages. As to the stories themselves, it may be mentioned that they recur in the folklore of oriental peoples, which, however, does not necessarily prove their oriental origin.

The Arab story with the friendship motif as given by Cardonne² is entitled, in the English translation, "An extraordinary instance of generosity in one Arab, and of singular integrity and honour in the other." Cardonne was secretary and interpreter of the oriental languages to His Christian Majesty, as well as professor of Arabic in the Royal College at Paris. The story he relates hinges on the customs connected with the "evil" day (the *dies nefastus* of the Romans). It deals with an Arab at court and one of the desert. This last was named Taï. Reduced to poverty, Taï appears before his sovereign and makes supplications on the latter's evil day. Unable to escape death because of this, he requests a few hours of

¹ Die "*Disciplina Clericalis*," Sammlung Mittelalterlicher Texte, ed. Hilka, Heidelberg, 1911.

² A *Miscellany of Eastern Learning*, translated from Turkish, Arabian, and Persian MSS. In the Library of the King of France. By Mons. Cardonne (Vol. I, p. 1). . . . Translated into English, 2 vols, London, 1771.

respite so that he may return and take food to his family. This request is granted, but he is required to furnish a hostage. In vain the unfortunate Taï appealed to the bystanding courtiers, but the king's favorite, Chérîkbénnadi, is touched with pity and becomes his hostage. As Taï does not appear at the appointed hour, Chérîk is taken away to be beheaded. Just in the nick of time Taï returns. The sovereign is much affected by this and resolves to abolish the detestable custom of capital punishment; besides, he bestows favors upon both Taï and Chérîk. It will be seen that this story does not make reference to obstacles encountered by Taï which delayed his return in time. Nor is there an inquiry as to Chérîk's readiness to offer himself as a hostage for the unknown Arab.

The story just given is practically the same as told by Dr. Mordtmann of Constantinople.¹ In his article, the latter calls attention to the fact that Damon and Pythias, who are the archetypes, were Pythagoreans and therefore were morally bound to sacrifice. This same author relates another story from *Meidani*, a work on Arab proverbs,² which, in substance, is the story of Damon and Pythias, but has been adapted to teach the efficacy of Christianity. Thus it, too, lives up to the moralizing character of most of these stories. As a contrast to the preceding he refers to a story from *Amru*, a Syrian, in which a camel breaks some eggs, thereby leading its owner to commit murder. Condemned to die, the slayer too seeks a respite in order to set his affairs in order. Before leaving, he selects for his hostage the very judge who condemned him to death. His return is delayed, but he arrives in time to save his friend. Both are spared. The evident purpose of this story is to teach Moslem fidelity.

Similar to the story just related about the camel is the one which is told here at length. It is one of oral tradition given to the writer in German, and told as nearly to the original as it was narrated, with all the oriental verbiage and delineations. It came from the mouth of an educated Turk to whom his Arab nurse in his childhood had frequently told this story. The narrator seems entirely trustworthy

¹ *Die Gartenlaube* (1869), No. 10., p. 151. Title: "Zu Dionys, dem Tyrannen schlich."

² In E. Pocock, *Specimen historiae Arabum*. Oxford, 1650.

and the writer has been assured that one may come across this story now and then in out-of-the-way places along the border of the Black Sea. As far as the writer can ascertain it is a *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* and forms an excellent parallel to Schiller's treatment of the Damon and Pythias motif.

"Allah kerim," sagte Abdul Hassan zu seiner jungen Frau im Beginn des Rhamadan, "zehn Piaster in unserem Han und wir wollen Abdallah, den Gottgesandten, beschneiden lassen! Zur Bewirtung der Gäste und unserer Leute fehlt das nötigste und ein Hammel sollte geschlachtet werden. Reis und andere Zutaten sind nicht in genügender Menge vorhanden und Kanafe (Honigbrot) sollte in Butter gebacken werden. Bleibt wohl nichts anderes übrig, dasz ich mich bei Sonnenuntergang aufmache und gen Damaskus ziehe um zwei meiner Kamelstuten auf den Markt zu bringen."

"Der Allerbarmer wird euch schützen, während ich Sorge das Fest zu Ehren unseres Erstgeborenen so herzurichten, wie es von einem Sohne der Beni Senussi verlangt wird."

Hamum Soraide küsste die Brust des Neugeborenen und sagte: "Ziehe in Frieden!"

Und Abdul Hassan füllte die Wasserschläuche und nahm, nachdem er die nötigen Eszwaren auf seine Stuten geladen hatte, Abschied von Weib und Kind und zog seinem Kismet entgegen. Die Hitze der Basaltfelsen des zedernbedeckten Libanon, die Glut der Sonne auf dem öden Wüstenpfade trieben ihm den Schweiß aus den Poren. Hin und wieder liesz sich die wimmernde Stimme eines Schakals hören, welcher der Spur des Einsamen folgte. Er aber zog unverdrossen weiter, bis er im Abendgrauen getrockneten Kamelmist sammelte, Feuer machte, und unter einem verdorrten Lorbeerbaum Rast hielt um zu schlafen.

Und er träumte, dasz Scheitan, der Satan, übles mit ihm vorhabe, und dasz er, um seine Ehre als Edelaraber zu retten, den Tod am Kreuze zu sterben habe. Im Morgengrauen eilte er dann schweren Herzens weiter.

Ein heisser Wind wehte über die Wüste, und der Wasservorrat, den er mitgenommen, war nur auf drei Tage bestimmt. Noch immer trennten ihn zwei Tage von der Hauptstadt Syriens, mit ihren hängenden Gärten und den schlanken Minarets ihrer weissen Moscheen.

Unverdrossen legte Abdul Hassan Parasange auf Parasange zurück. Er litt, die Tiere, die trächtigen, litten und qualvoll war die Reise durch das einsame Land, wo keine Hoffnung war den heißen Winden und den Glutstrahlen der Sonne zu entgehen. So verstrich der zweite Tag, und am Mittag des dritten waren die Wasserschläuche leer.

Vor ihm in weiter Ferne lag wie eine Fata Morgana Damaskus, die Blüte und leuchtende Perle Syriens. Am Morgen des vierten Tages kamen sie müde und erschöpft an, und Allah preisend führte er seine Stuten durch das Siegestor Bab en Nasr, und gierig tranken die durstigen Tiere an dem öffentlichen Brunnen, und Hassan hatte eine Dankessure auf den Lippen.

Ein oder zweimal in seinem Leben war er in der Gartenstadt Damaskus gewesen, und im Bazar hatte er soviel zu bewundern, dasz er seinen zwei Kamelstuten nicht die nötige Aufmerksamkeit zollte.

Hingen da über der Gartenmauer eines alten Scheiks lockende Datteltrauben. Reife Mangofrüchte leuchteten neben üppigen Granatäpfeln. Der Sonne Licht beschien die gelben, saftigen Orangen und wunderbar schluchzende Töne entrangen sich den Kehlen der kleinen lieben Vöglein.

Wie heisz zitternd die Luft auch über der Wüste lag, wie wunderbar schön auch die Einsamkeit sein mochte, hier war es doch viel viel schöner und Abdul Hassan vergasz seiner Kamele.

Eine der Stuten aber war ein gierig Tier und erspähte eine Datteltraube und risz sie herab, dabei den Ast verletzend.

Der alte Scheik aber, der sie sah—eben hatte er einen Ziegel aus dem Gartenweg gelockert—nahm den Stein und warf ihn nach der Stute, traf ihre Schläfe, sodasz sie tot zu Boden sank.

Mit einem Schreckensruf, vom Schmerz über den Tod seines Tieres erfüllt, nahm Hassan den Stein und zerschmetterte damit den Schädel des alten Scheiks, sodasz er schmerzlos in die Gehenna fuhr.

Abu Oman, der älteste Sohn des Gärtners, seinen Vater hinsinken sehend, rief seine Brüder herbei und deutete auf den Beni Senussi, der eben dem verendeten Tiere den Tragsattel abgenommen hatte, und in lauten Worten seinen eben erschlagenen Feind zu allen Söhnen des verruchten Iblis verwünschte.

Die drei Gärtnerssöhne überfielen den Abdul Hassan und fesselten ihn. Dann brachten sie ihn und die noch überlebende Stute vor den Kadi.

Nachdem der die Geschichte beider Parteien gehört hatte, sagte er: "Allah hat mich mit Blindheit geschlagen. Gehet hin zu dem Kaimakan, dem Präfekten, der ist ein Freund des Emirs, ihn hat des Allgütigen Gnade mit hoher Weisheit gesegnet. Und Allah ist grossz!"

Und sie zogen mit dem gefangenen Araber zum Oberrichter. Der aber rieb sich die Hände vor Vergnügen und sagte: "Muzzaffr Eddin, der Emir, wird diesen eigenartigen Fall behandeln und er wird sich freuen, dasz sich so Auszerordentliches in seinem Reiche begeben konnte."

So zog der Araber mit seiner übriggebliebenen Kamelstute, umgeben von den Gärtnerssöhnen und Gefolge, zum Hofe des Fürsten. Und wie der Bimbascha die Tore des Palastes öffnete, rief Muzaffr Eddin: "Ihr da, was bringet Ihr?"

Sagte der Kaimakan, den die Neugierde mit den andern zum Palaste geführt hatte: "Du Leuchte der Weisen, hier ist ein Edelaraber vom Stamme der Beni Senussi und er hat den Gärtner, deinen Hofgärtner, den Abu Oman Ben Amre erschlagen, und die drei Söhne, die Waisen, schreien nach Blut."

Daraufhin sagte der Emir zu dem Araber: "Was hast du zu sagen?"

"O du leuchtende Fackel im Weltenall," sprach dieser, "meine Kamelstute war nur ein armes unwissendes Tier. Die Wunder der Stadt betörten mein armes hungerndes Herz und ich war nicht achtsam.

"Kam ich doch her um zwei meiner edelsten trächtigen Kamelstuten zu verkaufen, da ich in der Mitte des Rhamadan meinen Erstgeborenen beschneiden wollte, in meinem Han fehlte es an Geld um das Fest würdig zu feiern. Und hier duften die Gärten, reifen die Früchte, und die Nachtigallen schluchzen. Ich schaute der lachenden Schönheit in die Seele und hatte ganz vergessen weswegen ich hergekommen. Und da brach meine Kamelstute fremden Mannes Eigentum und ein fremder Mann raubte meiner armen Stute des Lebens Odem."

“Die Tiere hatten keine Berechtigung zu stehlen,” sagte der Emir. Antwortete der Araber: “Leuchte des Weltalls, mein Tier kannte nicht den Unterschied zwischen mein und dein. Das Tier asz, was ihm gut dünkte und Du, o Weiser, willst doch einem Tiere keine Vorschriften machen, was es essen soll oder nicht?”

Sagte Muzzaffr Eddin: “Blut verlangt Blut. Die verwaisten Söhne verlangen dein Leben.” “Taar, Taar!” schrieten die Söhne und warfen sich auf den Boden, “wer hilft uns Armen, da uns die Weisheit des Erzeugers fehlt?”

“Ich schleuderte nur den Stein zurück an den Platz, von wannen er kam, du schillernder Adamant,” sagte Abdul Hassan.

“Du wirst dein Leben am Kreuze lassen; die Waisen trauern um ihren Erzeuger und Ruhe gibt's nicht bis Blut durch Blut gesühnt ist.”

“Allah kerim,” sagte der Beni Senussi, “wie das Kismet entscheidet; mit dem Worte ‘Gott hilf’ habe ich mein Haus verlassen und Allah läßt mich nicht zu schanden werden. Aber du da, den der Scheik ül Islam zum Obersten ernannte über alle, die da glauben an den wahren, den einzigen Gott, willst du eine weisse Nacht haben? Siehe, ich will mein Weib, an der ich mit allen Fasern meines Herzens hange, meinem Bruder antrauen, dasz sie einen Beschützer, und mein Sohn einen Ernährer habe.”

“Gieb mir sieben Tage Zeit um diese Angelegenheit zu ordnen, und ich werde wiederkommen, denn ich bin ein Edelaraber. Und der Erzengel Azrael wird deine Nacht in eine Nacht der Freude umwandeln und deine drei Lieblingswünsche werden erfüllt.”

“Hast du einen Bürgen für deine Blutschuld?” fragte der Fürst.

Abdul Hassan blickte im Kreise umher und schaute in die Augen der Tafelgenossen des Emirs bis seine Augen endlich auf die ehrwürdige Gestalt des Lieblingsdichters des Emirs fielen, auf den Scheik Ishaak von Mossul, und er sagte: “Dieser da, der wird mein Bürge sein.”

Des Emirs Augen ruhten auf Ishaak von Mossul. Der Dichter sagte: “Allah will es so, ich will für ihn bürgen und, wenn das Schicksal es will, die Blutschuld auf mich laden.”

“Ziehe deines Weges, Abdul, und versäume nicht in sieben Tagen wieder hier zu sein, auf dasz die Blutschuld sich nicht an deinem

Bürgen räche und der Glaube an Edeling nicht verloren gehe," so sprach der Emir.

Flüchtigen Schrittes, seine Stute auf den Markt treibend, entschwand der Araber. Ein alter Scheik nahm ihm für einen annehmbaren Preis das überlebende Kamel ab. Den Wasserschlauch, Brot und Datteln auf dem Rücken, zog Abdul Hassan heimwärts und ohne Hindernisse erreichte er sein Heim. Mit sonnigem Lächeln empfing ihn Soraide. Doch bald wandte sich ihre Freude in bitteres Wehklagen.

Abdul Hassan aber liesz den Imam des Stammes kommen und hiesz ihn Weib, Kind und Gut seinem Bruder überschreiben.

Nach der Beschneidung aber, wie alles besorgt, Weib und Kind nicht mehr schutzlos waren, wanderte er zurück nach Damaskus seinem Schicksal entgegen.

Sieben Mal war die Sonne untergegangen. Muzaffr Eddin saz mit seinem Gefolge an reicher Tafel. Ishaak, der Mossuler, trug dem Fürsten eine Ode vor. Diese freute den Fürsten und er schenkte dem Poeten ein mit Edelsteinen besetztes Gewand.

Auf einmal drängte sich lärmendes Volk in den Palast und an dessen Spitze befanden sich die drei Gärtneressöhne. Die aber waren in Säcke gekleidet und hatten ihre Gesichter und Barthaar mit Rusz und Asche beschmiert.

"O Licht der Sonne," rief der älteste, "unseres Vaters Blut schreit nach Rache."

Und der zweite rief: "O wehe uns armen Verwaisten!"

Muzaffr Eddin aber, der den Poeten liebte und wie einen Vater verehrte, wollte des Alten Leben retten. Drum bot er den drei Söhnen das Gewicht des Dichters in Gold an, und er war ein sehr schwerer, groszer Mann, dieser Dichter von Mossul.

"Blut fordert Blut," sagte der älteste Sohn, "gib uns den Araber oder seinen Blutbürgen, wir wollen ihn hängen ans Kreuz bis seine Seele zur Gehenna fährt!"

"Kreuzigen! kreuzigen!" schrie das blutgierige Volk.

Da der Araber nicht zu sehen war, machte sich Muzaffr Eddin mit seinem ganzen Gefolge und dem stillergebenen Poeten auf, und sie zogen zur Richtstätte. Und dort wurde der Meistersänger ans Kreuz gebunden.

Wie die Henker aber das Kreuz mit dem dem Tode geweihten Mann aufrichten wollten, durchbrach ein Mann, fast aller Kleidung entblößt, vom Wegstaub und mit Blut beschmutzt, die drängende Volksmasse. Mit heiserer Stimme, dem Zusammenbrechen nahe, schrie er mit Aufwand seiner letzten Kraft: "Haltet ein! nicht den da hänget, sondern mich, Abdul Hassan, den Senussi, für den der edle Mann Bürge gestanden!"

"Durch Gefahren bin ich gegangen, sorgenbeschwert, unter die Räuber bin ich geraten. Und alles nahmen sie mir, Wegzehrung und Kleidung und dazu schlugen sie mich bis ich in meinem Blut lag und sie mich für tot am Wege lieszen.

"Denn so schnell ich konnte und meine Kraft es erlaubte, eilte ich hierher, damit nicht das Licht der Sonne, der Sänger von Mossul, eines schmachvollen Todes sterbe."

Trotz seiner Erschöpfung sah man einen Strahl schönen Lichtes in den Augen des edlen Arabers leuchten.

Das Volk rief um Gnade, und Muzaffr Eddin hüllte den Araber in seinen kostbaren Burnus und umarmte und küsste ihn. Der losgebundene Sänger aber sagte zu dem Senussi: "Ich wusstest du würdest kommen, falls du nicht vorher dem Todesengel verfielst, denn dein Auge ist so klar wie das Wasser des Jordans." Voll Stolz erwiderte Abdul Hassan dem Poeten: "O du Guter, ich bin ein Edelaraber." Muzaffr Eddin aber, nachdem er den Araber mit Speise und Trank hatte erfrischen lassen, sagte zu den Söhnen des Gärtners: "Wollt ihr nicht diesen edlen Araber gegen Blutgeld freigegeben?"

Da das Volk anfang unwillig auf die Gärtnerssöhne zu werden, sagte der älteste derselben: "Ich schenke ihm ein Drittel, mein Drittel seines Blutes, zum Zeichen, dass die Barmherzigkeit noch nicht aus der Welt entschwunden ist."

Der Zweite sprach: "Ich schenke ihm mein Drittel seines Blutes, zum Zeichen, dass wir Ehrenhaftigkeit über alles setzen, selbst über die Blutrache."

Der Dritte aber, ein schöner Jüngling mit milden leuchtenden Augen sagte: "Ich will ihm mein Drittel schenken, das letzte seines Blutes, zum Zeichen, dass die Liebe, der süsse wärmende Funken des Allerbarmers, der jede Kreatur belebt, immer und ewig die Herzen der Gläubigen beseelen solle."

Da umarmte der Emir die Gärtnerssöhne, machte sie und den Araber zu seinen Tafelgenossen und wies ihnen Haus und Einkommen an.

Sich zu dem Poeten wendend, fragte er ihn: "O Ishaak, warum wurdest du Bürge für den Araber, den du doch nicht kanntest?"

"O Leuchte der Welt," sagte der Poet, "er vertraute mir und nur mir allein. Durfte ich sein festes Vertrauen täuschen?"

Im Palast angekommen, liesz der Emir die Geschichte mit Gold auf eine Marmorplatte graben.

Abdul Hassan aber liesz seine Frau kommen und sein Kind. Der Iman sprach die Ehescheidung aus zwischen Eriman Hassan und Soraide. Und der Muzaffr Eddin gab dem Bruder, dem Geschiedenen, eine der Töchter der Groszen aus Damaskus. So vereinte der Iman wieder die Getrennten und in Glück und Liebe lebten zusammen in der Stadt der duftenden Gärten Abdul Hassan und Soraide.

Und Allah ist grosz!

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THE GRAIL AND THE ENGLISH *SIR PERCEVAL*

VI

We have seen that *Sir Perceval* (*Sp*) is different from the *Conte du Graal* (*C*) and, in great measure if not wholly, independent of it. We have become convinced that *Sp* cannot be derived from *C*, but must come from another source, which also influenced *Parzival* (*W*) and *Lanzelet* (*L*). Our next business is to attempt to reconstruct this source, not necessarily the immediate source of *Sp*, but a more ultimate form of it. We may approach the problem by a comparative study of certain other romances, notably *L*.

The parallelism between the earlier portions of *Sp* and *L* has already been demonstrated. Moreover Miss Paton has shown¹ that *L* preserves clear traces of its fairy-tale source. She has proved that its plot was originally a folk-story of a controlling *fée*. The story-formula runs in large outlines as follows: A *fée* lures a well-known knight into a desperate adventure. She guides and directs him throughout, and upon his success rewards him with her love. Chrétien's *Ivain* and the poem called *La Mule sanz Frain* are typical examples of this formula, but both in their present form

¹ Studies in Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance, *Radcliffe College Monographs*, No. 13 (1903). See especially pp. 167-203. (Henceforth I employ at discretion arguments from fairy-lore).

have been contaminated by another motive, namely, that of a princess at war with a giant,¹ or bewitched by a giant, and needing to be rescued by a mortal hero. Laudine in *Ivain* is the wife of the red giant Esclados, although many other features in the romance show that she was originally a *fée*. The narrator of *La Mule* wavers between two different conceptions of his heroine; sometimes she is an enchanted princess; sometimes she is a *fée*.²

Frequently the formula begins with the *enfances* of the hero. In large outlines it then runs as follows: A hero, after a marvelous youth spent in fairyland under the instruction of a *fée*, goes at the age of fifteen, or thereabouts, to Arthur's court to be made knight. He becomes involved at once by the contrivance of the *fée* in some great deliverance or disenchantment adventure. By success in this adventure he wins the love of the *fée*, who in truth throughout the story has been training and testing him to be a mate for herself. *L*, which preserves this full formula more completely, perhaps, than any other romance, is deserving of careful study.

VII

It is generally agreed that *L* is a pretty faithful translation of a lost French romance.³ The date of this lost romance is in dispute but it probably cannot have been written later than 1194.⁴ We may pause for a moment to consider this dispute.

Foerster's argument that the weak construction of *L*, which was doubtless inherited from the lost original, proves that this original was a late affair and belonged to the period of decadence in verse romances⁵ does not deserve much consideration. As everybody

¹ Kittredge's "type III," *A Study of Gawain and the Green Knight* (1916), p. 237

² Kittredge, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-49.

³ There is no reason to suppose that Ulrich von Zatzikhoven was superior to the average medieval translator, or that he made any more changes than, for instance, Hartmann von Aue introduced in translating Chrétien's *Erec* and *Ivain*. I agree on this point with Foerster, *Karrenritter* (1899), p. xlii.

⁴ Ulrich says that his French original was given him by "Hûc von Morville who came as hostage" (*Lanzelet*, 9326-49). Hugo came from England in 1194, and, as may be inferred, brought the French romance with him. See G. Paris, *Romania*, X (1881), 471; Foerster, *op. cit.*, pp. xlv f.

⁵ *Wörterbuch (Rom. Bib., XXI)* (1914), Einleitung, p. 113, n. 1.

knows, writers of mediocre power are not now, and never were totally absent from any period of literary activity.¹ The year 1194, to take the latest possible date for the composition of the French original of *L*, is not a period of decadence in French verse romances. Foerster's second argument that the making of the rescued serpent-lady Elidfa, an arbiter in questions of love, is a sign that the romance was completed late² carries no conviction at all. The *courtois* doctrine was popular after the appearance of *Énéas* (c. 1150), and certainly after *Cligès* (c. 1170).

On the other hand, there is much force in the argument of Gaston Paris³ that the composition of the French original of *L*, which plainly lacked any hint of love between the hero and Guinevere, must be antecedent to Chrétien's *Charrette* (c. 1172). It will not do to urge against it the existence of late romances, such as *Daniel*, and *Escanor*, which mention Lancelot and Guinevere each but a few times and do not speak of their love affair. The argument is not that nobody after 1172 could mention Lancelot and Guinevere without alluding to their mutual love, but that nobody, making Lancelot the hero of a biographical romance, and representing him as a companion in a rescue of Guinevere, would leave out the love affair if it were known to him. This argument may be eluded, however, by supposing that the author of the lost original of *L* wrote after 1172, but had never heard of Chrétien's *Charrette*.

No uncertainty of this kind attaches to the evidence in Chrétien's works that he knew the lost original of *L*, or at least some similar story that contained the formula of fairy control. The occurrence of the epithet "Lanceloz del Lac" in *Erec*,⁴ which was written about 1168, would naturally imply that the story of Lancelot's having been brought up by the Dame du Lac was then known. Chrétien certainly knew some story involving the control of Lancelot's career by a *fée* when he wrote his *Charrette*, for he there relates that the hero was brought up by a *fée* whom he

¹ Miss Weston has argued for the existence of early as well as late ill-constructed romances, *The Legend of Sir Lancelot* (1901), p. 18.

² Foerster, *loc. cit.* See *Lanzelet*, 8034 f., and below, p. 71, n. 3.

³ *Romania*, X, 469 ff.

⁴ Verse 1694. Compare Miss Paton's remark, *op. cit.*, p. 192, n. 1.

trusted to come to his aid wherever he was.¹ It is, therefore, clear that either the French original of *L*, or something like it, was known in Chrétien's time. We cannot, then, regard as improbable the opinion of G. Paris that the French original was written as early as 1160.²

We have paused for a moment over this question of date because the existence, about 1160, of a French romance containing the formula of fairy control is interesting in connection with our study of this formula, but the acceptance of an early date for the original of *L* is in no way essential to the argument.

All that the present discussion requires is that we admit the possibility of a romance of the end of the twelfth century preserving, independently of Chrétien, traces of an original controlling-*fée* framework. This possibility cannot be denied. Indeed, romances much later than *L*, as for example the thirteenth-century *Floriant et Florete* (*F*) which will be discussed later, and the fourteenth-century English *Sp*, may preserve the main framework of a fairy tale.

The supposed presumption against the survival of fairy-tale machinery in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century romances like *F* and *Sp* is largely illusory and without logical basis. Moreover, no presumption can stand against the manifest presence of fairy-lore survivals. Each romance must be investigated for itself. Caution is, of course, necessary for nobody will deny that late

¹ [Lancelot] Avoit un anel an son doi, Don la pierre tel force avoit Qu'anchantemanz ne le pooit Tenir puls qu'il l'avoit vëue.	2350
L'anel met devant sa vëue, S'esgarde la pierre et si dit: " Dame, dame, se Deus m'aït Or avroie je grant mestier Que vos me venissiez eïdier!"	2355
Cele dame une fëe estoit Qui l'anel donë li avoit Et si norri an s'anfance; S'avoit an li mout grant fiance Que ele, an quel leu que il fust, Secorre et eïdier li dëust.	2360

The ring here described is not mentioned in *Lanzelet*, where, however, the *merminne* made gifts to the hero, but is told of in the *Prose Lancelot*. It was, of course, like the ring in *Désiré*, and like that given to Ivain by Laudine; that is, it gave the hero access to the *fée*, or summoned her when he needed her. For references, see *Romanic Review*, III (1912), 145, note.

² Paris dated the French original of *Lanzelet* as early as 1160, *La Litt. française au Moyen-Âge* (2d ed., 1889), p. 247. This date was accepted by Professor K. G. T. Webster, *Englische Studien*, XXXVI (1906), 348.

romances were sometimes cobbled together out of all sorts of materials gathered here and there.¹ One test for the genuineness of fairy survivals is to examine whether the principle of fairy control will explain the whole framework of the story. We shall go on to apply this test to *L*, and in due time to *F*, and to *Sp*.

VIII

Since we have seen that the question of the date of the French source of *L* does not affect our problem, we may proceed to a closer examination of the structure of *L*. The main or framework story of *L* is swayed by the supernatural figure of the fairy guardian, the *merminne*, who, though ever in the background, is ever in control. She carried away the hero and brought him up for a special purpose, namely to unspell her son Mabuz. That Mabuz would be a coward had been foretold to her before his birth, and she had placed him in a castle which was enchanted so that everyone that entered without the host's permission lost his valor. This she did for fear of Iweret, the most terrible warrior that ever was, whose domain was adjacent to that of Mabuz. She trained up the hero, to slay Iweret, and thus to free her son from peril, to disenchant him as it were, for Mabuz seemed to live under a kind of spell. Throughout the framework story of *L* this purpose of the *merminne* dominates the hero's career. She gave him arms, she sent damsel messengers to tell him his name, to reward him with presents, and to secure his rescue when imprisoned.

Into this main framework no fewer than five *contes*, which show traces of having been once separate stories, have been thrust: (1) Galagandreiz (705-1310); (2) Lînier (1357-2238); (3) Combat with Valerîn (4980-5360); (4) Plûris (5429-5745); (3a)² Rescue of Guinevere from Valerîn (6674-7524); (5) Elîdia (7833-8040). Four of these episodes, to wit (1), (2), (4), (5), are variations on one

¹ E.g., *Generydes*. Compare Kittredge's remarks on jumbled romances, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

² I number (3) and (3a) together, because both have to do with Valerîn, and I do not count the episode of the magic mantle, 5745-6205, which, like the tent, 4735-4926, was sent by the *merminne*. It is impossible to tell and is of no consequence to the argument whether the episode of the mantle belonged to the framework or was a decorative insertion. Nothing here militates against the argument of Cross, *Modern Philology*, XVI, 650.

general formula: namely, the marriage of a hero to a princess whom he has rescued from a giant oppressor; the story of Iweret and Iblis in the main framework contains also, as it stands, elements in common with this formula.

That a hero in an Arthurian romance is embarrassed to escape marrying a lady whom he has rescued¹ is a hint that the episode in which such embarrassment occurs was once an independent story and has been interpolated into the framework in which we find it. Chrétien's *Ivain* contains in the episode of "The Castle of Ill Adventure" (5107-5770) an account of such an embarrassment, and some years ago I used this as one of a number of proofs that "The Castle of Ill Adventure" was once a separate *conte*. It is told separately, at the end, in the Welsh *Owain*.² Chrétien could not with decorum allow his hero, who was the husband of Laudine, to marry another lady at this castle.

The author of *L* had not inventive energy enough to get round such a difficulty, and he allows his hero a superabundance of wives. Besides his true bride Iblis, he acquired three others, corresponding to three episodes (1, 2, 4), that have been interpolated into the main framework. He first married Galagandreiz's daughter, and deserted her, with some slight show of reason,³ it is true. He next became the lover of the niece of Lînfîer, named Ade, who followed him faithfully for some time, but was presently forgotten. He then married Iblis, but that did not prevent him, in his next adventure at Plûris, from marrying a queen there. At this point the author calls his hero *wipsaelic*, "woman-fortunate," and adds: "I know not whether he married the queen unwillingly for she was a fair maiden."⁴ After this he rescued the serpent-lady Elidia, but she

¹ Cf. Kittredge, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

² "Iwain," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), 136 f. See also *Romanic Review*, III (1912), 152: "The Castle of Ill Adventure" was once a separate tale of the same type as the main framework into which Chrétien has introduced it. Ivain's embarrassment is amusing. He gets off only by promising the insistent father:

Revandrai, se je onques puis,
Et prandrai vostre fille puis: [5754].

³ doch enmoht er vergezzen nie,
daz siu ze jungest zuo im gie.
daz versweig er sie dâ,
siu engalt es aber anderswâ: [1112].

⁴ dô muose aber briuten
der wipsaelige Lanzelet.
ich enweiz, ob erz ungerne tet,
wan diu kûnegin was ein schoene maget: [5531].

was disposed of as a judge in questions of etiquette at Arthur's court.

The lack of artistic energy in the author of the French original of *L* and in the German translator is so obvious that the date of the material in *L* is practically the date of the framework plot and of the separate *contes* which have been interpolated. The archaic flavor of most of these easily detachable stories is unmistakable. Barbaric details stare one in the face. The prison of Valerîn (6674-7524) may be taken as an example. Miss Weston has shown¹ that the dense thicket infested with serpents about Guinevere's prison (7359-7407) is almost identical with typical forms of the *Dornröschen Märchen*; Miss Schoepperle, after studying the episode, declared²: "Next to the *Vita Gildae* [the Valerîn episode] corresponds most closely to the Etáin story."³

At this point it will be helpful to give a rather full summary of *L*,⁴ and to note in it some of the less obvious parallels to *Sp*:

Lanzelet was the son of King Pant of Genewis⁵ and Queen Clarine. He was only a year old when his father was slain in battle. His mother fled for refuge to a tree by a spring when there came a water-fée wrapped in a magical mist,⁶ and carried the child off to her land.⁷ She was "ein wîsiu merminne" (193), a queen that

¹ *The Legend of Sir Lancelot*, p. 19.

² *Tristan and Isolt*, II (1913), 537.

³ One of the *contes* included in *L*, that of Elidfa, belongs to such a banal type that no one would feel much confidence in its primitive character. But if anybody should argue (as does Foerster, *Wörterbuch*, p. 113, note) that, because Elidfa is made judge in questions of etiquette, therefore this *conte* of the serpent-lady took shape after the *courtois* period began, he would be demonstrably wrong. Here we can actually put finger upon a change made by the author of *L*. He was driven to this unusual act of constructive energy by desperation, for his hero was acquiring too many wives. In the separate *conte* of Elidfa the hero, of course, married the rescued serpent-lady, and she was not left over to become a judge of etiquette.

⁴ *Lanzelet* (ed. K. A. Hahn, 1845).

⁵ Genewis is a distortion of Gwynedd (North Wales); or, as Bruce prefers, of the Old Breton form *Guenet* (*Romanic Review*, X [1919], 54, n. 1).

⁶ "Ein merfeine . . . mit eime dunst als ein wint" (179-81). It is clear from the epithets *merfeine*, *merminne*, and from other hints that the *fée's* land must (in the source of the story) have been situated beneath the waters of a lake, although this is not explicitly said.

⁷ F. Panzer, *Hilde-Gudrun* (1901), pp. 189-213, argues that the story of Hagen's youth in *Gudrun* was imitated from *Lanzelet*, "näherte sie aber mehr dem Parzivaltypus an" (p. 211). He would bring the story of *Lanzelet's* being carried off by a *merminne* into association with a *märchen* type which he calls *der Bärensohn*.

ruled over Maiden Land¹ where dwelt ten thousand ladies but no man. In this land flowers and trees bloomed always; neither jealousy nor anger was known; the maidens, who were the sole inhabitants, were blithe and merry; and he who abode in that land a single day was always happy so long as his life endured (203-40). As the boy grew, the maidens taught him to defend himself against creatures of the water which they sent against him to try his skill; they encouraged him to throw stones, to shoot arrows, and to hunt with the bow. When he was fifteen years old he asked to see tournaments and battles; he asked his name and family (275-306). The *merfeine* told him that he must win a knowledge of his name by slaying Iweret of Behforet, the best warrior that ever was. "When you have conquered him, then shall you learn your name."² As soon as the queen understood that he was going away in search of honor, she procured for him an excellent steed, a suit of armor as white as a swan, a good sword, and a shield having an eagle fashioned upon it. The queen and many ladies conducted the youth over the water in a boat which had a *merwip* for pilot. During the voyage she taught and admonished him to be resolute and to do his best always (349-99).³

¹ *Meidelant*, 4685. The adjective "wise" shows that the *merminne* has been partly rationalized into a woman versed in magic, a change that has gone still farther in the *Prose Lancelot*. So in *Le Chevalier du Papegau* (ed. Heuckenkamp, p. 23, l. 29) the queen of the Amoureuse Cité is called "la fée à qui appent enseignement," i.e., the enchantress. Cf. "la sage dame de la forest sans retour" (*Merlin*, ed. Sommer, *Vulgate Version*, II, 148).

² du muost ê gewinnen oberhant
en dem besten ritter der ie wart [329].

und sist des sicher sunder wân,
daz dich din name wirt verswigen,
du enmüezest ê an im [Iweret] gesigen.
du vindest in, bistu frome [339].

Later, after he has slain Iweret and married Iblis, a damsel sent by the *merminne* tells him:

ir sint geheizen Lanzilete [4706].

Lanzelet's name was, no doubt, kept secret because he was in danger of being killed, before he was grown up, by the terrible Iweret. This gives a key to unlock the namelessness of Perceval, which is mentioned in all the versions but is unexplained in any. If Perceval's identity had become known he would have been in danger of being killed by his father's enemies. That this is the true explanation for Perceval's not knowing his own name is shown by analogy from the Irish *Macgnímartha Finn*, where the danger of the hero's name becoming known is made clear.

³ Nothing corresponds here to the unprimitive idea of picturing the mother as dying of grief at her son's departure, which is found in *C* and *W*. The mother's selfish notion of keeping her son ignorant of manly exploits in order to detain him with her as long as she lived, which is developed at great length in *C* (388-91; 490-91), and *Bl* (Potvin,

When he came to land he did not understand the use of his reins, but, letting the bridle drop, held on by the saddlebow. When he touched the horse with his spurs it pranced about so wildly that the ladies feared lest he might be injured against the great trees. All day he rode with the bridle loose about the horse's neck, and the next morning he continued in the same manner till he came in sight of a castle. His steed took a fancy to go straight up to a dwarf who was riding a white horse,¹ but the dwarf rudely rebuffed Lanzelet with blows of a whip (400-444). From a bystander Lanzelet learned that the name of the castle was Plûris.² He rode away from Plûris, with his bridle still hanging around his horse's ears, and kept on till he encountered a young gentleman on horseback. His steed began to whinny, neigh, and cry to this horse. The gentleman told his name "Johfrit de Liez," and laughing at the other's childish way of riding, with his horse darting here and there, conjectured that some lady had sent him out (452-504). To Johfrit's request for his name he answered truly that he did not know, and added in explanation of his foolish riding: "It is but the third day since I came from a land where no one knew a man. Only ladies were there. I have only heard tell how men fight." Johfrit taught "the man from the lake"³ how to hold the bridle; he took his guest to his castle, where his mother devised a tournament in order that Lanzelet might see and learn about chivalry.⁴

Lanzelet departed on the third day, and encountered two knights, Kuraûs and Orphilet, who accompanied him in the adventure of Galagandreiz (676-1310). Afterward Orphilet went to

948-69; 1013-14), is doubtless an invention of the sophisticated society of twelfth-century France. In a folktale or in Irish saga a mother would train up her son to avenge his father's death. The queen's behavior in *L*, where she is, to be sure, only a foster-mother, is without doubt more primitive. *Sp*, which describes only the natural sorrow of a mother at the departure of her son, is in substantial agreement with *L*.

¹ Lanzelet's steed, which goes whither it pleases, was doubtless in origin controlled by the *merminne*. See below, p. 83, n. 3.

² Lanzelet remembered this insult and avenged it later. Cf. vs. 3503.

³ The verse, "sprach er zem degene von dem sæ" (569) foreshadows the hero's well-known title "Lanzelet du Lac," which occurs later (7982, *et al.*).

⁴ The similarity between this scene and that where Perceval is instructed by his uncle was noticed by G. Paris, *Romania*, X (1881), 473; Philipot, *Romania*, XXVI (1897), 290 f.; and by Foerster, *Karrenritter*, p. xliii.

Arthur's court and told of Lanzelet's bravery. Lanzelet straightway plunged into an adventure with Lînier (1357-2238).¹ After this he fought with Gawain, and visited Arthur's court, without revealing his name (2239-3475). Then he set out to avenge the insult that he had received at Plûris, but arrived instead at the castle of Mâbûz, which was called *Schâtel le mort* (3550). Like other visitors he lost his courage through the enchantment of the place and remained a prisoner. But Mâbûz dragged him out of the bespelled castle and sent him to fight Iweret of the *Schoene Wald* (3560-3789). He spent a night with a monk at the *Jaemertlichen urbor* (3828),² where he received instructions, and recalled the command of the *merfeinne* that he should fight Iweret. Iweret had a red lion on his armor, and his shield was red.³ He had a lovely daughter named Iblis; his land was fragrant with never-fading flowers, and sparkled with gems and gold. Lanzelet challenged this giant warrior at a fountain, slew him in single combat, and married Iblis.

After the marriage a damsel messenger appeared on "ein harmblankez miullîn," bearing a message from the *merfeinne*, to inform Lanzelet of his name and parentage (4678-85). Also she brought him as a gift a tent, the description of which is full of marvels, and she informed him that his mother was Arthur's sister (4690-4920). Then Lanzelet entered upon an adventure with Valerîn (4980-5360). After that he made his way to Plûris, where, though conqueror, he was imprisoned (5429-5745). A maiden came from the *merminne* to Arthur's court bringing a magic fidelity mantle in

¹ In vs. 2045, Lanzelet is called "der namelöse tumbel." In general, however, he is represented as merely uninformed, not as foolish. This is true also of Perceval in *Sp.* He is uninformed because he was brought up far from men, "He knewe noþer evyll ne gude" (594), and he is called "þe fole of þe filde" (289, 505), but his conduct, although unreflecting, is never that of a fool. He is dashing, fearless, and irresistible. His name accords with his character: *Perce-Vaus*. See Brugger, *Zeitsch. für franz. Sprache und Litt.*, XLIV (1917), 149, 170, and on the influence of the *Dümmling* formula, *ibid.*, p. 155.

² The hospitable host of this otherworld journey. Cf. *Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX (1905), 677. On the parallelism between this part of the story and *Ivain*, see Foerster, *Wörterbuch*, Einl., pp. 110 ff.

³ In appearance and in character Iweret is like the Red Knight of *Sp.*:

sin wâfen ouch dar an was,
rôte lewen von golde.
sin schilt was, als er wolde,
von sinopele rôt genuoc [4421].

order to bestow honor on Iblis, and asked Arthur's knights to go to release Lanzelet, whom she revealed was a prisoner at Plûris (5745-6205). This is the last reference to the *merminne*. When Lanzelet was freed by Arthur's knights he entered upon another adventure against Valerîn, and he rescued Elidîa (6674-8040). Finally Lanzelet regained his father's kingdom, saw his mother who had believed him dead, and received a visit from King Arthur.

Another romance that preserves the fairy machinery almost as clearly as *L* is the thirteenth-century *Floriant et Florete*.¹ A summary will make its parallelism to *Sp* sufficiently apparent.

Maragos was a disloyal steward, who slew his king Elyadus and attempted to make love to the queen. She fled, and bore a son by a forest side. "Trois fées de la mer salée; la mestresse d'aux ert nommée Morgain, la suer le roi Artu" (551) stole the infant, and carried him to Mongibel, where he was baptized Floriant. Here he was brought up by the *fées* and well taught.

When Floriant was fifteen years old, he said to Morgain, "I believe that you are my mother, mais je ne connois pas mon pere" (773). She wept, for she knew that he was going to leave her: "I will give you a ship, that will go wherever you wish, and that will take you to King Arthur. Greet him from me his sister. As yet I will not tell who your parents were." She gave him a horse and a sword. The magic ship (which is described in terms as extravagant as those used of the fairy tent given by the *fée* in *L*) carried Floriant to the castle of the hostile Moradas, who was at war with King Arthur, and had fifteen of his knights in prison (943). To the questions of Moradas he replied: "Je ne sai pas où je fui nez ne de qui je fui engenrez" (992). He did not tell his name but said: "Je sui nomez li chevaliers qui la nef maine" (1157). Floriant conquered Moradas, released the captives, and sent them all to Arthur.

The [magic] ship carried Floriant to "La Blanche Cité" (1356) which was inhabited by more than one thousand ladies engaged in needlework. Their queen entertained Floriant, saying: "Sire, j'ai non Alemandine; Si sui de ceste ille roinne, c'on apele As Puceles beles" (1349). A beast "Pellicans" devoured a maiden daily.

¹ Ed. F. Michel, *Rozburghe Club*, 1873.

After Floriant had slain the monster, the queen offered him her hand, but he refused, and sent her to Arthur's court.

The ship next carried Floriant to a castle inhabited by three sisters, and beset by two giants. Floriant slew the giants (1712). He saw his ship sailing away on the sea, and knew that Morgain must be guiding it (2083). Floriant then went himself to Arthur's court, and delivered Morgain's message (2384). "Une pucele" came in a small boat and gave Floriant a letter, which began, "Florians, Morgain te salue si comme t'amie et ta drue," and went on to tell him his parents' names, and Maragos' crime (2525).

Floriant with Arthur's help, set out to rescue his mother, who for fifteen years had been besieged in her castle of Monreal by Maragos (2745). The latter had as ally the emperor of Constantinople, who had a lovely daughter named Florete. Floriant conquered Maragos, who was put to death. We are then told about a belt worn by Floriant which had been worked by three *fées* with seven years' toil (5129). Floriant married the lovely Florete, and later became emperor. One day he pursued a white stag in the forest and arrived at a castle, where he saw, "Morgain la fée qui l'avoit norri" (8213). She told him that she had sent the stag to lead him away, for he was about to die. She carried him and Florete to her palace, which was called Mongibel, to enjoy immortality there; and she promised to bring King Arthur also, "quant il sera à mort navrez" (8244).¹

IX

We have now studied in some detail two romances, *L* and *F*, in which the formula of fairy control is preserved more or less completely, and we have seen that *Sp* is parallel to them in the main features of its plot. What bearing has this on our proposed reconstruction of the more original form of *Sp*? Unless we have been entirely on the wrong track the question answers itself. Clearly *Sp*, in a more original form, was constructed, like *L* and *F*, on the formula of fairy control. But how about the extreme faintness of the traces of such control in the present form of *Sp*? Is there

¹ It is fair to observe that in the outline given above many minor adventures of Floriant have been omitted, but they in no way obscure the obvious control of the *fée* over the hero's whole career.

not danger of our seeing a hare in every bush, if we proceed to reconstruct an original motivation in *Sp* from traces so faint that nobody heretofore has ever noticed them? We must indeed remember that the interpretation of faint traces is no child's play, and requires care, but plenty of evidence exists that in certain Arthurian romances rationalization has obscured almost all traces of fairy control.

An especially convenient example at this point is the French *Prose Lancelot*. This shows no distinct marks of fairy control, and yet a comparison with *L* proves that it is essentially the same story.¹ Rationalization has obliterated the original fairy machinery.

In the *Prose Lancelot* the fairy guardian, who is called the Dame du Lac, has no special object in view like the *merminne*, nor any quest for which to prepare the boy. After the hero has dispelled an enchantment at the Dolerouse Garde, in which he is assisted by the agency of the Dame du Lac, he learns his name, but one searches in vain for any definite statement that she planned the adventure or that she sent him knowledge of his name. The original purpose of the *fée* in this incident, and her control over the hero, has been obliterated and can be understood only by a comparison with *L*.

The author of the *Prose Lancelot* knew that his hero's foster-mother was a *fée*, "la damoisele qui lanselot emporta el lac estoit une fée."² He, moreover, tells us explicitly that she lived beneath the waters of a lake: The "damoisele du lac" seized the infant son of King Ban, and "sen revait durement au lac. Si joint les pies et saut ens."³ He is careful, however, to explain that the lake, beneath which the lady had a rich and fair dwelling in a forest and beside a stream that abounded in fish, was only an illusion meant to hide her palace from the eyes of men.⁴ Lancelot grew up in this

¹ Bruce thinks that the story of the hero's youth in the *Prose Lancelot* was derived from the lost French original of *L*, *Romanic Review*, X (1919), 54, n. 1.

² *Vulgate Version* (ed. Sommer), III, 19.

³ *Ibid.*, III, 14.

⁴ "La dame qui nourisoit [Lancelot] ne conversoit nule fie s'en forest non grandes et parfondes. Ne li lays ou ele sali a tout lui quant ele lenporta nestoit se dencantement non. . . . En chel lieu ou il sambloit que li lais fust plus grans et plus parfons avoit la dame moult beles maisons et moult riches. Et el plain desous corut une riviere mout

enchanted domain, and learned the use of bow and arrows, as in *L*. The great difference in environment that rationalization has created between *L* and the prose romance may be grasped from one circumstance, that here the hero was taught by a master,¹ and had men as well as women for companions. No one knew who he was except the lady and one maiden.² An old man whom he met in the forest told him that he was the son of King Ban (p. 38), and although the Dame du Lac denied this (p. 40) she persistently called him "Fils de Roi." The pseudonym is poorly motivated and is an obvious survival from a more primitive form of the story, as in *L*, where the hero was in entire ignorance of his origin.

When he was eighteen years old he killed a great stag, and sent it to his foster-mother. She took this as a sign that he was old enough to leave her, gave him a long instruction on the duties of a knight, and bestowed on him a sword and a splendid white horse. After conducting him across the sea, she and all her train riding on white horses³ led him to King Arthur to ask that he be dubbed a knight. At parting she gave him a ring that would break all enchantments,⁴ nor did she cease to influence her foster-son's career after he had left her enchanted domain. At the time of his great adventure, the conquest of Dolerouse Garde, a veiled damsel, a messenger from the Dame du Lac appeared, and told him how the castle must be conquered. She brought him three marvelous shields and said that on the morrow he should learn his name. The next day at each crisis of the battle she gave him a new shield, and

plentieuse de poison. Si estoit chis herbergemens si chelés que nus ne le peust trover. Car la samblanche del lac le covroit, si que veus ne pooit estre (*ibid.*, III, 22).

In the *Huth Merlin* we read that Merlin built this enchanted palace for "la damoisele dou lac, cele qui norrist grant tans en son ostel Lanscelot dou lac" (*Merlin*, ed. Paris et Ulrich, II, 137). Merlin designed it so skilfully that from a distance one could see merely an appearance of a lake: "cloist si mervelleusement les maisons de toutes pars que il n'i paroit se ewe non. Et se vous fuissies par dehors, ja tant n'i seussies regarder que vous i veissies fors le lac." A lake of real water existed, however, because Merlin added: "Et se auchuns de vostre maisnie, ou par envie ou par haine, la voelt faire savoir a autre gent, il cherra maintenant ou lac et sera peris" (*Merlin*, II, 150).

¹ "La damoisele li bailla un maistre qui li enseigna" (*ibid.*, III, 33).

² "Ne savolt nus qui il estoit fors seulement la damoisele et une soie puchele" (*ibid.*, III, 33). This is the sole trace left by the rationalizing process of the Maiden Land of *L*. Similar faint traces are in *Sp* where two women are the hero's sole guardians. Two women bring up the hero in *Macgnímartha Finn*.

³ On fairies riding white horses see Cross, *Modern Philology*, XII (1915), 631, n. 2.

⁴ This ring is told of in Chrétien's *Charrette*, 2348; see above, p. 68, n. 1.

she was at his side when he lifted the slab, only to be lifted by the conqueror, beneath which he learned his own name.¹ Throughout, no intimation is given that all this was done by the command of the Dame du Lac.

A much discussed example of a romance from which rationalization has removed almost every trace of fairy control is Chrétien's *Ivain*. In a more original form of this romance, Laudine was a *fée*,² whose capricious desires set in motion the whole plot. Esclados, the red giant whom Ivain slew,³ is like the red giant Iweret. Ivain, whose reward was the hand of Laudine, may be equated with Lanzelet, and Laudine with Iblis. Lunete, another *fée*, who was a *confidante* of Laudine, was employed by the latter to lure Ivain to the dangers and the triumphs of her land. Lunete, who throughout the action takes an active rôle, corresponds to Lanzelet's foster-mother, the *merminne*. In one passage in *Ivain* (2395-2441), where she received the attention of Gawain, he "the sun of chivalry and she the moon," she becomes so prominent as almost to eclipse her mistress Laudine. She helps and protects the hero, and, if any *enfances Ivain*⁴ should ever be discovered it is a safe guess that she would prove to be the youthful Ivain's fairy guardian.

In order to clear up the relationship to each other of the two half-rationalized *fées*, the *merminne* and Iblis, a reconstruction of a portion of *L* may be attempted at this point.

In an older form of the story, Lanzelet's bride Iblis was a *fée* who was a sister or a *confidante* of the *merminne*. Both *fées* were at war with the red giant Iweret and needed a mortal hero to aid them. A kind of rationalization has affected the story. Iblis is represented like an enchanted princess who is glad to be delivered from the tyranny of her father, the powerful Iweret. Iblis' original fairy

¹ *Vulgate Version*, III, 144-52.

² See my "Ivain," *Harvard Studies and Notes*, VIII (1903), and compare now Puckett, *Modern Philology*, XVI (1918), 301.

³ Twenty-two years ago Philipot wrote: "Il a fallu tous les efforts de la critique philologique pour démontrer qu'Esclados le Roux était un géant" (*Romania*, XXVI [1897], 303). I hope no one is still in doubt.

⁴ Lunete saves Ivain, gives him her ring that makes him invisible to his foes, and protects him (970-1733). She helps him bathe and shave, brings him rich garments (1881-93), and arranges his match with Laudine.

character has become obscured,¹ and consequently her relation to Lanzelet's guardian has dropped out of notice. In an older form of the plot there was war in fairyland between two supernatural races, a benevolent race whom we shall call *fées*, and a malevolent race, or clan, whom for clearness, we may call giants. Only a destined hero, chosen and trained by the *fée*, could overcome the giants. Perhaps Iblis, now so passive, in an older form of the story manipulated the entire plot, and the *merminne* was merely an agent like Lunete. We ought not to insist upon this particular point, however, because no clear traces of it appear in *L*, where the *merminne* holds the chief place.²

This reconstruction is no fancy sketch. The Irish fairy story *Serglige Conculaind*,³ which long antedates the rise of French Arthurian romance, contains a situation that, excepting for the *enfances*, which, though told of Cuchulinn, are not a part of this Irish story, is like that just reconstructed for *L*. Sister *fées*, Liban and Fand, were in danger from three unearthly foes, Senach Síabortha, Eochaid Iúil, and Eogan Inbir, and needed the aid of Cuchulinn, a mortal hero. Liban, who takes the active rôle but is acting as Fand's agent, corresponds to the *merminne*, and Fand, whose love is Cuchulinn's reward, plays the part of Iblis. Senach Síabortha and his allies are the equivalent of Iweret. They were conquered and slain by Cuchulinn just as Iweret was by Lanzelet, and fairyland was delivered from peril.⁴ The description of Iweret's land closely resembles that of fairyland in the Irish,⁵ and must, no doubt, be derived from some such original source.

La Mule sanz Frain contains two similar sister *fées*. A damsel messenger, who comes to Arthur's court on a mule, is sister to the *fée* who is in need of rescue. Of course she is, therefore, herself a

¹ It is important to observe that this obscuration is due to the influence of another formula, that of a giant holding captive a princess; see above, p. 66, n. 1.

Originally the two *fées* in the foregoing formula may have grown out of different manifestations of a single supernatural being, who in an active rôle was the hero's guardian, and in another rôle his mistress. The shape-shifting powers of a *fée* are well known.

² For references, see my "Iwain," pp. 34 ff.

³ The formula of a war between fairies and giants in which a mortal hero is needed to destroy the giants is clearly preserved also in the ancient Irish tale of Loegaire (see Cross, *Modern Philology*, XIII [1916], 731 ff.) and in "Pwyll and Arawn" in the Welsh *Mabinogi*. See my "Iwain," pp. 41-47.

⁵ Compare *Lanzelet*, 3900-4400, to Windisch, *Irische Texte*, I, 216-19.

fée, and, when a plot like this becomes obscured by rationalization, it is difficult to tell which of two partly rationalized *fées* was in origin the queen, whose capricious desires set all the machinery of the plot in motion.

In Renaud de Beaujeu's *Li Biaus Desconeüs*, the hero Guinglain was brought up by his mother, the *fée* "Blancemal," and one of his chief exploits was to rescue from a giant another *fée*, "Blances Mains," queen of the Ile d'Or, who rewarded him with her love. It is rather difficult to keep these two *fées* apart; indeed the first editor of the romance¹ did not altogether succeed in doing so. Clearly, however, "Blancemal," the mother, corresponds to the *merminne*, and "Blances Mains," to Iblis.²

Li Biaus Desconeüs is of aid in our reconstruction of fairy control because it contains a long passage³ in which the *fée* "Blances Mains" tells Guinglain that she has been the moving cause in the whole plot. She declares that she loved him even before he was a knight: that she very often visited him when he was still with his mother "Blancemal." She had known all his destiny: she had guided the messenger from Blonde Esmerée to Arthur's court so that Guinglain might undertake the rescue. Hers had been the mysterious voice that had told him his name and parentage after he had released Blonde Esmerée from her serpent form.⁴

¹ "Blancemal" occurs but twice (3224, 5184; ed. G. P. Williams, *Li Biaus Desconeüs*, 1915). The older editor, Hippeau (*Le Bel Inconnu*, 1860), read, according to his numbering (3211), "Blances Mains" and (5111) "Blancemain."

² On the difficulty of keeping two *fées* apart, the mother, or foster-mother, and the *amie*, compare a curious passage in *Diu Crône*, where Kei reproached Lancelot:

Er hât daz vil rehte erspeht,
daz ir di gotinne,
verkurt an ir minne,
diu iu zöch in dem sê [24520].

³ Ed. G. P. Williams, 4943-97. Miss Paton has summarized this, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-73.

⁴ The relation of Blonde Esmerée to the *fée* is not, as the romance stands, very clear. A capricious and powerful *fée* does not persuade a hero to disenchant a serpent-lady without some purpose of her own, but a *fée* regularly had at her command minions who were shape-shifters, and she often tested a hero's valor by requiring that he pursue, vanquish, or disenchant a transformed fairy being (see Miss Paton, p. 175, n. 2). In an older form of the romance, Blonde Esmerée might have been represented as a sister or an ally of the *fée* who needed deliverance. To disenchant her was the supreme test of the hero's courage which entitled him to know his name and origin, and to receive the full favor of the *fée*. In the English *Libeaus Desconus* (ed. Kaluza, 2133 f.) we read simply that the lady when disenchanted told Libeaus that he was of Gawain's kin.

Other versions of the story of *Li Biaus Desconeüs* exist: *Libeaus Desconus*, *Wigalois*, and *Carduino*. In two of these, *Libeaus Desconus* and *Carduino*, the hero's mother is not a *fée*, but Miss Paton has proved from other references to the hero Guinglain, that in a lost original story, or stories, to which all these versions go back, the fairy nature of the mother is certain. In the Middle-English *Libeaus Desconus*, then, as in the other romances discussed, progressive rationalization has obscured and done away with original fairy control.¹ This was the direction in which fairy stories moved in twelfth- and thirteenth-century England and France. Long ago Philipot remarked that *enfances féeriques* may be transformed into *enfances humaines*, but not vice versa.² Here is the explanation of the close parallelism which has been noted between the boyhood stories of *Sp* and *L*. Both were originally *enfances féeriques*. The parallelism, moreover, extends throughout *Sp* and *L*, and may be traced in *F*.

In the case of the *Prose Lancelot* we can reconstruct a more archaic form with certainty because of the lucky preservation of *L*. In the case of *Sp* no primitive form of the plot has been preserved, but may we not, by analogy from *L* and *F*, safely attempt in it the same kind of reconstruction? The danger of the endeavor is largely removed if we keep in mind to guide us the cases of rationalization just studied in which the process can be largely controlled and examined in detail.

X

[The parallels between *L*, *F*, and *Sp* are striking. In all three the hero's father was killed in battle near the time when the hero was born, and the hero's mother was a sister to King Arthur (except that in *F* it was his foster-mother, *Morgain la Fée*, who was Arthur's sister). In all three the hero was brought up in a remote place by women only, and when he was fifteen years old set out for Arthur's court (except that in *L* he expressed only a desire to see battles and tournaments, and it is not said that he was seeking for Arthur, to whose court, however, he at length arrived). In none of the

¹ Cf. Kittredge's remarks on changes wrought by rationalization, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 55, 121, 240-41.

² Philipot, *Romania*, XXVI (1897), 299.

three is he completely informed about his origin (he does not know his name, or does not know his father's name). In all three his mother, or his foster-mother, gave him a sword and other arms (in *Sp* a "Scottes spear" only). In all three he was told his name or his parentage at the time of his accomplishment of his great adventure.¹

In *F* the *fée* guided her fosterling to the adventure that she wished him to accomplish by means of a magic ship,² that knew of itself whither to go. It is reasonable to conclude that in *L* the *fée* used a steed to carry out a similar purpose. We have seen that Lanzelet did not guide this steed. Analogy points to the inference that likewise in an older form of *Sp* the mare on which Perceval rode was a guiding beast that conducted him whither his fairy mother decreed. That this mare carried him directly to the Damsel of the Hall (434 f.), who was the only person from whom he could obtain the ring that made him invulnerable, is an intimation that the animal acted as an agent for the *fée*. That Perceval, who knew nothing of the world outside of the forest in which he was reared, was able, without receiving any information, to arrive promptly at Arthur's court, is another fact pointing in the same direction. The probable conclusion is that the mare in *Sp* was, in origin, a fairy beast, which knew the way; although the sole remaining hint that Perceval did not guide this mare is his having no bridle, but employing only a withy "to keyvylle his stede" (424).³

¹ In *F* his parentage only is not known. In *Sp* the hero is not dubbed a knight till just as he enters his combat with the giant Gollerothrame: "Sir Percevell the Galayse þay called hym in kythe" (1643-44). His epithet "of Wales" is here given for the first time. At Arthur's court he did not know his name: "I am myn awnn modirs childe" (506). Some confusion in the narrative ought not to prevent us from seeing that this is a case of the naming of a hero after he has accomplished his great adventure. The validity of this parallel will be clear to anybody who will examine other romances of this type, e.g., *Li Biaus Desconéus* where, after the hero had rescued Blonde Esmerée, the mysterious voice of the *fée* told him his name and origin. An attenuated form of this idea is, perhaps, to be traced in Malory's *Morte Darthur*, X, 63, where Palomedes vowed not to be christened till he had achieved the Questing Beast. He would have no Christian name, that is no true name, until he had succeeded in his chosen quest. Cf. Sigurd's ignorance of his origin until he rescued Brynhilde, *Þiðreksaga* (ed. Unger, p. 168).

² On fairy ships see *Modern Philology*, XIV, 392, n. 4. A ship is a more primitive agent of a *fée* than a riding-horse, because the ancient Celts did not ride on horseback. Long before the twelfth century, however, riding-horses had been introduced into Welsh and Irish story.

³ Similar animals which carried out the wishes of a *fée* are "la mule" in *La Mule sanz Frain*, and "la beste" in *Le Chevalier du Papegau*. In Gawain's visit to the grail

It is clear that the three romances diverge a great deal from each other after the *enfances* portion, but this is only what is to be expected. It is not contended that the three romances sprang from any one source, but only that they come from three different folktales, which all belonged to the same type and were built up after the same formula. Should anyone argue that the *enfances* portion is detachable from the rest of the story, and that similarity in the *enfances* is no proof of similarity between the three romances taken as wholes, the reply would be that the controlling power of the *fée* evidently once ran throughout every one of these romances, and that there is a similarity, although by no means an exact parallelism, between the main portions.

In all three romances the object of the *fée* was to secure the deliverance, or disenchantment, of her relatives or her allies. In *L* her object was to free her son Mabuz from oppression by Iweret and from a kind of enchantment that Iweret threw over him. In *Sp* her object was to deliver her brother Arthur from the Red Knight, and other terrible foes, who had already slain her husband.

castle in Pseudo-Wauchier, which is undoubtedly one of the oldest versions of the grail story, Gawain rode on such an animal. The horse belonged to a knight who had been slain in Gawain's company. Gawain put on the armor of the dead knight and, after mounting his horse, declared that he knew not whither he was going, but that the horse would guide him:

Mais cis cevaus mener m'i doit [19895]
La voie et le chemin tot droit,
Ne sai ù ne en quele tière.

Later, when Gawain hesitated at the gloomy entrance to a causeway that led over a water toward the grail castle, the horse took the bit in his teeth and went ahead:

Et li chevaus prenoit ès dens [19979]
Son frain et voloit entrer ens.

In Wauchier (27735 f.) a damsel gave Perceval a white mule that knew the way, and a ring which gave control over the beast. Perceval rode on the mule, leading his steed over a glass bridge on his way toward the grail castle:

Mis a son frain, puis est montés [28403]
S'i se r'est tous aceminés
Sor la mule ki bien savoit
Laquele voie ele tenroit.

Perlesvaus' uncle, King Hermit (Potvin, I, 208), gave him "une mule blanche" that led him to the grail castle, and told him when put to the worse to mount upon the mule. He rode the white mule and carried a banner (I, 211).

Since in the twelfth and following centuries knights rode only on stallions (Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, p. 723), and it was considered a great disgrace for a knight to mount upon a mare (Sainte-Palaye, *Mém. sur l'anc. Chevalerie* [1826], I, 17, 42), that a knight should ride upon "une mule" is an extraordinary circumstance, and must probably be explained as a trace of something that was once motivated in folklore. In a more primitive form of Wauchier's story, Perceval probably rode on an enchanted mule that knew the way to the grail castle. The grail horses in Wolfram's *Parzival* and the mare in *Sp* may have been animals of this kind. On helpful animals, see Kittredge, *op. cit.*, pp. 235 ff.

In *Sp* it is hinted that Arthur was under a kind of spell¹ that was broken when the Red Knight was killed. In *F* her object was to deliver Floriant's mother, who had been besieged in her castle Monreal by Maragos for fifteen years (which was the time that the enchantment had endured in *Sp* and probably in *L*), and to rid Arthur of his enemy, Moradas, who, doubtless, may be thought of as a mere doublet of Maragos. The theme has been attenuated, however, and no hint that Arthur needed to be delivered from an enchantment is left, except a statement that he was in distress.²

If we set aside this matter of deliverance from enchantment, the resemblances between *Sp* and *F* are rather close. In both *Sp* and *F* the hero's first important exploit, after leaving his mother, is to kill a foe of King Arthur: in *Sp* the Red Knight, in *F* the hostile Moradas. In both *Sp* and *F* the hero visited Maiden Land and freed it from oppression, in *F* from a monster called "Pellicans," in *Sp* from a "soldan" called Gollerotherame who had a giant brother. But the two giants of *Sp* are in *F* also, for the castle of maidens occurs twice, and the second castle is beset by two giants. In both *Sp* and *F* the hero later rescued his mother

¹ Arthur's grief over the departure of the youthful Perceval is unreasonable:

The kyng to care-bedd es gane
For mournynge is his maste mane [1062].

Later Arthur says:

In my londre wot I no lordyng
Es worthy to be a knyghte [1087].

Holthausen's note (see his edition, p. 107) on this passage: "Diese Behauptung A's ist doch etwas stark," expresses the strangeness of the situation. It is inexplicable unless Arthur is under a spell. The author of *Sp* did not understand the enchantment and tried to explain Arthur's illness as caused by grief for the departure of Perceval:

For he wend never to speke
With Percyvell no mare [1068].

He also mentions Arthur's anxiety lest Perceval should be slain:

pay were a-ferde full sare,
Ere pay come whare he ware,
pe childe wolde be slayne [1116].

In the first place, however, this will not explain the supineness of all Arthur's knights (1087), and in the second place it is contradicted by Arthur's behavior when he has found Perceval in Maiden Land. Arthur showed no anxiety lest Perceval would be slain but urged him into single combat with the giant Gollerotherame:

And pou sall wyynn thi schone
Appon pe sowdane [1596].

Arthur afforded him no assistance in the duel (1649-1727). Clearly the true reason was an enchantment of Britain (and of Arthur).

² In *F* the knights were sorry for Arthur, "qui moult estoit pensis" (1191). Arthur declared himself to be heartbroken because of the knights whom Moradas had taken prisoner:

S'en est mes cuers en tel torment
Que je ne sal que devenir [1205].

from oppression: in *Sp* from a giant, in *F* from an usurping steward Maragos. It should be observed that *Sp* agrees with *F* and *L* in reuniting the hero to his mother, which, if the mother was a *fée*, is the right end for the romance. In *F* the story runs on for some time after the rescue of the mother and ends by the foster-mother carrying Floriant away to dwell in fairyland.

By comparing *F* and *L*, which may be chosen as typical examples of romances controlled by a *fée*, we may attempt to reconstruct the more original motivation of *Sp* as follows:

The mother, Acheffour, was a *fée* who brought up her son in a forest beneath a lake,¹ where *fées* were his sole companions. She kept the boy's name secret because, if it were known, he might be sought out and slain by dangerous foes. A war was in progress between *fées* and giants. Only a destined hero, aided by the proper talismans, could deliver fairyland from the giants. One of the talismans was the "Scottes spear," which had belonged to the hero's father and which the *fée* gave to her son. With this he slew the Red Knight. Another was the ring, which he obtained by exchange from the Damsel of the Hall, and which rendered the wearer invulnerable. A third talisman was the armor of the Red Knight. The *fée* sent her son out for the express purpose of delivering her brother King Arthur (here thought of, as in *Kulhwch and Olwen*, and in *The Dream of Rhonabwy*, as king of fairyland) from the power and the enchantment of the giants. She controlled the action and, by means of an enchanted mare, directed the hero to the places where he could get the talismans: the ring and the armor, and thus kill all the giants. She contrived the deliverance of her brothers and herself from the giants, and she rewarded the hero with the hand of another *fée*, called Lufamour, who was her sister, or her ally.

This reconstruction is offered at this point for what it is worth. It is at least a working hypothesis, and the problem before us is to see whether additional research will prove its truth.

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[To be continued]

¹ Cf. the forest in the *Prose Lancelot*, p. 77, n. 4, above.

ON THE DATE OF *ILLE ET GALERON*

In the year 1891 appeared Foerster's edition of *Ille et Galeron* by Gautier of Arras, and in his introduction the admirable editor of most of the works of Chrétien de Troyes and of various other Old French texts discussed the date of this poem and also that of *Eracle* by the same author. After showing that the date of the coronation in Rome of Beatrice, wife of Frederick I (Barbarossa), was "erst im Jahre 1167, wo sie am 1. August zugleich mit ihrem Gemahl in Rom von Paschalis III [the rival pope whose claim the emperor supported] gekrönt worden ist," he goes on to say a few lines below: "Daraus folgt, dass . . . wir nunmehr den Ille sicher bald nach der am 1. August 1167 stattgehabten römischen Krönung ansetzen müssen" (p. xi). In a footnote he adds: "Näher lässt sich die Zeit nicht bestimmen, da jede andere bestimmtere Handhabe fehlt. Selbstverständlich kann, wenn der Prolog des Gedichts, was ebenso möglich, erst nach Beendigung des Gedichtes verfasst worden ist, der Ille gerade zu der Zeit der Krönung schon vollendet gewesen sein."

The date of the coronation is important because the prologue or dedication to the empress, if not the whole poem, was written after that occurrence, for vs. 69 reads: Rome le [=la] vit ja coroner. And similarly the earlier limit for *Eracle* is fixed by the marriage of Marie, daughter of Louis VII of France, to the count of Champagne in 1164, for in that poem, vss. 6551-52, "Marie, fille Loëi" is called "la contesse." Further (p. xvii) he says: "Nun hat sich uns oben S. XI mit voller Sicherheit ergeben, dass der Ille um 1167 geschrieben sein muss," and in the next paragraph we read: "Nun hat sich ja 1164 für Heraklius als wahrscheinlich, 1167 für Ille als sicher ergeben," etc.

Both poems must, he asserts (p. xviii), have been written between 1164 and 1171, but this latter date holds only for *Eracle*, if indeed it is correct for that poem. 1171 is the date of the death of Baudouin IV of Hainaut, Foerster having decided (pp. xv-xvi) against Baudouin V as being too young to be the Baudouin mentioned in

Eracle. He observes also that if Baudouin V were the one meant he could not be called "of Hainaut" after 1191,¹ "nach der Erwerbung Flanderns." If his choice of Baudouin IV is of doubtful correctness, then 1191 would seem to be the later limit for *Eracle*, and the later limit for *Ille* may be fixed by the death of the empress Beatrice in November, 1184.² In reality, however, *Eracle* was, as Foerster thought, and as we now know, written before *Ille*.

It will be observed that no reason appears, from what is said above, why Foerster dated *Ille* "sicher bald nach der . . . römischen Krönung" (p. xi), nor why he said (p. xvii): "Nun hat sich uns oben S. XI mit voller Sicherheit ergeben, dass der *Ille* um 1167 geschrieben sein muss," when what he really showed in his introduction was that *Ille*, or at least the prologue, was written after, but not necessarily soon after, August 1, 1167. Evidently he did not notice that anything of importance was lacking, for his good faith is not to be impugned in this matter. The explanation is probably that he took for granted that every reader would think that the prologue must have been written very soon after the news of the coronation reached the poet, and written with the expectation that his work could be laid before the empress before long; otherwise it would lose its timeliness. And that some such thought was in his mind may be inferred from his note on vs. 69 (Rome le vit ja coroner), which note begins thus: "was im Zusammenhang der ganzen Stelle und der an diese Begebenheit geknüpften spitzfindigen Folgerungen erst vor kurzem geschehen sein muss." The argument was put perhaps more plainly by Suchier in the *Geschichte der französischen Literatur* by himself and Birch-Hirschfeld in the first edition (1900), pp. 135-36, as follows: "Dieses Werk ist Beatrix von Burgund, der zweiten Gemahlin Kaiser Friedrichs I, zu ihrer Krönung (1167) oder bald nachher gewidmet, denn der wiederholte Hinweis auf die Krönung in Rom hätte keinen Sinn, wenn dieses Ereignis einer schon entschwundenen Vergangenheit angehörte." This is unchanged in the second edition (1913).

¹ Moreover, 1191 is the death year of Thibaut V, of Blois, mentioned at the beginning and the end of *Eracle*.

² The year 1185 has been also mentioned, but Foerster's date, November 15, 1184, seems to have better evidence in its favor; see Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, VI (ed. of 1895), 100, 101, 625-26.

This argument seems plausible, but it is after all a conjecture and not a certainty that the poem proper or the prologue alone must be dated soon after the coronation. We may, however, look on this as a probability unless there appears evidence of considerable weight against it.

There certainly is evidence against Suchier's argument, even though it be not absolutely decisive. In the first place, the poet's language in this prologue does not seem at all impossible if we suppose it written at a time later than 1167 by several years. The coronation of Beatrice was a sufficiently important event in her life to justify a poet in making much of it, even if it was not a very recent occurrence when he wrote. And this is still true even after the treaty of Venice in the autumn of 1177, when Frederick recognized Alexander as the rightful pope and ceased to support the claim of the rival pope. Next it may be doubted whether Gautier would have written his prologue, or, if it were written, would have retained it at a time when the empress was in Italy and when the time of her return, like that of the emperor, was uncertain. It is to be remembered that very soon after the coronation they both left Rome, and the emperor's army, much weakened by pestilence, was in a dangerous position on account of the activities of the Lombard league. His flight, for such it really was, to Susa and into Burgundy seriously damaged his prestige, and not in Italy only. Now could the poet have laid his work before Beatrice while she was in Italy, and even after her return to Burgundy would she have been in a receptive mood for his offering? And would not this obstacle to the poet's wish, her probable disinclination on account of anxiety about Frederick's fortunes, even in his home land, have been likely to continue for a pretty long time, through the whole of the year 1168 or even for years longer, perhaps until he was ready for the next expedition into Italy in the autumn of 1174? And she was again in Italy with him from about the first of October, 1174, until about mid-summer in 1178. As to Frederick's situation in the autumn of 1168, I may quote a few words from Giesebrecht (V, 616): "In Italien besiegt, in seiner königlichen Stellung im burgundischen Reiche gefährdet, hatte er in Deutschland an Machtfülle beträchtlich gewonnen." It was not until 1174, as just observed, that he was ready to make another expedition into Italy.

None of the reviews of Foerster's *Ille*, so far as I have seen, mentioned the absences of the empress from her home land or Germany, though such considerations may have been in the mind of at least one reviewer. Settegast, writing in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* (1892, coll. 648-49), refused to accept "um 1167" as the date of the poem, preferring a much later time, though without giving a satisfactory reason. And in Giesebrecht (*op. cit.*, VI, 626) we read: "Richtiger [than 'bald nach 1167'] scheint die ebenfalls von Lamprecht angeführte Ansicht Settegasts welcher aus v. 69 schliesst, dass es erst geraume Zeit nach der Kaiserkrönung der Beatrix wie er meint, etwa um 1180, geschehen sei." (I quote this only as giving the opinion of a German historian, who must have had the political situation in mind.) Several other scholars have accepted, even if not unreservedly, Foerster's argumentation and conclusions for both poems. I mention particularly Gaston Paris' notice in *Romania*, XXI (1892), 277-78, and the dates given in his *Manuel* volume; that is, in the editions published after his death.

Only one critic took the trouble to make a detailed examination of Foerster's argumentation. But this critic was one of the most distinguished of Romance scholars; it was Adolf Tobler. His review of Foerster's *Ille* was printed more than a quarter of a century ago, in the *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, XCI (1893), 103-18. It is enough here to quote a few lines (p. 105): "Kurz, bis weitere Thatsachen beigebracht werden, die etwa genaueren Aufstellungen zur Stütze dienen können, scheint mir vorderhand lange nicht so viel erwiesen, wie Foerster S. XVII annimmt. Für des *Eracle* Abfassung scheint mir kein Teil der Zeit ausgeschlossen, die zwischen 1164 and 1191 liegt [as we shall see presently, the later limit for *Eracle* is decidedly earlier than 1191]; für den *Ille* hat sich keinesfalls '1167 als sicher ergeben' (S. XVII), wir wissen bis jetzt nicht, dass er 'um 1167 geschrieben sein muss' (eb.) oder 'gegen 1167 verfasst' ist (S. XX), müssen vielmehr einräumen, dass von der Krönung der Kaiserin Beatrix 1167 bis zu ihrem Tode 1185 die Zeit sich erstreckt, innerhalb deren die huldigenden Worte Gautiers geschrieben sein können." It will be noticed that Tobler does not here deny the date "um 1167" for *Ille* nor that of 1164 for *Eracle*;

what he says is that Foerster did not prove either date, and with that conclusion it seems to me that everyone who reads carefully Foerster's introduction, his notes to the poem, and the poem itself as he printed it must agree. It is not even necessary to read Tobler's review at all in order to reach essentially the same conclusion; such at least was my own experience.

Tobler's review—which is worth reading still, and not only with regard to the dating of either poem—seems to have somewhat dropped out of remembrance, doubtless in part because of Paris' notice mentioned above and because of Gröber's dates for *Eracle* and *Ille* in his *Grundriss*, II, 525–26, which are about the same as Foerster's, though he mentions Tobler's review at the foot of p. 525. So, too, Warnke's edition of the *Fables* of Marie de France (1898), p. cxvi of the Introduction, has the words: "Walter von Arras' *Ille und Galeron*, der um 1167 geschrieben ist," and, p. cxvii: "Wenn somit die Lais [of Marie] in der Mitte der sechziger Jahre des Jahrhunderts entstanden," etc.

Foulet, writing on *Marie de France et la légende de Tristan* in the *Zeitsch. f. roman. Phil.*, XXXII, 180, speaks of Gautier's "roman d' *Ille et Galeron*" as "composé en 1167 ou peu après," and (p. 182) says: "La date d' *Ille et Galeron* étant certaine [here a footnote reading: "Voir la discussion concluante de M. Foerster, pp. x–xi de son édition"], celle des Lais est par là même établie." Further (p. 183) he concludes [I do not give his reasons in full] "que les lais de Marie ont précédé le roman d' *Ille et Galeron*, et comme Gautier a écrit son poème en 1167 ou 1168, nous placerons les *Lais*, avec M. Warnke, en 1165," or, he adds in a footnote, "si l'on veut entre 1165 et 1167." I am not to be understood as denying this date for Marie's *Lais*, but I object to fixing the time by using so early a date as 1167 or 1168 for Gautier's *Ille* until it is better established.¹

The new manuscript of *Ille*, perhaps first brought to the attention of Romance scholars in general by the notice of it in *Romania*,

¹ Incidentally I mention that E. Levi in a study of *I Lais e la leggenda di Tristano*, printed in No. XIV (1917) of *Studj Romanzi*, published by the Società Filologica Romana, refers (p. 128) to Bédier as having recognized in *Romania*, XXXIV, 474, the *grande portée* of Foulet's researches. The reference should apparently be to *Romania*, XXIX, 479.

XLII (1913), 145, where are quoted the two lines that show *Eracle* to have been written before *Ille*, is evidently important for a final edition of the poem, as only one manuscript, that of Paris, was previously known, and that one was not a very good one. Mr. W. H. Stevenson, who prepared for the Historical Manuscripts Commission the work entitled *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire*, London, 1911, gives (pp. 221 ff.) a brief description of the volume which contains various Old French texts, among them *Ille et Galeron*, and quotes a few lines of this poem, including the beginning and the end. He says (p. 221) that it is "written in an early thirteenth-century French hand. . . . It contains a considerable number of romances and fabliaux written in the Picard dialect. The texts of those that have appeared in print are in most cases superior to the MSS. used for the printed texts." Our poem begins on folio 158 recto, and the next piece begins on folio 189.

As I am not aware that Stevenson's extracts from the new manuscript have been reproduced in this country, if indeed anywhere, I give them here with some changes, noting for each one the reading as printed by him. These changes are not meant to imply doubt of the correctness of his copy of the manuscript. Not everything in the epilogue is clear to me. It will be seen that lines 5-16 of Foerster's text are lacking, and line 73 in the new manuscript corresponds to line 133 in the other, while the new 72 is in a lacuna of the other. In this line 72 it is noteworthy that Gautier speaks of his poem as a *lai*, yet, according to Stevenson, it has "about 6000 lines." I have numbered with starred figures on the left the additional lines of the epilogue (those not contained in the Paris manuscript) which follow Foerster's verse 6592. Stevenson's numbers in parentheses on the right are those of Foerster's edition.

Commencement:

- | | | |
|---|---|-----|
| 1 | [A]lie Dex, Sains Esperis! | (1) |
| | Qu'a la mellor emperre[r]is | |
| | Qui onques fust, si com jo pens, ¹ | |
| | Otroi mon service et mon sens. | (4) |

¹ Vs. 3: *pina*.

- 5 Les plusors fausent en la fin, (17)
 Mais la u Dex mist tant de fin
 Come en l'emperre[r]is de Rome¹
- 72 Car a s'onor voel faire un lai, (133)
 De Galeron, seror le duc,²
 Et d'Ille, le fil Eliduc.
 Ma dame,³ ij. Breteignes sunt,
 Et gens diverses y estunt.
 Li Englois sont en la gregnor,⁴
 Mais li Norman en sont segnor.
 En la menor sont li Breton.
- 80 Uns dus l'ot ja, Conains ot non, (140)
 Et Galerons sa suer estoit.

Conclusion:

- De Rome est Y[lles] emperere (6553)
 Et rois et sire et commandere. . . .
- ij. fix ot puis de sa moillier (6570)
 Et une fille mult tres bele.
 Acarras entent la novele
 Et Garsions, li ainsnés frere;
 A Rome viennent a lor pere
 Et a lor freres qui i sont, (6575)
 Qui mervellose joie en font.
 Li uns des trois freres Romains
 A non Morins, l'autres Gormains,
 Li tiers a non Oriadés.
 Cist firent puis proëce adés. (6580)
 Et lor suer Ydone a a non
 Et l'autre Ydonie ont li Breton.
 Des ij. enfans son bon segnor⁵ (6581)
 Fait Ganors joie mult gregnor
 Qu'ele ne fait des siens demainne,
 Li pere mult grant joie mainne.
 Mult furent puis de halt⁶ afaire, (6585)
 Mais n'en vuel plus lonc conte faire
 Ne ço⁷ n'ataint pas ci a dire.

¹ Vs. 7: period at end of line.² Vs. 73: no punctuation at end of line.³ Vs. 75: *Madame*. MS *Aadame*.⁴ Vs. 77: the MS has *menor* instead of *gregnor*.⁵ Vs. 6581: Stevenson prints 6582.⁶ Vs. 6585: *halte*.⁷ Vs. 6587: *co*.

- O Ganor vesqui puis li sire
 A joie tans dis con Dex volt.
 Ne en l'estorie plus n'en ot, (6590)
 Ne plus n'en a ne plus n'i mist
 Galters¹ d'Arras, qui s'entremist (6592)
- 1* D' Eracle ains qu'il fesist ceste uevre.
 Cil Dex, vers cui nus ne se cuevre,
 Doinst bien la bone Beatris,
 Qui est de Rome empereris,
- 5* Cele est la meldre qui soit née,
 En vie se rest mult penée,
 Et gart le bon conte Tiebaut;
 Cist dui me font² et liet et baut
 Cestui de mençonge³ a prover
- 10* Qu'ele⁴ ne puet son per trover
 Pur parler mels que⁵ nus ne fait,
 Pur faire mels qu'il parlé n'ait.
 Et tot ce vigne [*perh.* vi ge or vi gié] en celi.⁶
 Pur ce m'eslo[i]n ge⁷ plus de li,
- 15* Que⁸ por rien c'onques me fëist [*perh.* dëist].
 Cuidiés,⁹ se il ne me fëist¹⁰
 Et ele ausi,⁹ que jel dëisse,
 Ne en tel painne me mëisse?¹¹
 Mais l'uevre est mult bien emploïe¹²
- 20* Au quel d'ax qu' el soit envoïe,¹³
 Plus d'onor a l'uns de ces deus
 Que¹⁴ de ceste uevre n'a nus d'eus¹⁵
 Por qant por li le commençai¹⁶
 Et por le conte le finai.

¹ Vs. 6592: *Galtres*.² Vs. 8*: *sont*. Stevenson puts a period at end of the line and does not indicate a lacuna.³ Vs. 9*: *menconge*.⁴ Vs. 10*: *Que le*.⁵ Vs. 11*: *qui*.⁶ Vs. 13*: no punctuation at end of the line.⁷ Vs. 14*: *m' eslonge*.⁸ Vs. 15*: *Qui*.⁹ Vss. 16* and 17*: no punctuation after *Cuidiés* and *ausi*.¹⁰ Vs. 16*: *feist*.¹¹ Vs. 18*: comma at end of the line.¹² Vs. 19*: *emploïé*.¹³ Vs. 20*: *envoïé*.¹⁴ Vs. 22*: *Qui*.¹⁵ Vs. 22*: *deus* as one word.¹⁶ Vs. 23: *commençai*.

- 25* L'uevre n'iert ja en liu¹ contée
 Que d'eax ne soit plus amontée
 Que il ne doivent par li estre.
 Ne mais ce dient li ancestre
 Que bon ami mostrer estuet
 30* Tant d'amor veals con faire puet.

Explicit.

Foerster's note on the last line of his text (6592) says: "*entweder qui'n (d.h. mit der estore 6590) oder Lücke, in der noch paar Schlusszeilen standen, die sich an die Kaiserin Beatrix wenden konnten.*" He would doubtless have struck out the first alternative if he had taken time for reflection. As to the second, it is noteworthy that in the completer epilogue Gautier praises not only the empress but also "le bon conte Tiebaut," and says his work will be well employed to whichever one it is sent; it will, he says, nowhere be told without getting more honor from its connection with them than either one of them will get through his poem. He began it, so he tells us, for her, but he finished it for the count. This makes it seem most likely that he wrote the prologue before the main body of the poem (cf. also vs. 72), and the prologue was certainly written after the coronation of the empress; how long after we cannot tell. What had happened between the beginning and the ending of his work? The tantalizing lines 9*-18,* with what may have immediately preceded them, seem to allude to something that caused an absence which led him to consider another patron, though he had not lost hope of some recognition from the empress. Did he perhaps begin his poem while the empress was in Italy, hoping for her return before or soon after its completion, and then because this return was delayed (in which case we should naturally think of her stay of nearly four years in Italy, 1174-1178), or because he had some other reason, whatever it was, did he finish with praise of the count as well as of her? Whatever had happened, it looks as if a fairly long interval elapsed between beginning and end.

The situation reminds one of what Gautier says in his earlier work, *Eracle*. That work mentions at the beginning the "bon conte Tiebaut de Blois" (vss. 51 ff.) and near the end again that

¹ Vs. 25: [liu] lui.

count, who "Me fist ceste oevre rimoiier" (vs. 6549), with whom he couples "la contesse autresi, Marie, fille Loëi" (vss. 6551-52), and then he mentions the count Baudouin of Hainaut, who has urged him to bring the work to an end (vss. 6553 ff.), and he praises him and reminds him of his promise not yet fulfilled. How long after the marriage of Marie in 1164 did Gautier begin to write *Eracle*? How long a time elapsed before he finished it? At a somewhat later time, not necessarily a long time, he began his *Ille* (vs. 1* of the epilogue quoted above). How long a time passed before the completion of *Ille*? Those who have accepted Foerster's dates for the two poems have perhaps not sufficiently considered these questions.

At least one scholar has, however, examined just such questions with regard to the date of *Eracle*. From the brief abstract of a paper read by Professor Frederick A. G. Cowper at the meeting of the Central Division of the Modern Language Association in December, 1917, on "The Background and Date of Gautier's *Eracle*" (see *Proceedings of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.* for 1917, p. xliii), it appears that in his opinion "the form of the poem and the prolog and epilog indicate a lapse of years between the composition of the first and second parts." I have not seen the paper itself.

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THE IMPRISONMENT OF KING GARCÍA

I. KING GARCÍA IN HISTORY

Before studying the Don García of fable it is well to set down those few facts concerning his career which a sifting of the early accounts seems to establish. Fernando I, el Magno, died in 1065, partitioning by will his kingdoms among his five children. To Sancho fell the crown of Castile; to Alfonso, León; to García, the kingdom of Galicia, which then included portions of Asturias and northern Portugal; and to the daughters, Urraca and Elvira, the cities of Zamora and Toro respectively. Desirous of reuniting these kingdoms under one crown, Sancho II began war upon Alfonso, defeating him in the two battles of Llantada (1068) and Volpéjar (1072). Alfonso was captured in this second battle, but was allowed to take refuge in the monastery of Sahagún. From here he escaped to Toledo, where he sought the aid of the Moorish king, Almemón. Sancho next turned against García whom he defeated and captured at the battle of Santarem. This first imprisonment was of short duration. After exacting an oath of allegiance, Sancho gave García his liberty, and the latter took refuge with the Moors of Seville, just as his brother had done with those of Toledo. Not long after, Sancho was murdered beneath the walls of Zamora. Alfonso thus inherited all his older brother's dominions in 1073. If García had any hopes of being reinstated in his kingdom, they were soon disappointed. Aided by King Motamid of Seville, he made a foray into Alfonso's domain. The latter won an easy victory. García was placed in the castle of Luna, near the city of León, where he lingered for seventeen years. He died in 1090, and was buried at León in the church of St. Isidore, which had been founded by his father, and where both his parents lay buried. There is a persistent tradition that Alfonso accomplished the capture of García through trickery. This is

confirmed by the apparently genuine epitaph¹ once to be read on García's tomb in St. Isidore:

H. R. D. Garcia Rex Portugalliae et Galleciae
filius Regis Magni Fernandi. Hic ingenio
captus a fratre suo, in vinculis obiit. Era
MCXXVII. XI Kal. Aprilis.

García happened to die while the Council of León was in session. The accidental presence in the city of many distinguished prelates caused García's obsequies to be celebrated with a pomp which was in ironic contrast to his unhappy fate. The two most famous of the ecclesiastical dignitaries present were Bernaldo, primate of Toledo, and the papal legate Reniere, who nine years later reigned over the church as Pascal II. In later years the monks of San Isidoro must have recalled with pride the fact that a future pope had officiated at a funeral in their church, and this chance circumstance doubtless contributed much to keep García's memory green.²

A fallen king is always an object of romantic interest to the popular mind; but García had peculiar claims to sympathy. Twice

¹ This epitaph was copied by Sandóval, *Historia de los reyes de Castilla y León* (Madrid, 1791), p. 87; by Fernández de Béthencourt, *Historia genealógica*, I, 488. Risco, *Iglesia de León y monasterios antiguos y modernos de la misma ciudad* (Madrid, 1792), p. 148, gives all the inscriptions once to be found in San Isidoro. See also Flórez, *España Sagrada*, II, 330. As at least three independent scholars agree in the transcription of this epitaph, there can be no doubt that it once existed and as given. One can be less certain that it was carved at the time of the burial, though it is evidently of great antiquity. García's tomb no longer exists since the rifling of the *Panteón de los reyes*, December 21, 1808, by the troupes of Marshal Soult. See Ford, *Handbook for Travellers in Spain* (London, 1855), II, 552-53. To obtain the correct date for the Christian Era, subtract thirty-eight from the date given in the epitaph, which reckons from the beginning of the Roman Empire. Flórez uses this epitaph as a means of dating the Council of León. Until some other way of dating this council is found, it would be reasoning in a circle to fix García's death by citing the date commonly given for this convention of churchmen.

² The memory of Pascal II has always been kept alive in León, because it was he who in 1105 confirmed the independence of the see, formally making the cathedral church of Santa María de la Regla, *una iglesia exenta*. The legend of García is inseparably connected with the church and monastery of San Isidoro, or San Isidro, of León. This establishment, begun in 1063 by Fernando I, to house the remains of Saint Isidore of Seville, was famous as the burial place of many members of the Asturian-Leonese dynasty, for its wealth, large library, the learning and holiness of its monks, and the many miracles wrought there. The Bishop Lucas of Tuy wrote in Latin a book on the miracles of this saint, translated by Juan Robles, *Los milagros de San Isidoro* (Salamanca, 1525). The church and monastery are so frequently referred to in the chronicles and the *Romancero* that one is reasonably safe in concluding that it was an important center for the dissemination of epic legends. The Leonese Chronicle, so frequently referred to in these notes, and the celebrated Latin Chronicle of the Cid came from this monastery. In the *Cantar de Mio Cid*, Alfonso frequently swears: "*par sant Esidro*." Menéndez Pidal considers this an "authentic detail of this monarch's habits, who must have inherited from his father a devotion to this saint." See Menéndez Pidal, *Cantar de Mio Cid*, II, 627. Alfonso was, however, buried in Sahagún.

cheated out of a kingdom which had been assured him by his father's will, defeated in battle by two brothers, twice imprisoned and the second time for a period of seventeen years, dying in prison, buried with ceremoniousness, García early began to occupy the poets. The chroniclers of the following, the twelfth century, incorporate in their accounts so many fictional elements as to leave no doubt that a poetic legend concerning García was in existence soon after the death of this unfortunate prince. In fact one of these chroniclers repudiates an erroneous version of the imprisonment story with a statement that the account in question is "a minstrel's tale" (*un cuento de los juglares*), contrasting with this unreliable version the testimony of the *historias verdaderas*.¹ More evidence of a similar nature will appear in the pages to follow. Let us now analyze the story of García's imprisonment as it is related by the chroniclers.

II. THE NUMBER OF THE IMPRISONMENTS

The chronicles vary in the number of imprisonments mentioned. Some are close to history in stating that García suffered two imprisonments, one under Sancho, another under Alfonso. Those which belong to this first group are: (1) The *Chronicon Compostellanum*, our most authentic early source, devoid of all fictional elements;² (2) an Escorial Chronicle embracing the reigns between Remiro and Fernando, cited by Berganza;³ (3) Lucas of Tuy;⁴ (4) La Suma de las Cosas Marauillosas, *Corónica del Cid Ruy Diaz*;⁵ (5) Valerio de las Historias.⁶

Of the chronicles which mention only one captivity, those which place the imprisonment under Alfonso are obviously closer to the facts of the case than those which place it in the reign of Sancho; because the imprisonment under Sancho was so short as to be of

¹ Berganza, *Antigüedades de España* (Madrid, 1719), I, 428.

² *España Sagrada*, XXIII, 98.

³ Berganza, *ed. cit.*, I, 428.

⁴ I have been unable to consult Lucas of Tuy and a few other early chronicles at first hand. When this is the case I rely upon the copious quotations and analyses of their content made by Cirot, *Une chronique léonaise inédite*, *Bulletin hispanique*, XI, 268. Although he is only incidentally interested in the story of García and omits mention of certain sources, I owe much to M. Cirot's text and thorough editorial comment.

⁵ *Revue hispanique*, XX, 333 and 353.

⁶ Almela, *Valerio de las historias de la Sagrada Escritura y de los hechos de España* (Madrid, 1793), pp. 86-87 and 116.

negligible importance. These are Pelayo of Oviedo,¹ and the Monk of Silos.²

The rest mention only one imprisonment, starting in the reign of Sancho and continuing without interruption until the victim's death in the reign of Alfonso. These are: (1) The Leonese Chronicle,³ (2) *Liber Regum*;⁴ (3) Rodrigo of Toledo,⁵ (4) Gil of Zamora,⁶ (5) the *Crónica general*;⁷ (6) Mariana.⁸ All appear to have relied partially upon epic or ballad sources, or at least to derive from other versions so influenced.⁹

III. THE PLACE OF CAPTIVITY

There is the same discrepancy as to the place of imprisonment. García may have been imprisoned in two different places. Berganza sagaciously remarks that Sancho would hardly have confined so important a political prisoner as García elsewhere than in Castile, that portion of his dominions upon whose loyalty he could rely. He found support for this conjecture in the above-mentioned fragment of a chronicle of Silos which says: "Era MCVIII Rex Sanctius, proles Ferdinando, ob fraudem fratris sui Garseani ira commotus, eum de Gallecia expulsum, et captum in Oppidum Burgos in exilium trusit."¹⁰ So far as I know, this is the only source which specifically mentions Burgos as the place of the first captivity. But the Leonese Chronicle affords some confirmation by saying that García was taken to Castile: "Captus et uinculis mancipatus castellam per extra caminum ducitur."¹¹ Likewise the Chronicle of the Cid says: "y el rey don Sancho lo puso en hierros y lo lleuo consigo a Castilla."¹²

¹ *España Sagrada*, XIV, 487.

² *Ibid.*, XVII, 276-77.

³ Cirot, *op. cit.*, pp. 267 and 279-80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Primera Crónica general*, publicada por R. Menéndez Pidal (Madrid, 1906), pp. 502 and 546-47.

⁸ Mariana, *Historia de España*, Book 9, chap. vi.

⁹ Puyol y Alonso finds that this trait of a single captivity beginning under Sancho occurred in the lost epic of Sancho II, which he attempts to reconstruct from the *Primera Crónica general*. Cf. Puyol y Alonso, *Cantar de gesta de Don Sancho II de Castilla*, *Archivo de investigaciones históricas*, I, 64. Menéndez Pidal reconstructs the García story in the same way. He would make it form part of the lost *Cantar de Zamora*. See his *L'épopée castillane* (Paris, 1910), p. 61.

¹⁰ Berganza, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

¹¹ Cirot, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

¹² *Rev. hisp.*, XX, 333.

The *Chronicon Compostellanum*, Pelayo of Oviedo, and the Monk of Silos mention no place of captivity. The other sources all give Luna as the place of García's incarceration, no matter whether the imprisonment is supposed to begin under Sancho or under Alfonso. There is no reason why Alfonso, who was king of León before he was king of Castile, and who had no cause to doubt the loyalty of the Leonese, may not have imprisoned his brother in this mountain stronghold. Luna was not far removed from the city of León and as García was in fact buried in that city there is slight reason to doubt that Luna was the place of his second and longer captivity. Nevertheless as Luna is not mentioned by the earliest chroniclers, in particular by the reliable *Chronicon Compostellanum*, but only in those sources which are later and more contaminated by poetic influence, one should perhaps avoid too great confidence. Luna was also the stronghold in which the Conde de Saldaña was imprisoned, and poems of the Bernardo del Carpio cycle may well have exerted a contaminating influence upon others describing the fate of García.¹

IV. THE LENGTH OF GARCÍA'S CAPTIVITIES

There is the greatest confusion in the sources concerning the dates of García's imprisonments and the length of his captivity. Those relating only one imprisonment, beginning in the reign of Sancho, assign a longer period than do those which refer only to the captivity which began under Alfonso. In addition many scribal errors have crept into the accounts. The battle of Volpéjar in which Alfonso lost to Sancho the crown of León took place in 1072. The battle of Santarem in which García was taken prisoner by Sancho was subsequent and apparently in the same year. The time of the first brief imprisonment lies, then, in this year, or, at most, cannot have continued long into 1073. Many chronicles, those based upon poetic sources, state that the conquest of Galicia antedated that of León, and the battle of Santarem that of Volpéjar—a manifest distortion of the facts which deceives no modern historian. To motivate this absurdity the Leonese Chronicle states that Sancho got free passage through León and Galicia by feigning that he was making a pilgrimage to Santiago.² Sancho died and Alfonso became king of

¹ For allusions to Luna, see Durán, Nos. 620, 622, 624, 627, 658.

² Cirot, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

the reunited provinces in 1073. The second, the long captivity of García, seems to date from the early days of Alfonso's reign. There can be no doubt that García died in 1090, unless we discredit the evidence of the epitaph. It seems probable, therefore, that the captivity in Luna lasted seventeen years; and this calculation is confirmed by the reliable *Chronicon Compostellanum*. Translating the old chronology into the modern, we learn from this source that the unfortunate king was imprisoned by Alfonso in 1073 (era MCXI) and died in 1090 (era MCXXVIII).¹ In the *Valerio de las Historias*, too, the imprisonment is said to have lasted seventeen years.

Pelayo of Oviedo gives no dates, but says that the captivity lasted "twenty years and more" (XX annos et amplius).² The Monk of Silos gives no dates; neither does the *Liber Regum*. Lucas of Tuy says that the captivity lasted twenty years and that the date of the prisoner's death was 1091. Gil de Zamora gives the obviously inaccurate date of 1078 for the burial.³ Equally erroneous are: *Annales Complutenses*, 1084; *Annales Toledanos*, 1082; *Annales Compostellani*, 1091.⁴ Strangest of all is the Leonese Chronicle, which states that the imprisonment began after the death of Queen Sancha, 1067, and lasted till 1091.⁵ According to this account, García was in continuous imprisonment from a time five years previous to the battle of Santarem. The *Crónica general*⁶ gives 1079 as the date of García's death, and the duration of the captivity as nineteen years, which appears absurdly in the Ocampo version as nineteen days.⁷

¹ Cirot, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

² *Ibid.*, p. 267.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 268-69.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 267, 279.

⁶ The chronicler of Alfonso el Sabio struggles manfully to reconcile his sources: 'And this was, as the archbishop says, in the sixteenth year of the reign of the king Don Alfonso; others say in the seventeenth year; others say that the king Don Alfonso had been reigning even longer. But in this there is little importance, because if one of those who write this history says more years and the other less, and even supposing neither says the day exactly, or yet the year, not on that account does the soul of the deceased fail to go where it should; for we know of a surety that the death of this king Don García fell in the years of the reign of this king Don Alfonso, his brother, wherefore we say that a little of error in these aforesaid chronicles matters not. And this was in the era of MCXVII. And this same thing we say of this reckoning of the era that we said of the year in which this king Don García died, approximately" (*ed. cit.*, pp. 546-47).

⁷ Ocampo, *Las quatro partes enteras de la Crónica de España* (Valladolid, 1604), Part IV, p. 210 r.

V. THE MANNER OF GARCÍA'S ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT

The *Chronicon Compostellanum* states that after capture Sancho allowed García to go to Seville in exile.¹ On Sancho's death García hastened to join his brother, Alfonso, who, following the advice of their sister Urraca, arrested him and threw him into prison. Pelayo de Oviedo gives a less complete account.² Alfonso gets possession of García through a stratagem (*per ingenium*), and imprisons him. Nothing is said of a previous war between Sancho and García except by implication: "Perlustravit Sanctius vero Asturias, Gallaeciam, et Portucalem." Yet this would seem sufficient to prove that Pelayo, too, was following legendary sources. According to the Monk of Silos, Alfonso, persuaded by Urraca, arrests and imprisons García, after having gotten possession of his person by trickery. His motive is to insure peace by protecting both his own life and his brother's; for García is heir, and Alfonso is willing that the younger brother should rule if the latter survive him. Every royal honor is shown García while in prison. Berganza's Escorial version tells how Sancho released García "sobre omenage, que le fizo, que en toda su vida fuesse su vassallo e aun sobre esto que le dio en rehenes."³ Alfonso later captured García, how we are not told, and placed him in Luna. Lucas of Tuy is more explicit.⁴ Sancho captures García and releases him under oath of allegiance. García later wages war on Alfonso. The latter under advice of Urraca and Pedro Ansúrez sends a messenger to García, urging him to come to an appointed place to arrange a peace treaty. García who was of simple wit (*erat simplicis ingenii*) suspected no evil and exacted no pledge of his brother. He fell into the trap and was imprisoned. He received every royal honor while in prison, except that he was forced to wear chains. Alfonso's motives were the same as those stated above. The Chronicle of the Cid tells substantially the same story. After his release by Sancho he goes, not to Seville, but to his own kingdom of Portugal, where he continues to rule. He ruled with such a high hand that he offended many of his vassals. After Alfonso came to

¹ Cirot, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

² *Ibid.*, p. 267.

³ Berganza, *op. cit.*, p. 428.

⁴ Cirot, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-69.

the throne, García made incursions into León, where he did much damage. Alfonso then resorted to the ruse, described above, to which García (*de liviano consejo*) readily fell victim. No mention is made of Urraca or Pedro Ansúrez in this connection. After García's arrest the Gallicians and Christian Portuguese gladly accepted Alfonso's rule. Alfonso was angered at the ravages committed in his dominions, but the prudent considerations mentioned above also counted in his action.¹ Almela, in his *Valerio de las Historias*, gives precisely the same account, with the additional fact that the imprisonment lasted seventeen years. The story is told to illustrate the danger of excessive self-confidence.²

Turning now to the less authentic accounts, the *Liber Regum* states that the Cid captured García at the battle of Santarem, and Sancho placed him in Luna.³ The Archbishop Rodrigo of Toledo states that Sancho captured García at Santarem and placed him in Luna.⁴ Alfonso's rôle and motives are the same as in most of the other versions, with the important exception that he had no share in the capture of his brother. Gil of Zamora merely copies Rodrigo.⁵ The *Crónica general* combines the *Liber Regum* and the Rodrigo of Toledo narratives.⁶ The compiler, finding these two sources at variance, hesitates as to whether it was really Álvar Fáñez or the Cid who effected the capture at Santarem. We are told that Alfonso had an affection for García. Mariana, who knows but one imprisonment, states that Sancho captured García at Santarem.⁷ The intervention of the Cid in García's story plainly indicates epic contamination.

The account given by the Leonese Chronicle is *sui generis*. After the death of the queen-mother Sancha, in 1067, Sancho, accompanied by three hundred armed knights (*armatis trescentis militibus*) sets out on an alleged pilgrimage to Santiago.⁸ Both brothers freely permit him to pass through their dominions and García, all unsuspecting, goes to meet him at Santarem, where he is captured, taken to Castile,

¹ *Rev. hisp.*, XX, 353. "E el rey don Alonso lo mando mucho guardar en aquel castillo y bien servir e acatar e honrrar e dar muy largamente las cosas que haula menester, porque el rey don Alonso no tenia hijo e querian si muriesse que quedasse don García por heredar los reynos."

² Almela, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

³ Cirot, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 269.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Mariana, *op. cit.*, p. 257 (Rivadeneyra ed.).

⁸ Cirot, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

and imprisoned twenty-four years until his death. This version, too, makes García the victim of an act of treachery, a tradition confirmed, as we have already seen, by the epitaph. But, by crediting Sancho rather than Alfonso with the perfidy, this version seems to represent a Leonese rather than a Castilian point of view. This chronicle emanates from the establishment of San Isidoro of León. The latest date mentioned in it is 1154. The distortion of the facts and the allusion to three hundred knights seem to denote epic influence. We may reasonably conclude that by the middle of the twelfth century there was already in existence a body of poetic fiction dealing with the fate of García, either as a separate epic or ballad, or in connection with longer works reciting the deeds of his more famous brothers. In this connection it may or may not be significant that García was buried in San Isidoro, Sancho in Oña, Alfonso in Sahagún.¹ The narrative might be expected to vary according to the monastery from which it came.

VI. THE MANNER OF GARCÍA'S DEATH AND BURIAL

Pelayo of Oviedo states that after a blood-letting García took to his bed and died.² He was buried in León. The Monk of Silos makes no mention of the bleeding, but says that García died of a fever.³ He was buried "with his parents," which would point to San Isidoro. This author like most of his successors dwells upon the pompous funeral rites. In addition to the papal legate, Reniere, and the primate, Bernardo of Toledo, there were present many other distinguished prelates and the deceased's two sisters, the Infantas Urraca and Elvira. The *Chronicon Compostellanum* gives no details regarding García's death, but describes the funeral much as the Monk of Silos does.⁴

The Leonese Chronicle is perhaps the earliest extant account to give the romantic story of García's refusal to have his chains removed and his desire to be buried in them. The epitaph states merely that García "died in chains," and, since the rifling of his tomb in 1808, it is no longer possible to ascertain whether he was actually buried in

¹ *Primera Crónica general*, ed. cit., pp. 512, 645.

² *Cirot*, op. cit., p. 267.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

them. But the story is so romantic as once more to suggest that the Leonese Chronicle is based upon poetic sources: "In huius tempore era MCXXVIII XI KI's aprilis obiit rex garsias quem rex Sanctius in uinculis miserat qui morti proximus se de uinculis extrahi nullo modo consentiens cum eis apud legionem est sepultus."¹ There is no account of the funeral, which evidently interested clerical writers more than it did the popular bards, another possible indication that this version rests upon popular sources.

The *Liber Regum* also gives one of the earliest versions: "And there in Luna he died in his irons, and with his irons he caused himself to be buried, and with his irons he lies buried in San Isidro de León."² Lucas of Tuy states that García fell ill in prison and was bled. When Alfonso heard of his brother's serious condition he grieved exceedingly and ordered his chains removed and the prisoner brought to León. On the road to León, García died. There follows a description of the funeral.³ Rodrigo de de Toledo and Gil of Zamora follow the *Liber Regum* account, and the *Crónica general* follows in the main Rodrigo and the *Liber Regum*, especially the former in the matter of García's death. It runs as follows:

And the king Don García being ill, he was bled at the beginning of his illness as the physicians ordered. And the king Don Alfonso when they told him that the illness was afflicting ever more the king Don García and that he had been bled, ordered that they release him from prison. But the king Don García, when they told him how his brother was ordering him released from prison, then said: "Since God did not will that I should be released during that part of my life when I was well and with health, now I no longer wish to issue forth from prison, and here I will die; but I beg my sisters and thus order that they bury me in León in the irons in which I lie imprisoned." And his sisters, Doña Urraca and Doña Elvira, and the bishops and the abbots who assembled there at his burial, honored him at his death and gave him royal sepulture, and rendered him all those honors which pertain to a king and so buried him, save for this: that they put him in irons as he ordered; for one of the greatest things that one does and says is what he orders in his last testament at his end. And the aged men who have heard most of this matter say that this king Don García lies thus in his irons even to this day in León.⁴

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 279-80. Cirot has called attention to the fact that this chronicle contains many leonine verses. Its direct source seems to have been a Latin poem.

² *Ibid.*, p. 268.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Primera Crónica general*, ed. cit., pp. 546-47.

The Ocampo version of the *Crónica general* varies in a few particulars.¹ We are told that the death took place in the seventeenth year of Don Alfonso's reign, a date which is probably accurate. This version rejects the other dates between which the original compiler wavered. García's speech is put into indirect discourse. The church of San Isidro is mentioned.² The most obvious difference is the placing of the story. In Ocampo the death is made to occur just previous to the fall of Toledo; in the older version it follows upon Alfonso's triumphant homecoming from that victory. Menéndez Pidal states that the way in which the story of Don García is told offers a convenient test for the establishing of two distinct families of manuscripts of the *Crónica general*.³ If all the various manuscripts were collated, many other minor differences would doubtless be noted.

VII. LORENZO DE SEPÚLVEDA'S BALLAD

Although the theme of García's imprisonment and death must have busied poets in the early years of the twelfth century, no old, traditional ballad on this subject has come down to us. We have only Lorenzo de Sepúlveda's erudite ballad, written about the middle of the sixteenth century. This is No. 912 of Durán's *Romancero General* and is entitled: *Muerte de don García, rey de Galicia, desposetido por sus hermanos Sancho II y Alfonso VI de Castilla*. The following is an attempt at an English rendering:

Fast in the keep of Luna, García prisoner lay,
 He who Galicia's monarch was crowned on a better day;
 Captive of King Don Sancho, his brother, next of kin,
 Him who died neath Zamora, seeking that town to win,
 Him whom the false Bellido slew in the flower of life;
 Alfonso rules those kingdoms now, torn with fraternal strife.
 García lies in prison twenty full years and more;
 Chains on his ankles bind him; his limbs are stiff and sore.
 Alfonso dares not loose him, this chieftain full of fire;
 He fears, if granted freedom, García will aspire.

¹ Ocampo, *ed. cit.*, Book IV, pp. 234v.-235r.

² It is also mentioned in some of the MSS collated by Menéndez Pidal. *Ibid.*, p. 546, variants.

³ Menéndez Pidal, *La Crónica general de España que mandó componer el rey Alfonso el Sabio, discurso leído ante la Real Academia de la Historia el día 21 de mayo de 1916* (Madrid, 1916), p. 25.

Alfonso has no children; if he be first to die,
 García will be sovereign, with him the rule will lie.
 García now is sickly, Alfonso's heart is sick.
 Straight orders he the jailer: "Unbind my brother, quick."
 García is unwilling, he will not mercy take;
 Unto the king his brother in sorrow thus he spake:
 "Brother, my days are numbered, from death I cannot flee.
 O let me keep my shackles, I will not now be free.
 Close have they clung unto me, year after year without end.
 I fain would take them with me, I know no better friend.
 Bury them therefore with me (this is the boon I crave);
 In León, in San Isidro, there let them dig my grave."
 Alfonso did as bidden, heeded this last request.
 In León, in San Isidro, García lies at rest.

The "industrious and uninspired Sepúlveda," as Mr. S. Griswold Morley happily characterizes him,¹ published this ballad in his *Romances nuevamente sacados de historias antiguas de la crónica de España* (Antwerp: Juan Steelsio, 1551). In his Preface Sepúlveda states that his ballads are drawn from the chronicle compiled by Alfonso the Wise.² If, as is most probable, Sepúlveda used the edition printed by Ocampo at Zamora in 1541, the writing of the foregoing ballad would fall between 1541 and 1551. But it is possible that Sepúlveda used some MS version of the chronicle. The length of imprisonment, *veinte años y más había*, is closer far to the accounts of Pelayo of Oviedo and Lucas of Tuy. The *Crónica general* divides the story of García into two passages far removed from each other. In the first passage the length of the imprisonment is given as nineteen years. (In Ocampo nineteen days [*sic*].) In the second passage, as we have seen the chronicler hazards several conjectures. In the corresponding passage in Ocampo, we are told merely that the death occurred in the seventeenth year of Alfonso's reign. Perhaps the poet chose twenty as a convenient round number, and his agreement in this matter with earlier sources is fortuitous. In most other respects his agreement with the Ocampo version is close; for example, the reasons of Alfonso for holding his brother a prisoner, the feature

¹ S. Griswold Morley, "Are the Spanish Romances Written in Quatrains? and Other Questions," *Romanic Review*, VII, 60.

² The Preface is published entire by Wolf, *Studien* (Berlin, 1859), pp. 321-23.

of but a single imprisonment beginning under Sancho, García's request to be allowed to keep his chains and to be buried in them at San Isidro. Sepúlveda departs from the *Crónica general* in making García express his dying wish to Alfonso, rather than to his two sisters. But Ocampo misprints *hermanos* for *hermanas*, and this may have misled Sepúlveda. Ocampo follows Lucas of Tuy in making García die on the road to León. Sepúlveda does not introduce this feature.

Sepúlveda's ballad is prosaic, like most *romances eruditos*. Whatever merit it may have was already in his source. His one apparent improvement upon the *Crónica general* is the poetic touch of making García conceive a personal friendship for his chains: *Pues que son mi compañía*. While I find this feature nowhere in the chronicles, it is curious to note that even in this Sepúlveda was anticipated by Almela, the first edition of whose work was published in 1487, and who cannot be regarded as Sepúlveda's source: "Y el Rey Don Alfonso aviendo del piedad, mandóle que le quitassen los hierros, mas el Rey Don Garcia no quiso, antes dixo, que pues dellos no saliera quando era sano, que ni queria dellos salir quando era enfermo: y fueron sus compañeros diez i siete años, etc."¹ But this pretty embellishment falsifies the legend; for García's true motive in asking to be buried in chains was not a fondness for them, but rather a desire to administer a rebuke to his brother. It is this that differentiates the legend of García from the many other stories in literature of prisoners enamored of their cells and chains. A more exact parallel is the legend that Christopher Columbus, too, desired to be buried in chains.² He, too, had suffered injustice and desired to rebuke his sovereigns. I do not know how or where this story originated, but in all probability it is the legend of García transferred to another hero.

VIII. LA LINDONA DE GALICIA

I know of only one play dealing with the legend of García. This is a drama variously ascribed to Montalván, Moreto, and Lope de Vega, and entitled *La Lindona de Galicia o la Ricahembra de Galicia*.

¹ Almela, *ed. cit.*, p. 116. Almela was not Sepúlveda's source, because in the former's account the imprisonment begins under Alfonso.

² I am indebted to one of my students, Mr. A. H. Krappe, for calling my attention to the Columbus parallel.

Well on toward the end of the third act occur four lines which may or may not be a ballad-fragment:

En los montes de Galicia
Está Don García preso,
Por la rica fembra de Vlla,
Vengada de sus desprecios.

These verses are not spoken by one of the characters in the play, but by the *cantor*. They are introduced as ballads so often are, when the dénouement is almost complete. In such cases the recital of a ballad would sum up the action of the whole play. The four lines may have been merely a cue for the *cantor*, who would be expected to recite the *romance* in its entirety. We see at once that this ballad, if ballad it is, is not traditional but a *romance juglaresco* or *novelesco*, giving a late, romantic version of the legend. Galicia is the place of captivity. The jailor is a noble lady of that province, seeking vengeance for a wrong. The other alternative is to consider these four lines the work of the author of the play. Either this play has been based upon a ballad hitherto unknown or four lines of an imitation ballad have been written to fit the play. However this may be, a study of *La Lindona de Galicia* will enable us to note a hitherto unknown version of the García story, late, degenerate, and absurd.

A seventeenth-century MS of this play is preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. In this MS Lope de Vega is credited with the authorship.¹ Medel and Huerta also accepted the attribution to Lope in their respective catalogues. Barrera,² Durán, and Schaeffer³ credit Montalván with the authorship. Bacon and Rennert have not seen this rare play and rely upon Schaeffer's brief analysis.⁴ There

¹ Paz y Melia, *Catálogo*, No. 1756. The last line of the play, there quoted, differs from that of the version I have used.

² La Barrera, *Catálogo*, pp. 456 and 268. The play has been attributed to Moreto only under the title: *La rica-hembra de Galicia*. Mesonero Romanos, in his *catálogo*, assigns it only to Montalván, *Dramáticos contemporáneos de Lope de Vega*, II, *Bib. de aut. esp.*, p. liv. Fernández-Guerra y Orbe, *Comedias escogidas de Moreto*, *Bib. de aut. esp.*, p. xli, states that he has not seen a copy of the *Rica-hembra de Galicia*, credited to Moreto but has no doubt that it is the same as Montalván's *La Lindona de Galicia*.

³ Schaeffer, *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas* (Leipzig, 1890), I, 453.

⁴ G. W. Bacon, "The Life and Dramatic Works of Doctor Juan Pérez de Montalván (1602-1638)," *Rev. hisp.*, XXVI, 443. Bacon has only a five-line note on this play, classing it among the supposititious dramas of Montalván. This adds nothing to the same author's earlier note, in "The Comedias de Montalván," *Rev. hisp.*, XVII, 58. See

is at least one *suelta* version of the play bearing the name of Moreto. The play seems to have been printed several times in *suelta* form, but never in any collection. The *suelta* in my collection bears the title: *La Lindona de Galicia, comedia famosa de Don Juan Pérez de Montalván. Impresa en Madrid en la Imprenta de Joseph Gonzalez y vive en la Calle del Arenal. Año de 1733.* Restori finds this play mentioned in the *Entremés del Doctor Carlino*, which he dates between 1642 and 1648. We may be certain that *La Lindona* was written before the latter date.¹

La Lindona de Galicia is a poor example of a Spanish historical play. It was not extracted directly from a chronicle. The many historical inaccuracies seem to show that the author was relying upon an imperfect memory for his knowledge of the past. It contains, besides, several fiction motives of a romantic nature. If the four lines above quoted are in fact a ballad fragment, that ballad was the author's probable source. Aesthetically the play is without value. Its plot is grotesque and naïvely absurd. One is at a loss to understand what beauties Schaeffer found in it to merit the high praise he accords it. Nevertheless *La Lindona* should be republished from the Madrid MS. It is a curiosity among plays, because a large portion, including the whole of the title-rôle part, is written in Galician dialect. At present it interests us solely on account of the odd twist it gives to the story of García.

In Act I, García returns home from war, bearing as trophies the crowns of the conquered kings of Avila and Segovia. Nobody comes forth to meet him. He hears alternate sounds of merriment and mourning. Enter Don Diego Ordóñez de Lara, clad in black. He addresses García as king. The latter thus learns of the death of his father Don Fernando. Don Diego urges him to beware of Sancho, who is too silent to be trustworthy. García replies that fortune may overcome him, but his courage will never fail. A curtain is drawn revealing a tableau. On one side is a catafalque bearing the body of the late king; on the other side Sancho, gaily attired, sits on his throne. This picture symbolizes the transitoriness of all things

also Rennert, "Bibliography of Lope de Vega," *Rev. hisp.*, XXXIII, 196. This note adds nothing to Mr. Bacon's meager information. Neither of these scholars mentions the Madrid MS attributed to Lope in the Paz y Melia *Catálogo*.

¹ Restori, *Piezas de títulos de comedias* (Messina, 1903), pp. 137-38.

human, and foreshadows García's own coming change of fortune. He muses in language very reminiscent of *La vida es sueño*:

La magestad es assi,
y assi se he de devolver,
que el más terreno poder
sombra es vil, y sueño leve;
pues la distancia es tan breve,
que ay entre el ser y el no ser.

Sancho demands an oath of allegiance from his younger brother. García replies that he can see no other majesty than that of his deceased father, and lays the crowns of Segovia and Avila upon the casket. A quarrel ensues between the brothers. Each reminds the other of the fickleness of fortune. At last García defiantly leaves for Galicia, and Sancho threatens to meet him there upon the field of battle. Sancho thereupon announces his intention of depriving his brothers of their kingdoms, and, though his nobles try to dissuade him, he orders his armies to proceed against Biscay and Galicia. The author here vaguely follows the account which made the winning of Galicia take place prior to the conquest of León. This opening scene is effective, if somewhat overpompous. Obviously it is far removed from history.

The scene changes to Ribadulla, the castle of Lindona, the *ricahembra* of that region. Her estate is fourteen leagues in length along the river Ulla, and Ribadulla is described as four leagues distant from La Coruña. Lindona carries her newly born child, Linda. While she is conversing with peasant retainers, García enters. He recognizes the child as his own, informs Lindona that he is now king of Galicia, and offers to remedy a wrong by making Lindona his wife and queen. He invites her to join him at La Coruña, where he has called a meeting of retainers to prepare for the inevitable war.

In the next scene a Don Vasco and the Portuguese ambassadors are plotting to break off the proposed marriage. García enters. They tell him that it is a disgrace for a king to marry a former mistress, that interests of state dictate a marriage with Leonor, daughter of Alfonso of Portugal. Of course it is an anachronism to make Alfonso Enríquez a contemporary of García, who was himself king of Portugal. Alfonso Enríquez did in fact have a daughter Leonor,

who according to the *Crónica general* married a king of Denmark.¹ García at first remains true to Lindona, but on being shown a portrait of Leonor instantly falls in love with that lady. Enter Lindona. She sees the portrait placed beside the king on the throne which she had herself hoped to occupy. When about to remove it, she is told that the promised marriage is now impossible. There follows a long lament ending in a curse. She expresses the hope that García become king "late, with difficulty, or never." García grasps his crown, seeking to crown himself immediately and thus set at nought the curse. As he raises the crown, Lindona suddenly throws the baby, Linda, out of the castle window into the sea. Immediately after, Sancho and his followers enter. García is seized. Sancho orders García's execution. Lindona asks that his punishment be instead a living death. She offers to serve as his jailor, guarding her false lover for the rest of his life in her castle of Ribadulla. After Lindona has made an oath of allegiance, Sancho consents; for what better jailor than a slighted woman?

Act II opens with a hunting scene in the Galician forest. Many years have passed. Fernando II is now reigning in León. Don Ramiro, the king's brother, is leader of the hunt. He is seeking obscurity through distrust of his brother. There is talk between Ramiro and his huntsmen of a strange bear of human appearance which the latter have seen in the forest. At the siesta hour the infante lies down to sleep. He orders the musicians to play. The harmony attracts the strange beast, which turns out to be a beautiful young woman clad in a bear's hide. She admires the sleeping prince. Ramiro awakens, and his admiration equals that of the visitor for him. It is love at first sight. But the girl's conversational powers are limited. She can repeat only "love" and "jealousy," words which she has caught from the musical refrain. Finally she runs away. Later Ramiro and Mormojón, the clown, espy a castle. They enter unobserved. The rattling of chains scares the gracioso. But no ghost is the originator of the sounds; the jingling chains belong to an aged prisoner. All this is strongly reminiscent of the opening scenes of *La vida es sueño*. The prisoner is, of course, García, who has been confined in Ulla "twenty-six years and more." Ramiro

¹ *Ed. cit.*, p. 651.

does not recognize García, but, touched with pity, promises him aid. He departs as stealthily as he had come. After his departure Lindona comes to taunt García for his love of Leonor. This has been her daily custom for twenty-six years. She promises to release him only if their daughter Linda is restored. In another scene, Ramiro's huntsmen, seeking their master, call out his name. Linda plays the part of echo. The huntsmen follow her voice and finally overtake and seize her. Ramiro comes along and decides to take the wild beauty to court.

In Act III the scene shifts to the court of Fernando II at Burgos, where by the way this king never reigned. The king scolds Ramiro for avoiding the royal presence. He also disapproves of the wild lady whom Ramiro has brought home. There follows a comic scene in which Linda, attired as a lady of the court, gives an exhibition of awkwardness. Forbán, a general, enters to report acts of cruelty and tyranny committed by Lindona in her Galician fastness. Fernando sends forth a punitive expedition. Lindona again visits García in prison, and again demands of him her lost daughter. The attacking forces approach Lindona's castle. Ordoño, one of the leaders, notices a jewel which Ramiro is wearing. This is a keepsake which Linda had never lost during her residence among the bears and had presented to her lover. Ordoño recognizes the jewel as one formerly worn by King García. He relates that on the morning when García was captured he had been cruising off La Coruña, in command of naval forces. While thus engaged he had witnessed the fall of a baby from the castle window into the sea. He had jumped overboard, rescued the child, and taken her ashore. Abandoning her for a moment, he returned to see her in the act of being tenderly nursed by a she-bear. The bear had escaped into the forest with her nursling. There Linda had lived among the bears until discovered by Ramiro. Her identity is now established. The attack on the castle proceeds. Lindona surrenders. García is released and his identity made known. He is treated kindly and freed from his chains. He expresses no desire to continue wearing them. Fernando is about to punish Lindona, but García asks permission to atone for the old wrong by marrying her. This arrangement pleases all, the more so as Lindona's heart is touched and she abandons her former

cruelty. Prince Ramiro, finding that Linda is of the blood royal, his own cousin in fact, promises to marry her.

This most absurd play is only remotely historic. It has, however, historic reminiscences gained from an imperfect memory of the chronicles and ballads. How far it is removed from history is shown by the fact that the author makes Fernando II of León the immediate successor of Alfonso VI. He is represented as the son of that monarch and the nephew of Sancho II and García. As a matter of fact the reigns of Urraca and Alfonso VII had intervened. Fernando II was a son of Alfonso VII, *el emperador*. Several of the romantic features of the plot are little more than commonplaces in the literature of the time. The abandoned child, nurtured by wild beasts, appears in the Amadis of Gaul, and such stories have been common in the world's folklore since the days of Romulus and Remus. Lindona is the *mujer hombruna* type of woman, so common in the Spanish drama, who avenges her lost honor without male assistance.

We have now traced the development of the legend of King García down through various stages. The oldest chronicles give but a few meager details of his vicissitudes and sufferings. A generation later picturesque details, of a plainly fanciful nature, begin to creep into the monkish accounts, suggesting that García's downfall had begun to occupy the poets. Still later the *Crónica general* gives wider currency to the legend. An educated poet, Lorenzo de Sepúlveda, recognizes the picturesqueness of the story and by basing a poem upon it strove to restore to poetry what was poetry's own. Nearly a century later a playwright, probably Pérez de Montalván, stages a degenerate version of the legend, grossly misrepresenting the facts of history, adding a love story and numerous extraneous incidents. This is the course that most legends run. A few meager facts are given an imaginative treatment by some inspired poet of the people. The simple charm of this attracts the more sophisticated artist. A masterpiece frequently results. In the course of time another writer strives to improve upon his sources, sacrifices simplicity, changes, adds, complicates, produces something almost unrecognizable, and the legend falls into full degeneracy.

GEORGE TYLER NORTHUP

Mr. S. Griswold Morley has long maintained that every Spanish dramatist of the *siglo de oro* had special idiosyncrasies with regard to the choice of verse forms, that it is possible to work out a metrical formula for all or almost all of the great writers, and that these formulas, when obtained, aid greatly in determining works of doubtful authorship. Inasmuch as Mr. Morley recently worked out the formula for Moreto (*Studies in Spanish Dramatic Versification of the Siglo de Oro: Alarcón and Moreto*. University of California Publications, Vol. VII, No. 3, 1918) I have asked him to give me his opinion as to the authorship of *La Lindona de Galicia*. This Mr. Morley has very kindly done, and has also granted me permission to print his remarks. Mr. Morley has been unable to reach a definite conclusion. In the first place, neither he nor I have seen the Madrid MS. He has had access to no other version of the play than my own very imperfect *suelta* print. Furthermore he has not yet worked out the metrical formulas of Montalván and Lope de Vega. What he has to say as to the possibility that Moreto had a hand in the writing of the play is of great interest.

G. T. N.

With regard to *La Lindona de Galicia*, I am sorry to say that an examination of its metrical structure gives no definite answer to your query as to whether Moreto or Montalván is the more likely candidate for its authorship. In the first place, the text is barbarously mutilated. Then, one important factor, Montalván's formula, is practically an unknown quantity, for the eight plays by him that I have been able to examine (those in Vol. XLV of the *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles* and *La Monja alférez*) are not enough to determine much. They show him to have belonged, as a versifier, rather to the middle of the century than to the early period, but it would require a greater number properly to define his idiosyncrasies. I shall therefore have to consider *La Lindona de Galicia* almost entirely from the Moreto side.

Here is the analysis of the play, as I make it:

Act	Redondillas	Quintillas	Décimas	Versos de Romance	Silvas	Octava Rima
I.....	{ 8 76 ..... .....	..... ..... ..... .....	150 30	82 e-o 150 i-a 76 e-a .....	..... ..... ..... .....	83
II.....	{ 204 32 68 .....	..... ..... ..... .....	60 30 20	60 e-o 108 e-a 98 u-a 86 a-e	26 (2°) ..... ..... .....	..... ..... ..... ..... .....
III.....	{ 16	5 ..... ..... .....	..... ..... ..... .....	140 e-e 82 o-e 110 a-o 164 e-o	16 (1°) 10 (4°)	72 96
Total lines.....	404	5	290	1156	52	251
Per cent.....	18	.....	12	51	2	11

There are no instances of *liras*, sonnets, or *versos sueltos* in this play. There are a number of miscellaneous lines, corrupt passages with extra lines or lacking them, and therefore difficult to classify; also a number of short songs and couplets. Act I contains a 98-line assonated passage in *u-a*. The total number of lines in dialogue in the whole play is 2,256.

The important thing, the percentages of *romance* and *redondilla*, are perfectly typical of Moreto. Nevertheless, *La Lindona* is far from being a typical Moreto play. It shows an unwonted fondness for *octava rima*, a meter which Moreto never affected much. The percentage (11 %) of octaves is far greater than that in any authentic play of his that I have seen; the nearest is 6 per cent in *Como se vengán los nobles*. It is true that I have rated as octaves the very corrupt passage in Act I (pp. 6-7 of the *suelta*), although the stanzas are so hashed as to be almost unrecognizable. Second, there is a sizable passage of six-syllable assonants (98 lines; Act I, pp. 8-9). This meter is not found in the dialogue of the thirty-five plays of Moreto that I have examined. One cannot call these two indications conclusive evidence against Moreto, but they are straws.

The form of *silva*, in the short passages of Act II (pp. 20-21) and Act III (pp. 23a, 25b) might be by either Montalván or Moreto, who are much alike in their use of this meter, sometimes a telltale. The songs, and there are plenty of them, point rather to Moreto of the two. In Montalván's eight plays there is only one song (*No hay vida como la honra*, III), a four-line *romance* in *e-a*. Moreto, of course, has songs galore; most of them are quatrains of *redondilla* or *romance*, like the *romance* on page 26a of *La Lindona*; but one could also find something analogous to the Galician form in Act I (p. 6a):

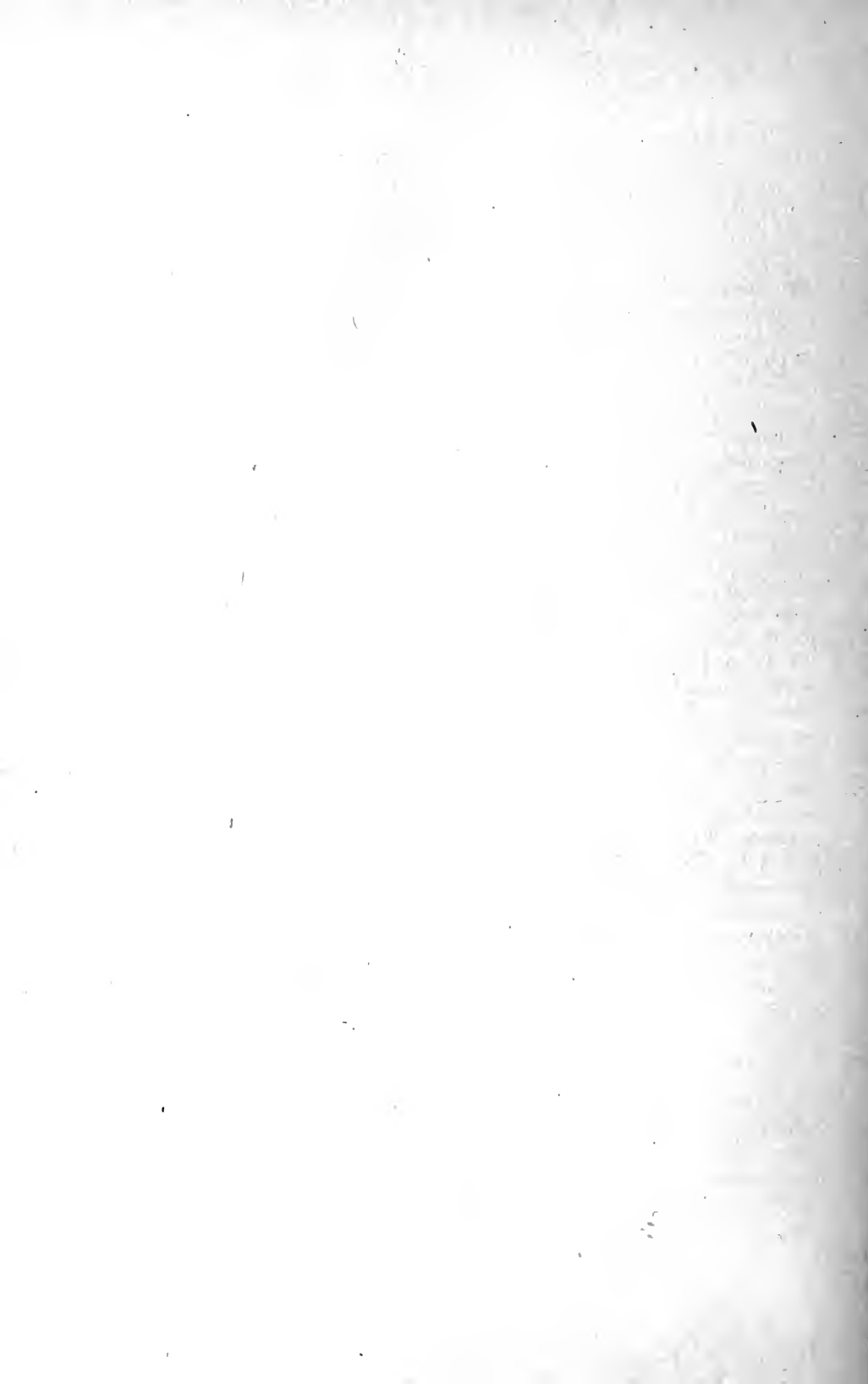
"Mozas de la Riba de Vlla
facey reverenzas al sol, y a la lua"

in *Antíoco y Seleuco*, II, 9.

But, I repeat, my ignorance of Montalván's system is too great at present to permit of much certainty. As to the possible ballad, *En los montes de Galicia*, etc., the last line does not sound quite popular to me. I incline to think that the author of the play composed it.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Le Mystère d'Adam: An Anglo-Norman Drama of the Twelfth Century.

Edited by PAUL STUDER. Modern Language Texts, L. E. Kastner, general editor. Manchester (England): University Press, 1918. Pp. lviii+80.

The remarkable impulse which has been given lately to the study of "moderns" in England is revealed by the epoch-making government report on modern languages (republished recently under the title *Modern Studies*); by the foundation of the Modern Language Research Association, whose fourth *Bulletin* has just been issued, and by the appearance of texts like the present one, emanating from Oxford and intended for the use of students in the English-speaking universities. If all the new texts are to be as well chosen and as well edited as this one, or as Orr's *Guiot de Provins* (*Modern Philology*, XVI, 391), the promoters of the movement may be assured that they are making enviable progress and in the right direction.

The *Representacio Ade* is peculiarly well suited to classroom use: were it not that the unique manuscript is very poor, besides being incomplete, the play would be ideal for the purpose. Mr. Studer has, however, done extremely well in getting at, or toward, what must have been the original; he has preserved most of what was valuable in the older editions of Luzarche and Grass, and he has incorporated all the useful comments of G. Paris, Foerster, and Tobler. The Introduction deals with the sources of the play, with its staging, and with the language and versification of the author and of the manuscript as it stands. The whole has been printed with commendable care.

A few comments may be offered. Line 63, the emendation seems awkward and unnecessary: change *petit* to *poi* and cf. *Erec* 3416. Line 114, the *estas* of the MS has better claims than the substituted *estes*. 172 *tei membrera*. Line 185, the Devil is seeking to make Adam discontented in Eden, where he is but a gardener:

Deus t'a fait gardein de son ort,
Ja ne querras altre deport ?

The next line, *Forma il tei por ventre faire*, has always seemed to the writer wretchedly out of keeping, as well as poor in argument: possibly *ventre* has replaced some rarer word unfamiliar to the copyist. It might repay research to examine the Romance forms from Lat. *vēllēre*, which came to mean 'binding,' 'edging,' 'border,' and hence might have been applied to

garden borders; cf. the Picard *viaure* (ML, II, §§ 10, 54) and LaCurne's *velle* (read *velre*?); the *ueure* of *Aspremont* 25ab may not be the same word. "Did the Lord shape you only to be a maker of (paths and) borders?" Line 290, Why has the possibility of reading *s'oposer* or *sei oposer* (MS *soposer*) been rejected? Line 345-46, it does not seem at all certain that rhymes such as *dreit:plait*, found in the MS, are to be thrown out; cf. *Modern Philology*, X, 448. Line 388, the non-elision *ta ire* being frankly impossible, one might read: *Repost me sui la [enz] por t'ire, la enz* representing *in angulo paradisi* above. Line 420, a simpler change, the omission of *que*, would allow the MS reading to stand. Nothing is commoner in the rejuvenation of language by copyists than this suppression of the older paratactic construction; one instance is *Roland* 359, and the same MS would furnish half a dozen others. Shepard's excellent article *PMLA*, XXI, 519, on parataxis in Provençal, might be of use here. Line 482, further search might show that *ras* 'head' existed in Provençal; at any rate, *escachier* 'bruise,' 'crush,' is just the right verb here; cf. Villon, *Testament* 1202. Line 678, a *grant relais* might be translated 'at considerable distance between,' instead of 'very leisurely.' Line 732, *Ço sai jo bien*. Line 847, this troublesome line might be repaired by reading *oi* for the MS *ai*: *oïr merueille* is very frequent in OF and fits here admirably. Line 886, Grass's punctuation was the better, for *Trovas le tu* means not 'Did you find it?' but 'Did you invent it?'

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Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra: Rinconete y Cortadillo. Translated from the Spanish with an Introduction and Notes. By MARIANO J. LORENTE, with a preface by R. B. CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM. Boston: The Four Seas Co., 1917.

Mr. Lorente's translation of *Rinconete y Cortadillo* is by far the best yet made. While there is room for improvement, the translation gives evidence of much careful and sympathetic work. It would have been well had Mr. Lorente bestowed the same care upon the Introduction. His decidedly flippant attitude and his careless contradiction of greater scholars than he, often without convincing proofs, are offensive in the extreme.

In the first few pages Mr. Lorente gives his reasons for making the translation and assures us of the great need of such a work. All preceding translations, we are told, are worthless. Norman McColl's alone has the merit of having been made from the *editio princeps*. If we are to believe Mr. Lorente, McColl made poor use of it. There is much merriment at the expense of Fitzmaurice Kelly, who praised the translation extravagantly.

Mr. Lorente points out several mistakes which McColl made; in some of these Mr. Lorente is correct, in others he lays himself open to criticism. Thus (p. 22): "Referring to the shoes worn by one of the boys, Norman McColl styles them 'rotten' instead of 'fancy.'" The word in question is *picados*. As a matter of fact, *picados* has both meanings, 'rotten' and 'fancy,' or to be more accurate, 'torn,' 'worn out.' There is here, in fact, a play on words which neither McColl nor Lorente has been able to bring out in the translation, for *picados* referred also to the designs which were cut in the leather. Lorente has therefore merely chosen the less preferable translation.

Again, "the two blackguards are termed 'stout' instead of 'handsome.'" *Dos bravos y bizarros mozos* is the phrase. McColl's translation is as accurate as Lorente's. Mr. Lorente would have done better to have pointed out a real mistake of McColl's in this same passage and in the same description. McColl renders *sendos pistoles* as 'sundry pistols.' In the preceding paragraph, where the two old men in *baize* are mentioned, he has a similar rendering of *sendos*: 'various rosaries' for *sendos rosarios*. In the same uncharitable spirit Mr. Lorente ridicules McColl's notes, and his translation of the verses in *La Gitanilla*.

Mr. Lorente next proceeds to a discussion of the date of composition of *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. The plausible assumption is made that Cervantes composed the novel in the interval between chapters 32 and 47 of *Don Quijote*. This assumption is based upon a passage in chapter 32, in which the innkeeper tells of some books and papers which a traveler had left behind him. Lorente concludes that if *Rinconete y Cortadillo* had been finished at that time, Cervantes would have mentioned it as he did in chapter 47. Mr. Lorente also expresses his belief that Cervantes conceived and planned *Don Quijote* in the jail of Sevilla during the last months of 1597.

The translator's literary criticism contains nothing new. The actual translation contains few errors. Where there is a choice of readings, he has usually chosen the best. For example, he translates *hasta edad de catorce a quince anos el uno, y el otro no pasaba de diez y siete* instead of *hasta edad de catorce a quince anos: el uno ni el otro*, etc. I do not think that he has chosen so wisely, however, in translating *encerada* as *encerrada*; nor when he has Cortado come from El Pedroso instead of *el piadoso lugar*. Rodríguez Marín's note on this passage is conclusive. Moreover, I do not believe that Cervantes would have lost this opportunity of punning.

Below I cite some important errors in translation. I refer to Rodríguez Marín's edition of *Rinconete y Cortadillo* as Text; Lorente's translation as L; to McColl's as C. Text (p. 245), *finis*: the phrase should be translated 'within the limits' and not 'at the end of.' Text (p. 250), *mosqueasen*: L translates 'leathered': the idea is evidently to strike lightly. The word means 'to brush away flies,' hence C's translation 'flick' is preferable.

Text (p. 253), *cogido entre piernas*: L ignores Rodríguez Marin's note, and translates the phrase as 'locked up.' Text (p. 253), *blancos* occurs twice: L translates 'copper' and 'brass.' I would suggest 'copper' both times. Text (p. 262), referring to the purse, *silá había tomado*, L makes the student ask Cortado 'if he [Cortado] had stolen it, while he [the student] was marketing.' The context shows this rendering to be wrong, although the Spanish admits it. In the same sentence the student asks Cortado if he had seen the purse. The following speeches show no suspicion on the student's part that Cortado had taken the purse. C's translation, 'if he [the student] had taken it out,' is preferable. The rendering of the passage, *no debe de estar*, etc., is questionable though permissible; 'It can not have been lost' is better. Text (p. 266), *Señores galanes*; *Señor galán*: L translates first 'young fops,' next, 'gentle sir'; it should be 'gentle sir(s)' in both cases. The young Asturian's courtesy shows the expression, 'young fops' to be out of place and uncalled for. Text (p. 271), *cantar* is translated 'sings' when the meaning is 'confess.' The note is uncalled for. American slang, 'squeal,' or 'sing out,' if he wishes to keep *cantar*, would be better. Text (p. 275), *Venia en camisa*: L improves the reading by giving the meaning rather than the literal translation: 'He wore neither jacket nor doublet and through the aperture in front of his shirt,' etc. Text (p. 277), *La patria no me parece de mucha importancia decilla*: L translates, 'Our country does not seem to be important enough to mention it.' The country is not the unimportant thing; it is the matter of telling where they are from: 'It is of no great importance to tell where we are from' is more exact. The following passage, where Rincón says, 'since there will never be any inquiries made in order to confer upon us some honorable order,' should be translated, 'since we are not to be examined for reception into some honorable order.' Text (p. 280), L's rendering of *popa* and *soledad* as 'poop and solidity' is not admissible. Even C's 'pop and celemony' is preferable. The same may be said of L's rendering of *estupendo* as 'stupor.' Text (p. 281), the difficult passage where Rincón relates his accomplishments is too freely translated. *Raspadillo*, *verruqueta* y *el colmillo* are translated by 'I can mark cards, and tell each one by feeling them with my fingers.' This is the meaning, but a note should have been given explaining the various kinds of marking. In the same passage no attention is paid to the phrase *al mas pintado*, which is simply translated 'a man.' Text (p. 281), in the phrase *que se deje matar*, etc., *matar* is translated 'killed' when the meaning is 'fleeced.' Text (p. 287), *Y la bolsa se ha de llevar el alguacil*: L translates 'and let the purse be taken to the constable.' 'And the constable is to have the purse' is better, for after a while Monipodio himself takes the purse to the constable, who is waiting at the door. Text (p. 289), L omits the phrase beginning *que no lo dejaria*, etc. Text (p. 292), I would suggest 'advocate' instead of 'patron' for *abogado*. Text (p. 296), *Respeto*, and the following

passage beginning *Que respeto*: L's translation is permissible only with a note explaining the double meaning of *respeto*. Monipodio undoubtedly refers to the lover of Cariharta, Repolido. The word is used in the sense of 'lover,' and C translates 'sweetheart.' Text (p. 311), in the phrase *y suspendiöse Maniferro*, L has substituted *Monipodio* for *Maniferro*.

Occasionally Mr. Lorente fails to detect the plays on words. I have already pointed out this in the case of *picados*. A more glaring example is Text (p. 325): Monipodio is speaking of the Judío . . . *que yo le deshaga la corona*. L translates this, 'I shall spoil his tonsure.' 'Crown' is good English slang. In addition, Cervantes has in mind the crown that priests shave on their heads.

Frequently Mr. Lorente fails to translate a word when there is no need of not translating. Some of such cases are: *alforjas* (p. 59); *vaquero* (p. 60); *escudo* (p. 77); *a medio mogate* (p. 91); *escudos* (p. 91); *cernada* (p. 95); *bota* (p. 96). References are to pages in Mr. Lorente's translation.

Finally, many notes are unsatisfactory. Such are the notes on *malbaratillo* (p. 68, l. 23); *la pescadería* (p. 70, l. 15); *la costanilla* (p. 70, l. 16); *gradas* (p. 75, l. 12); *Nuestra Señora de las Aguas* (p. 94), last line; *sambenito* (p. 118, l. 13). Good notes are also needed to explain *germania* (p. 78, l. 10); *ansia* (p. 79, l. 17); the card tricks (p. 87, last paragraph); *sine fine, quiries* (p. 103, l. 2); *de barrio* (p. 112, l. 19).

Still, as I have stated above, the translation is excellent, and translations by Mr. Lorente of other *Novelas Ejemplares* will be welcomed.

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Manual de pronunciación española. By T. NAVARRO TOMÁS.

Madrid: Publicaciones de la Revista de filología española, 1918. Pp. 235.

This manual has been eagerly awaited for some time by students of Spanish linguistics, and by textbook writers and teachers. The study of Spanish phonetics started off well about 1894, but it has not been pursued with the same enthusiasm and continuity as the English, German, and French branches of the subject. As a result many matters of capital importance have not been treated in a satisfactory fashion. Navarro Tomás sums up the situation correctly when he says (§ 7):

El libro de F. de Araujo, *Estudios de fonética castellana* (Toledo, 1894), es un pequeño manual en que abundan las observaciones exactas; el de F.-M. Josselyn, *Études de phonétique espagnole* (Paris, 1907), de un carácter más técnico y especial, sirve principalmente para informaciones minuciosas sobre variantes individuales, y el de M. A. Colton, *La phonétique castillane* (Paris, 1909), aunque demasiado teórico y a veces oscuro, tiene para la enseñanza práctica capítulos como el de las consonantes, de positiva utilidad.

The contributions¹ of Navarro Tomás to the *Revista de filología*, beginning in 1915 and culminating in this manual, have at last made available a volume which leaves little to be desired in the way of clearness and completeness. The work, in fact, is a model of method and style. The result of long and careful laboratory investigations,² it paves the way for further research on special topics and serves as a basis for practical adaptations in teaching and in comparative phonetics. There may be those, especially the Spanish purists and pedagogues, who will disagree with some of his statements as to which of several variants constitutes "good usage"; others may think that his work would have been more trustworthy if he had used carefully selected subjects on whom to perform his experiments, rather than study his own pronunciation throughout. But the purpose of the manual, as stated in section 1, is to provide a text of Castilian good usage for Spanish teachers and not a record of the pronunciation of an individual:

Las siguientes páginas tienen por objeto describir breve y sencillamente la pronunciación española, tendiendo, sobre todo, a facilitar la enseñanza práctica de nuestra lengua en este aspecto poco conocido de su naturaleza; no pretenden apurar la materia, ni recoger asuntos que no tengan aplicación inmediata a dicha enseñanza, ni resolver dificultades pendientes aún de largas y minuciosas investigaciones; no aspiran, en fin, a ser un estudio perfecto de fonética española, sino simplemente un tratado práctico de pronunciación.

The Introduction includes paragraphs on "diferencias de pronunciación," "pronunciación castellana popular," "unidad de la pronunciación correcta," and "enseñanza de la pronunciación." In the last, the author states a fact which applies not only to most Spanish-speaking people but also to some teachers of the language in the United States, namely, "las ideas más corrientes en España sobre ésta materia se reducen a una fórmula pueril, que consiste en creer que la lengua española se pronuncia como se escribe." In speaking of teachers in Spain he notes a fact whose significance would be missed entirely by those school authorities in this country who take it for granted that anyone born in a country where some form of Spanish is spoken by the majority of the population is able to pronounce and teach Castilian: "a los maestros nacionales—ni se les prepara convenientemente para esta enseñanza, ni siquiera se les pide la corrección de sus propios dialectalismos."

The chapter, *Nociones de fonética general*, consists of a résumé of the material which is now to be found in probably its most satisfactory form

¹ *Revista de filología española*: II (1915), 374-76, *Alfabeto fonético*; III (1916), 51-62, *Siete vocales españolas*; III (1916), 166-68, *Las vibraciones de la rr española*; III (1916), 387-408, *Cantidad de las vocales acentuadas*; IV (1917), *Cantidad de las vocales inacentuadas*; IV (1918), 367-93, *Diferencias de duración entre las consonantes españolas*.

² Begun in the laboratory of the Colonial Institute in Hamburg with Dr. Panconcelli-Calzia, continued at Montpellier and in the phonetic laboratory of the *Centro de estudios* in Madrid.

in L. Roudet, *Éléments de phonétique générale* (Paris, 1918). English readers who feel their knowledge of this fundamental matter to be insufficient will find an excellent introduction to it in G. Noël-Armfield, *General Phonetics for Missionaries and Students of Language* (Cambridge, England, 1915). An acquaintance with the form and functions of the organs of speech is indispensable to the comprehension of the body of the manual, yet the author devotes only two pages to it. A good brief introduction to this subject is to be found in A. Saillens and E. Holme, *French Pronunciation*¹ (London, 1909).

At the end of this second chapter of the manual is to be found the phonetic alphabet used by the author. It provides for distinguishing 53 different articulations, exclusive of nasal sounds. He will probably be criticized for not adopting the alphabet of the *Association phonétique internationale*, but an examination of the question will show that that alphabet is inadequate for Spanish. The alphabet of the *Société des parlers de France* seems to have formed the basis for the author's system, but it has been considerably modified. Viewed in its relation to practical teaching, this subject assumes a degree of importance which would make its discussion here too lengthy.

The chapter *Pronunciación de las vocales* takes up the vowels in physiological order, beginning at the front of the triangle, which is the most practical way. Three qualities of each vowel are distinguished, close, open, and lax. In addition, the letters *i* and *u* each have a semi-vowel value as the second element of a diphthong and a semi-consonant value as the first element of a semi-diphthong. (One is at a loss to explain the author's failure to include a vowel chart preceding § 45, cf. § 79.) In general, the close vowels occur in open syllables under primary and secondary stress, open vowels in closed syllables under primary and secondary stress, lax vowels in weak positions (between primary and secondary stress and final before pause). The vowel *a* is medial under stress, except before the velar fricatives, when it is velar, and lax in weak positions. The exceptions to the rules governing the quality of the other four vowels all come under the heading of assimilation. The theory of vowel harmony, which was one of the most important of Colton's contributions to the subject, is dismissed as follows:

Las modificaciones que suelen producirse por metafonía o armonía de timbre entre las vocales de sílabas contiguas, se reducen de ordinario, en la pronunciación correcta, a leves y sutiles matices, cuyo análisis puede sin perjuicio omitirse en la enseñanza práctica del idioma.

Colton's theory is supported by this admission that metaphony is characteristic of Spanish, but as speech becomes more "correct" (artificial?), the

¹ With an introduction on the organs of speech by Professor T. P. Anderson Stuart, dean of the faculty of medicine, University of Sydney. Pp. 13-33.

tendency is reduced (combatted?). Whether the author's methods are adapted to the solution of this problem remains to be seen. Of nasalization in Spanish he says: "Una vocal entre dos consonantes nasales resulta, en general, completamente nasalizada. En posición inicial absoluta, seguida de *m* o *n*, también es frecuente la nasalización de la vocal." This phenomenon, which Panconcelli-Calzia¹ says is common in varying degrees to all languages, is another which need not be mentioned in teaching Spanish to American students; their problem is to reduce nasalization.

The chapter on *Pronunciación de las consonantes* is particularly enlightening in its constant distinction of four types of pronunciation, that is, *forma culta*, *semiculta*, *familiar*, and *vulgar*. The various articulations have been recorded and described before, but never with such rigorous method, with such definite information as to good usage, and with distinctions as to rapid, slow, emphatic, and current styles. The abundance of the illustrative material is especially gratifying. For facility in reference one might expect to find the voiceless fricative bilabial (and possibly the unvoiced equivalent of the voiced interdental fricative) included in the *Cuadro de las consonantes españolas*, p. 60. The treatment of *d* and *b* will be found enlightening, and the consistent following-up of the subject of consonantal assimilation brings out the Spanish organic basis.

Probably the part of the author's work which is most open to criticism is his attempt at comparative phonetics. After his descriptions of many of the Spanish sounds, he compares them with the nearest French, German, or English sounds. This of course would be very valuable if the comparisons were detailed and accurate, but they are not detailed and at times not accurate. To compare satisfactorily a given sound of one language with that of another is usually impossible in a single sentence. The result of attempting it is inevitably misleading; it is similar, in fact, to the old method of teaching pronunciation in our elementary Spanish grammars which indicated the English sound that was nearest to a Spanish sound. This part, in its present form, would have been better omitted. A few examples will show the inaccuracy of some of the comparisons: open *i* as in *socialismo*, "suena aproximadamente como la *i* en ingl. *bit*, *think*; al. *mit*, *nicht*"; close *e* in *compré*, *queso*, and *cesta*, "suena generalmente algo menos cerrada que la *e* en fr. *chanté*, al. *fehlen*, ingles *pane*" (*pane* is [pein], Spanish close *e* being closer than the first element, possibly more open than the second, but tenser than either); open *e* as in *guerra*, *ley*, *aquel*, "suena aproximadamente como la *e* fr. *perte*, ingl. *let*, al. *fett* (but some indication of the difference should be given; cf. the difference between Fr. *perte* and Eng. *let*); open *u* in *turco* and *junta* "con sonido semejante al de la *u* en al. *gut*, *Mund*" (but the *u* of German *gut* is long and close, while that of *Mund*

¹ *De la Nasalité en italien* (Paris, 1904), p. 25: "L'occlusion complète de la voie nasale n'a jamais lieu. L'occlusion incomplète peut varier pour chaque idiome."

is short and open). The comparisons are usually accurate for French when the difference is noted, but are often misleading for English and German. A few warnings, such as that addressed to the French against total nasalization (p. 34), and that to the English-speaking reader against the aspiration accompanying the voiceless explosives, especially *t* (p. 74), are of positive value, as is the differentiation of English voiced *th* and interdental *d*. It is precisely an exact comparative study of the sounds of Spanish and the other modern languages which is now most needed in the practical teaching of these languages in Spain and of Spanish in other countries, and it is regrettable that the present book, instead of contributing to this end tends to perpetuate certain false notions, adding authority to them by the very accuracy of its other parts. It is differences, not similarities, which need to be stressed. In particular, the ignoring of the laxness and diphthongal character of English vowels makes a comparison as to quality (closeness) alone entirely misleading.

The chapters on the phenomena of connected speech, *Los sonidos agrupados*, *Intensidad*, *Cantidad*, and *Entonación*, will be of great practical benefit to foreigners learning Spanish. The tendency to consider the subject of pronunciation completed when the sounds and the phenomena of the isolated word have been treated, has been pernicious in all languages, but in none so much as in Spanish where the pronunciation of an isolated sound or word differs from its pronunciation in a group much more than it does in either French or German. The author has classified all the fundamental types of intonation combinations, with examples, and with such information available there is no longer any excuse for the teacher of Spanish not making his own and his students' pronunciation as nearly perfect as is possible without a considerable period of residence in Spain. We know from experience, of course, that greater accuracy can be obtained from good phonetic instruction here at home than from study in Spain without phonetic training, except in the case of very young students or those gifted with exceptional hearing and imitative powers.

No consideration of this book would be complete without a special reference to the illustrations (40 in number), the diagrams, and exercises. The descriptions of the principal sounds are accompanied by drawings of a transverse section of the mouth, showing the relative positions of lips, teeth, tongue, palate, and velum so clearly that even a beginner in phonetics can hardly fail to understand; anyone who has some knowledge of the subject can recognize the sound immediately from the drawing. This visualization is of incalculable help in getting the "feel" of the whole articulation. A palatogram accompanies each vowel drawing. The drawing of the *órganos de la articulación*, which is reserved for unnumbered page 240, should be transferred to page 10 opposite the description of the organs of speech. The author has adopted a system of denoting intonation which is

simple and clear: for practical purposes it is perhaps the best available. The systems of Pierson and Jones are too difficult of interpretation. The scheme used in the *Textos fonéticos* is more easily interpreted than either Passy's or Thudicum's, but it would be interesting for practical purposes to see the system of Klinghardt and de Fourmestraux applied to Spanish.

Another feature which adds greatly to the practical value of the book and makes it an excellent text for courses in practical phonetics in American colleges is the exercises following the treatment of each sound. These are to be commended for two reasons, first, because the texts, chosen from seventeen modern Spanish authors, mostly contemporaries of the first rank, constitute a miniature anthology, and secondly, because the texts appear in the conventional orthography with the exception of the letter (sound) under consideration. In each case the sound represented by this letter is indicated by the corresponding phonetic symbol in bold-face type. This makes possible the application of a fundamental principle emphasized by Rosset,¹ the isolation of and concentration upon a single element until it is mastered. Pages 190-219 offer texts in conventional orthography with the full phonetic apparatus, i.e., script, stress, pauses, linking, intonation, etc., on the opposite page. In addition to these special exercises, the abundant examples of isolated words in phonetic script illustrating each sound furnish rich material for practice on various combinations. There is probably sufficient material in phonetic script throughout the book to make possible the construction of a phonetic dictionary on the order of the useful Michaelis-Passy *Dictionnaire phonétique*. The addition of a word-list at the end, with section references to all words occurring in phonetic script, would be invaluable.

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¹ *Exercices pratiques d'articulation et de diction*, troisième édition (Grenoble, 1912), p. 8.

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THE GENEALOGY OF THE EDITIONS OF THE *GENEALOGIA DEORUM*

Hortis, in his generally excellent description of the several editions of the *Genealogia deorum* of Boccaccio, does not define the relationships of those editions to each other, and is not always accurate in occasional statements bearing on those relationships.¹ The following notes will serve to define those relationships, and will touch on some other matters of bibliographical interest.

MANUSCRIPTS

Certain facts with regard to the MSS are first to be mentioned.

In 1371 Boccaccio allowed a friend to make a copy of an autograph MS, now lost, of the *Genealogia*, and from that first apograph other copies were made. The text of the lost autograph is now called the Vulgate text. A second autograph, containing a revised text, is preserved in the Laurentian Library.²

¹ A. Hortis, *Studj sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, pp. 769-85. I have examined also the descriptions by A. Bacchi della Lega in his *Bibliografia boccaccesca*, Bologna, 1875, and those by several of the general bibliographers, but find no statements as to the relationships of the editions other than those by Clément and Prince d'Essling quoted below, pp. 75, n. 1, and 78, n. 2.

² O. Hecker, *Boccaccio-Funde*, Brunswick, 1902, pp. 93 ff.; H. Hauvette, *Boccace*, Paris, 1914, pp. 414, 446-48. Hecker prints from the second autograph the Dedicatory Letter (but not the single chapter of the general Proem, nor the Proem of Book I), the Proems of Books II-XIII, and Books XIV and XV entire.

To the list of the apographs¹ is now to be added a MS, prepared for and owned by Coluccio Salutati, recently given to the University of Chicago by President F. W. Gunsaulus, of the Armour Institute of Technology.²

The Chicago MS and all apographs previously examined in this regard have the Vulgate text.³

Before each of the first 13 books in the second autograph MS stands an elaborate genealogical tree showing the genealogy of the several divinities to be discussed in that book. At the top is a large circle in which is written the name of a divinity. From this circle descends a stem, which now expands into other lesser circles, now sends forth leaves, and now branches, which in their turn expand into circles and send forth leaves and lesser branches. In the center of each circle or leaf a name is written.⁴ Similar trees appear in the Chicago MS and in several other MSS; some MSS however have blank spaces where the trees should be.⁵

For each tree there appears in the second autograph MS, in the Chicago MS, and doubtless in the MSS in general, a special rubric stating the scope of the genealogy illustrated by that tree. The first of these rubrics reads as follows in the text of the Chicago MS (f. 14r):

In arbore designata desuper ponitur in culmine demogorgon uersa in celum radice nec solum infra descripte progeniei sed deorum omnium gentilium pater. et in ramis et frondibus ab eo descendentibus describuntur eius filii et nepotes de quibus omnibus hoc in primo libro prout signati sunt distincte describitur. Verum ex eis ether solus excipitur. de quo et eius amplissima posteritate in libris sequentibus describetur. Fuerunt ergo demogorgoni filii filieque nouem. Quorum primus. litigium. secundus. pan. tercius cloto. quarta lachesis. quinta Attropos. sextus polus seu pollux. septimus phyton seu phaneta. octaua terra. Nonus autem herebus.

The autograph MS contains 45 passages from Homer, transcribed in Greek letters.⁶ The apographs vary in their treatment of this

¹ See Hortis, pp. 227, 388, 919-23, and Hecker, p. 97, n. 1.

² In a forthcoming monograph I shall discuss this MS in detail.

³ Hecker, p. 97, n. 1.

⁴ Hecker, pp. 94-95, and Plate XIX.

⁵ Hortis, pp. 919-23. In a forthcoming monograph I shall discuss Boccaccio's trees in detail.

⁶ Hecker, pp. 137-53.

material. The Chicago MS and some others reproduce it all, others give it in part, others omit it altogether.¹ The first passage, in Book III, chapter 22, consists of four lines (*Iliad* xiv. 214-17), and the second passage, in Book IV, chapter 18, consists of three lines (*Iliad* i. 402-4).

In the Chicago MS, immediately after the end of the text of the *Genealogia*, stands a series of 17 hexameters headed *Versus editi per insignem uirum ser Dominicum siluestri de Florentia super continentia librorum de Genealogia deorum clarissimi uiri domini Johannis boccaccij de Certaldo*.² The first of the lines reads:

Que narrat ter quinque libris boccacius audi.

Each of the next 15 lines indicates the content of one of the fifteen books of the *Genealogia*. The seventeenth line reads:

Hoc ter quinque libris epigrama dominicus addit.

In a MS of the Laurentian Library (lxxxx Inf. 13) containing poems by Domenico di Silvestro and others these same hexameters appear, followed by an eighteenth, which reads:

Quem genuit ripis Florentia fluminis Arni.

A note upon the margin of the MS states that the last two lines were composed by Coluccio Salutati.³ The authority of this marginal note, accepted by Hortis,⁴ may well be doubted, in view of the fact that in the Chicago MS, which, as stated above, was prepared for and owned by Coluccio, the line *Quem Arni* does not appear, and there is no indication of any sort that the line *Hoc addit* differs in authorship from the preceding lines.

EDITIONS

The *Genealogia* was first printed in 1472 at Venice by Wendelin of Speier. Seven other editions appeared in the late fifteenth century and the early sixteenth: the second edition in 1481 at Reggio,

¹ Hortis, pp. 388, 919-23; Hecker, p. 138, n. 2.

² Domenico di Silvestro was a notary and writer of Latin verse, active in the period 1364-1407. See L. Mehus, in Ambrosius Traversarius, *Epistolae*, Florence, 1759, Vol. II, pp. cccxxvi-cccxxxi.

³ Mehus, p. cccxxx; A. M. Bandini, *Cat. cod. lat. bib. med. laur.*, Vol. III, Florence, 1776, coll. 714-15.

⁴ Pp. 770, 771, 777-81. The statements of Hortis with regard to the *Versus* are somewhat obscure: the statement here given should make the matter clear.

the third in 1487 at Vicenza, the fourth in 1494 at Venice, the fifth in 1497 at Venice, the sixth in 1511 at Paris, the seventh in the same year at Venice, the eighth in 1532 at Basle. There is no more recent print of the work as a whole.¹

The text of each of these editions is the Vulgate text.²

VENICE, 1472

This edition contains, first, the Table of Rubrics; second, the *Genealogia* itself; third, the Alphabetical Index by Domenico Bandini; fourth, the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro.

The printer did not undertake to reproduce the genealogical trees which stood presumably in the MS which served him as copy. At the point (f. 15r) where the first tree should have appeared, he introduced a heading consisting of the first tree rubric with the substitution of the words: "Hic secundum exemplar deberet esse arbor signata in qua" for the first three words of the rubric. He then left blank a space of half a page, so that the tree might be filled in by hand. Similarly he left spaces, varying in size from two-thirds of a page to an entire page, for the other twelve trees. For the second and later books he entered no heading for the trees, and omitted the tree rubrics entirely from the text.

For the first Greek quotation the edition of 1472 prints the first two lines only, without division between lines or between words, thus: *ἡκαίαποστήθεσφινέλυστοκέστονἱμανταποκιλονένθαδελθελητήριαπάντέτεγκτο*. For the second quotation the first few letters only are printed, thus: *ὦχέκατόγγχ*, with the words *et caetera* immediately following. For the remaining passages the Greek letters are omitted entirely, in this edition and in all later editions.³

The *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro end with the seventeenth line, *Hoc addit*, and there is no indication of a different

¹ I have examined the several editions in the following copies: 1st, University of Chicago and Harvard; 2d, Newberry, Annmary Brown Memorial, and Library of Congress; 3d, Library of Congress; 4th, University of Chicago and Harvard; 5th, Library of Congress; 6th, University of Chicago and Harvard; 7th, Harvard; 8th, Harvard. Hortis, pp. 769-70, mentions also a compendium printed at some time before 1500. For Hecker's partial print from the second autograph, see above, p. 65, n. 2.

² Hecker examined the editions of 1497, Paris 1511, and 1532 in this regard: *op. cit.*, p. 97, n. 1. I have examined the other five editions.

³ On the printing of Greek passages in Latin books issued before 1476, see R. Proctor, *The Printing of Greek in the Fifteenth Century* (=Bibliographical Society, *Illustrated Monographs*, No. VIII), Oxford, 1900, pp. 24-48.

authorship for that line. These statements apply also to the printing of the *Versus* in all later editions in which they are contained.

The first 12 quires in this edition are of 10 leaves each; and in these quires each full page has 41 printed lines. The thirteenth quire has, however, 12 leaves (ff. 121-32); and in this quire each full page has 42 printed lines. Quires 14-18 have 10 leaves each; quire 19 has 6 leaves; quires 20-22 have 10 leaves each; quires 23-25 have 8 leaves each; and quires 26 and 27 have 10 leaves each. In quires 14-27 each full page has 41 printed lines. Both sides of f. 242, the last leaf of quire 25, are blank. This leaf stands between chapters 18 and 19 of Book XIV. There is no textual reason for the leaving of space at this point: it is simply an instance of bad planning in the assignment of material to quires. The text of the *Genealogia* ends on f. 259r. The Index begins on f. 259v. The colophon appears on f. 295v.¹

Hortis notes two varieties of this edition, the second variety being more correct in text in the first 50 pages.²

In the next year, 1473, Wendelin of Speier printed an edition of the *De Montibus* uniform with the 1472 edition of the *Genealogia*.³

REGGIO, 1481

This edition and all later editions contain both the *Genealogia* and the *De Montibus*.

This edition, in the part containing the *Genealogia*, agrees with the edition of 1472 in contents, in the fact and size of the spaces left for the trees, in the retention of the first tree rubric, as modified, and in the omission of the other tree rubrics from the text. It agrees in the treatment of the Greek quotations, except that the accents and breathings are omitted, and that five additional errors appear in the first passage: *σθηεσφιν* for *στηθεσφιν*; *ελυσατο* for *ελυσατο*; *κενον* for *κεστον*; *θελητηραι* for *θελητηρια*; and *παητ* for *παντ*.

The first 12 quires are of 10 leaves each; and in these quires each full page has 41 printed lines. Comparison of this portion of the

¹ This edition has no signatures. My statements as to the number of leaves in the several quires are taken from Marie Pellechet, *Catalogue général des incunables des bibliothèques publiques de France*, Vol. II, Paris, 1905, p. 30, No. 2406.

² The Chicago copy is of the first variety. The Harvard copy is of the second variety.

³ Hortis, p. 774, No. XV.

edition with the corresponding portion of the edition of 1472 shows that each page in the 1481 edition bears exactly the same material as the corresponding page in the 1472 edition.

The thirteenth quire in the 1481 edition has 14 leaves (ff. 121-34); but in this quire the distribution of the material is such that the quire as a whole contains exactly the same material as the corresponding 12-leaf quire in the 1472 edition. The numbers of the printed lines on the several pages of this quire are respectively: 41, 41, 42, 42, 39, 39, 37, 37, 41, 39, 41, 39, 41, 41, 40, 41, 41, 41, 35, 41, 40, 35, 36, 40, 42, 42, 40, 0. Spaces are left between chapters in such a way as to bring the total page length to the equivalent of 40 or 41 lines. F. 121r corresponds exactly to f. 121r of the 1472 edition, but f. 121v contains a few less words than f. 121v of the 1472 edition; and from that point on the disparity increases up to f. 133v, which ends with the same word as f. 131v of the 1472 edition. F. 134r bears the same material as f. 132r of the earlier edition; and f. 134v is blank (being reserved for the tree of Book VIII), as is f. 132v of the earlier edition.

Quires 14-18 have 10 leaves each; quire 19 has 6 leaves; quires 20-22 have 10 leaves each; quires 23-25 have 8 leaves each;¹ and quire 26 has 10 leaves. In quire composition, therefore, the edition of 1481 follows that of 1472 exactly from quire 14 through quire 26. In all these quires each full page has 41 printed lines. Each page in this portion of the edition bears exactly the same material as the page of the 1472 edition, whose number is less by two. As in the 1472 edition, the last leaf of quire 25 (f. 244 in the 1481 edition) is left blank—a striking illustration of the mechanical nature of the copying.

Quire 27 has but 6 leaves (ff. 255-60); but in this quire the distribution of material is such that the quire as a whole contains exactly the same material as the first 13 pages (ff. 253r-59r) of quire 27 of the 1472 edition. The number of printed lines on each full page remains 41 throughout the quire. The saving in space is made by crowding the composition.

The text of the *Genealogia* ends on f. 260v, the last page of quire 27. F. 261r is blank. The Index begins on f. 261v. The colophon

¹ Hortis wrongly assigns 7 leaves to quire 25, being misled doubtless by the fact that the last leaf of the quire, f. 244, is blank.

appears on f. 297v. Each page of the Index bears exactly the same material as the page of the 1472 edition, whose number is less by two.

The text in this edition and in all later editions agrees with that of the second variety of the 1472 edition in the points in which the two varieties of that edition differ.

The portion of the edition of 1481 containing the *De Montibus* is separately paged. The pagination is identical with that of the edition of 1473, as inspection of the figures in the descriptions by Hortis will at once show. The *De Montibus* in the 1481 edition, however, lacks the last two sections: *De stagnis et paludibus* and *De nominibus maris*.

It is then evident that the edition of 1481 is a page-for-page copy of the 1472 edition of the *Genealogia* (except in quires 13 and 27), and of an incomplete copy of the 1473 edition of the *De Montibus*.¹

VICENZA, 1487

This edition is printed in two columns, and is the only one of the editions to be so printed.

In the part containing the *Genealogia* this edition agrees with the earlier editions in contents, in the omission of the trees, in the retention of the first tree rubric as modified, and in the omission of the other tree rubrics from the text. It leaves small spaces for the first five trees, no spaces for the other eight. It does not attempt the Greek quotations, but leaves spaces for the first two.

The portion of the *De Montibus* contained in this edition ends at the same point as the portion contained in the edition of 1481.

It is then evident that the edition of 1487 is derived from that of 1481.²

VENICE, 1494

This edition, in the part containing the *Genealogia*, agrees with the earlier editions in contents.

¹ Hortis, p. 777, says: "Questa edizione, tuttochè migliore quanto alla punteggiatura, è quanto alla lezione men corretta della Vindeliniana, e fu cagione di parecchi errori, accolti poi dalle edizioni successive. Per le citazioni del greco è inferiore alla stampa del 1472." The genealogy of the editions, as established by this paper, will show that the errors of this edition can hardly have affected any later edition except that of 1487. Hortis' statement as to the Greek passages is a careless generalization. He seems in general to have inspected only the first Greek passage in the several editions.

² Hortis, p. 778, says: "Questa edizione segue il testo della Reggiana."

In this edition the genealogical trees are finally achieved, and that fact is announced in the title: *Genealogiae Ioannis Boccatii: cum demonstrationibus in formis arborum designatis*. The trees correspond in general to those of the second autograph and the Chicago MS. It is therefore evident that the designer based his trees upon those in a MS or MSS of the *Genealogia*, or upon trees entered by hand in a printed copy which were themselves derived from a MS source. Two main differences appear, however: the initial circle in each case contains a portrait or symbolic image of the divinity in question; and all the trees except those for Books I, III, and VIII bear scrolls instead of leaves. For purposes of comparison with later editions it may be noted that the portrait of Demogorgon in Tree I shows a rather old man with a clearly defined crown; that in Tree IX the scroll for Hebe springs alone from the main stem; that in Tree XII the head of the dart is not inked in; and that in Tree XIII the dart is held in the right hand of Jupiter. The names in all trees are printed in Gothic letters. Over each tree is placed that one of the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro which refers to the book in question. The first tree rubric no longer appears in the text.

In this edition and in the next three editions the perfection and the regular alignment of the letters in the names printed in the leaves and scrolls indicate that these names were printed from type set in cavities in the blocks.

The treatment of the Greek quotations is like that of the first edition, except that the accents and breathings are omitted, and that two additional errors occur: *σηθεςφιν* for *στηθεςφιν* in the first passage, and *εχατογγχ* for *εκατογγχ* in the second passage.

The pagination is quite different from that of the earlier editions.

The *De Montibus* stands complete in this edition.

It is then evident that the edition of 1494 is derived from the 1472 edition of *Genealogia* and the 1473 edition of the *De Montibus*.

VENICE, 1497

This edition agrees with that of 1494 in title, in contents, and in the treatment and errors of the Greek passages. The trees are very evidently imitated, tree for tree, from those of 1494. Tree I,

however, bears scrolls instead of leaves, and the names in Trees I, III, and VIII are printed in Roman letters. Minor variations in drawing appear: for instance, the portrait of Demogorgon in Tree I shows a rather young man, with a scarcely visible crown.

In pagination this edition agrees exactly with that of 1494. This fact is suggested by inspection of the figures in the descriptions by Hortis, and may be confirmed by comparison of any two correspondingly numbered leaves.

It is then evident that the edition of 1497 is a page-for-page copy of that of 1494.¹

PARIS, 1511 (August)

This edition adopts a more elaborate title: *Genealogie Johannis Boccacij cum micantissimis arborum effigiacionibus cuiusque gentilis dei progeniem, non tam aperte quam summatim declarantibus Cumque praefoecunda omnium quae in hoc libro sunt ad finem tabula.*

In contents it differs from its predecessors by the presence of some editorial material and by the omission of the Table of Rubrics and of the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro after the Alphabetical Index.

The editor, Ioannes Kierherus, in a letter printed on the verso of f. 1, promises a collation of editions:

Itaque velim, Humanissime Gotfride sic tibi persuadeas: me diligentissime collatis exemplaribus: eam operam daturum: vt boccacius, si non omnibus (quis enim omnia Argi more peruideat) tamen plurimis mendis vindicatus: quam emendatissime in publicum prodeat.

In a final note *ad lectorem*, just before the colophon, he asserts that the true readings have been restored in many cases.

The trees are virtually the same as in the two preceding editions. In respects in which those editions differ, the Paris edition agrees with that of 1494: Tree I bears leaves, not scrolls, and the names in Trees I, III, and VIII are in Gothic letters; the portrait of Demogorgon shows a rather old man with a clearly defined crown. New variations in drawing appear: for instance, in Tree IX the scroll for Hebe is detached from the main stem and joins the scroll for Hyperulus, and in Tree XII the head of the dart is printed in solid black.

¹ Hortis, p. 780, says: "Questa edizione non segue il testo della Reggiana."

The treatment and errors of the first Greek passage are exactly the same as in the two preceding editions. The second Greek passage is omitted.

F. 1r bears the title, and f. 1v editorial material. The *Præmium* begins on the recto of what is actually the second leaf (the Table of Rubrics being omitted, as stated above). This second leaf, however, is numbered VI, as in the two preceding editions, and all later leaves are numbered accordingly. From the second leaf on, this edition agrees exactly in pagination with the two preceding editions. This fact is suggested by inspection of the figures in the descriptions by Hortis, and may be confirmed by comparison of correspondingly numbered leaves.

It is then evident that the edition of Paris, 1511, is a page-for-page copy, save for the minor variation in contents, of that of 1494.¹

The omission of the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro must have been deliberate. The leaf of the 1494 edition which bears the *Versus* must have been complete in the copy used by the Paris printer, since the material on the verso of that leaf is completely represented. The omission was perhaps due to a feeling that since most of the lines appeared earlier in the edition as superscriptions for the trees a repetition at this point would be undesirable.

VENICE, 1511 (November)

This edition agrees with those of 1494 and 1497 in title, in contents, and in the treatment and errors of the Greek passages, except that the second word of the first passage becomes *aku* instead of *kai*.

The trees are virtually the same as in the three preceding editions. In respects in which the editions of 1494 and 1497 differ, the edition of Venice, 1511, agrees with that of 1497: Tree I bears scrolls, and the names in Trees I, III, and VIII are printed in Roman letters. The new variations of the Paris edition are not represented in that of Venice, 1511.

¹ Hortis, p. 782, wrongly says of this edition: "Con alberi genealogici propri." He notes, p. 783, the peculiar numeration of the second leaf, but evidently does not understand its cause: "Nell' esemplare di mia proprietà, e negli altri veduti da me, il foglio secondo porta erroneamente il numero VI, laddove la segnatura è esattamente a. ij."

The colophon claims a revision of the text:

Habes lector peritissime: Ioannis Boccatii deorum genealogiam nouiter multis erroribus expurgatam: et in pristinum candorem deductam.

In pagination this edition agrees exactly with those of 1494 and 1497. This fact is suggested by inspection of the figures in the descriptions given by Hortis, and may be confirmed by comparison of correspondingly numbered leaves.

It is then evident that the edition of Venice, 1511, is a page-for-page copy of that of 1497.¹

BASLE, 1532

This edition, edited by Jacob Micyllus, differs in many respects from its predecessors. The title is quite different. The volume contains, first, editorial material; second, a new Alphabetical Index prepared presumably by Micyllus himself; third, the Table of Rubrics; fourth, the *Genealogia*; fifth, the *De Montibus*. The *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro do not appear after the *Genealogia*.

In the introductory editorial letter Micyllus asserts that he has corrected many textual errors, states that he has rewritten some passages, and indicates knowledge of a single earlier edition:

Deinde autem, quod ad nostram operam attinet, pleraque in hoc, ita nunc emendauimus, atque restituiimus, ut si nostrum Bocatium, cum eo qui ab alijs ante excusus habetur comparaueris, ab innumeris, adeoque incredibilibus mendis ac uitijs repurgatum depræhendes. Non enim modo uoces hic atque illic quasdam expleuimus, aut immutauimus, id quod in alijs plerumque fieri solet, sed totas alicubi fabulas retexuimus, suisque ueris, et a doctis ac ueteribus traditis, capitibus, ac locis restitutas rescripsimus.

Trees III, IV, VI, and IX-XIII agree exactly, in every detail of the design, with the corresponding trees of the Paris edition. When corresponding trees are placed and studied side by side, it is evident beyond a possibility of doubt that the printer of the Basle edition used for these trees the actual blocks used by the Paris

¹ Hortis lists and treats the edition of Venice, 1511, published in November, before that of Paris, 1511, published in August. He says, p. 781, "Con albei genealogici differenti da quelli dell' edizione veneta di O. Scoto (1494), uguali a quelli dell' edizione veneta di Manfredo da Streuo (1497)." Both the *differenti* and the *uguali* imply too much. Hortis quotes C. Clément, *Bibliothèque Curieuse*, Vol. IV, Hanover, 1753, p. 331, n. 69, as saying of this edition: "elle paroît avoir été faite sur celle de 1497, dont elle a conservé les fautes." Prince d'Essling, *les Livres à figures vénitiens de la fin du XVe siècle et du commencement du XVIe*, Part I, Vol. II, Florence, 1908, p. 240, says of this edition: "12 arbres généalogiques, mauvaises copies des bois de l'édition 1494."

printer. The only differences of any sort that I can detect are a few corrections in the spelling of names, and these very differences confirm the recognition of the fact that the same blocks were used, for the corrections are made in nondescript letters, evidently cut for this special purpose, and are made in such a way that as little as possible of the old name has to be cut out. Tree IV, for instance, has six corrections. Whereas the Paris edition had

Borream, Oetam, Purpureum, Piridilem, Chroniam, Phytoneu,
the Basle edition has

Boream, Aetam, Purphyryonem, Proydilem, Coronidem, Phileto,
the letters which I have italicized being the only ones that are newly cut. I infer that the type used by the Paris printer for the tree names had been so fastened as to become virtually an integral part of the blocks.

The other five trees are, however, of a new and simpler sort. Circles replace leaves and scrolls throughout, and names instead of portraits or images appear in the initial circles. I infer that the Basle printer was unable, perhaps because of loss, to secure the Paris blocks for these five trees.

For the first Greek quotation Micyllus gives in the text the full four lines. For the second and later quotations he enters no Greek in the text. In the second and in most, but not all, later cases he supplies the Greek passages, wholly or in part, in the notes appended to the several chapters.

That Micyllus in preparing the text of his edition of the *Genealogia* used only a single earlier edition, as indicated above, and that he did not use a MS, is made evident by the following passage in the introductory editorial letter which appears in his edition of Hyginus:¹

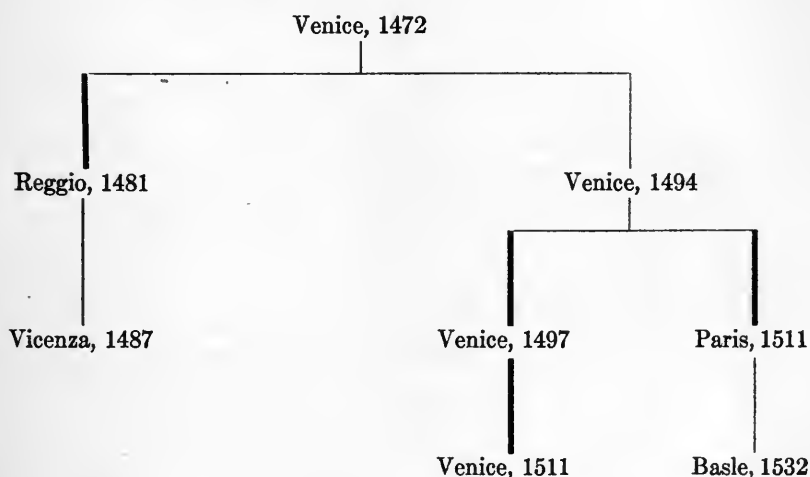
Proinde cum superiore anno genealogias deorum, perinde ut a Bocatio ante annos aliquot collectae fuerant, hortatu amici nostri Joannis Heruagii relegissem et easdem ab innumeris mendis, quibus aeditio prior inuoluta atque obruta erat, castigatas excudendas dedissem: atque idem nuper alium quendam uetustum ac manu scriptum codicem, in quo per capita easdem res, atque idem argumentum ab Hygino (sic enim inscriptus liber is erat) tractabitur, uisendum et quoad eius fieri potest, emendandum quoque et restituendum dedisset, ego uolui laborem hunc meum excellentiae tuae dedicare.

¹ Basle, 1535.

The use of the Paris blocks for eight of the trees, the omission of the second Greek passage from the text, and the omission of the *Versus* of Domenico di Silvestro make it evident that the Basle edition was based on that of Paris. The presence of the Table of Rubrics shows that some other edition was used to supply that particular material.¹

CONCLUSION

We have then the following stemma for the editions, a heavy line indicating a page-for-page copy:



The four Venetian editions, it will be seen, constitute a direct line of descent.

From the foregoing material it is evident that all editions of the *Genealogia* are derived directly or indirectly from that of 1472. My examination of the editions shows no indication that any editor of a later edition had recourse to a MS, except that the editor of the edition of 1494 may have derived his genealogical trees from a MS source. The mechanical dependence of each edition upon a predecessor indicates in general that MSS were not used. Micyllus

¹ Hortis, p. 389, n., says that this edition "ommette più volte i caratteri greci." It omits them, as indicated above, in every case except the first.

certainly did not use a MS. I see no indication that the textual emendations announced in the last three editions are anything more than conjectural.

The edition of 1472 is then the best printed representative of the Vulgate text of the *Genealogia*, and should be cited, in preference to the edition of 1532, for all portions of the *Genealogia*, except those printed by Hecker from the autograph,¹ and for any citation in which the reading of the Vulgate text as against that of the autograph is desired.²

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¹ See above, p. 65, n. 2.

² Hortis calls the edition of 1532 the best (pp. 389, n., 785). He himself notes that the edition of 1472 is *abbastanza esatta*, and that at certain points it gives a better reading than that of 1532 (p. 773); and that the edition of 1532 "si allontana assai spesso da' codici più autorevoli" (p. 785); and he quotes (*ibid.*) Clément (*Bib. Cur.*, Vol. IV, p. 333, n.) as saying: "Micillus n'a pas toujours été heureux dans ses corrections, parce qu'il n'a pas conféré les diverses Editions de Bocace, qui avoient vu le jour avant l'an 1531, et qu'il a donné trop hardiment lieu à ses coniectures."

438^a]

910.8,

ERRATA

- Page 80, line 14, *for* Minutius Aldus *read* Aldus Manutius.
Page 81, note 1, *for* Minuce *read* Manuce.
Page 82, line 3, *for* Dephinus *read* Delphinus.
Page 85, line 31, *for* zy *read* zu.
Page 89, line 7, *for* Bemuhungen *read* Bemühungen.
Page 89, line 8, *for* anfanglich *read* anfänglich; *for* Universitat *read*
Universität.
Page 89, line 9, *for* zuruck *read* zurück.
Page 92, line 28, *after* Deutschland *insert* verbreiten.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 84

[illegible]

... ..

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

[illegible]

NOTES ON THE STATUS OF LITERARY PROPERTY, 1500-1545

At the opening of the sixteenth century printing in Europe was still a new and unregulated craft. Rights in literary property had become somewhat confused because of the survival of the mediaeval custom of selling or renting for copy the manuscripts of the classics, and because of the fashion of circulating "privately" in manuscript the works of living authors. Opposed to the survival of these customs of the past were the urgent needs of printers and publishers for a basis of definitely traceable ownership of copy which would make publishing possible as a commercial enterprise. When the publishers of printed books began to pay living authors for new manuscripts, both publishers and authors felt more keenly the need of means of defending themselves against unauthorized and piratical publications of their works.

There were as yet no definite laws of a statutory nature concerning copyright. Nor were the printers' guilds in any country before 1545 so powerful as to be a recognized and effective medium of control. Aside from the universities, which exercised a local control over their resident stationers, the chief aids in safeguarding rights in literary property were the city authorities and the leading men in church and state. Appeals to these authorities were not infrequent in the first half of the sixteenth century, a period marked by a very lively and unprincipled competition among printers, a keen sense of ownership on the part of those wronged, and an experimental procedure on the part of writers, publishers, and all authorities concerned in the attempts to handle individual cases.

The necessity of some control of literary property may be seen from the fact that in 1500 there were in Venice alone about two hundred competing printers.¹ The first attempt at regulation was by the special privilege for a particular work, which gave exclusive copyright. The system was established in Italy as early as 1469,

¹ Ed. Frommann, *Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Buchhandels im 16. Jahrh.*, Heft II (Italien), p. 15. Jena: Frommann, 1881.

when Johann von Speyer secured from the Venetian senate his privilege for the *Epistolae familiares* of Cicero.¹ An author's privilege was, so far as is known, not granted until September 1, 1486, when Sabellico secured one for his *Decades rerum Venetiarum*. Most of the very early privileges were for editions of the classics; but by 1517 the balance had already swung in favor of "new" works, that is to say, works that were strictly original or works that had not yet been privileged. By an odd confusion of ideas new editions of classics already in print seem for a time not to have been regarded as "new" works.²

The ineffectual operation of both the local privilege granted by the Senate and the theoretically more powerful and extensive privilege granted by the Pope is illustrated by the wholesale piracies of works published by the great humanist, Minutius Aldus. A printer at Breslau counterfeited one of his works, using the imprint of Aldus' edition at Florence. Again, several printers at Lyons closely imitated, even to the use of part of Aldus' imprint, many numbers of the popular series of Latin and Italian texts in the little octavo with the cursive types, which Aldus had been putting out in lots of a thousand or so at three *marcelli* a volume.

In October, 1502, Aldus sent a petition to the Senate of Venice for better protection of both books and types. In this he commented upon the merits of his establishment (the running expenses of which were about two hundred ducats a month); he described the beauties of his types—the Greek types with a ligature which appeared to have been made with a reed pen, and the cursive Roman types which looked like handwriting—and the marvelous diligence and accuracy of his workmanship, which reflected credit upon the city of Venice. After recounting the injuries done him by the Breslau edition with its counterfeited imprint of Florence and by the Lyons imitations making use of his name, imprint, and

¹ Maria Pelligrini, *Della primi origine della stampa in Venezia* (Venice, 1794), p. 7.

² Salvioni, *La proprietà letteraria nel Veneto* (1877), p. 11. The protection of authors developed earlier in Italy than elsewhere, unless it may have been in Germany. By 1545 Italian authors were incidentally benefited by a requirement that no work be licensed for publication without the written consent of the author or his representatives, submitted to the Riformatori, a commission from the University of Padua serving as censors for non-theological works. (R. Bowker, *Copyright: Its History and Law* [Boston, 1912], p. 15.)

epistle, he requested the Senate to forbid the manufacture of his special types by others and the counterfeiting of his editions in Italy or selling of such counterfeits imported from outside, under penalty of the loss of the labor on the books and a fine of two hundred ducats for each offense, a third of the fine to go to a charity, another third to the informer, and the other to the accuser.¹

The petition was granted; and in the same year Aldus secured from Pope Alexander VI a ten-year privilege which forbade reprinting any book published by him or to be published by him in Greek or Latin, or printing any book in similar types, or importing such books from without, under penalty of confiscation, a money fee, and, in the case of Italian printers so offending, excommunication. The privilege was renewed in 1513 by Julius II for a term of fifteen years, and again in 1514 by Leo X.²

But even these large privileges (amounting practically to a monopoly) did not prevent the repetition of piracies. The public was warned against counterfeits in a *Monitum* issued by Aldus March 16, 1503/4, on a folio sheet, in which, after speaking of his high ideals for the publication of the classics, he enumerates the obstacles he has met in their fulfilment through the treachery of his own workmen and the counterfeiting Lyons printers. A list of spurious works is followed by a statement of the differences between the spurious and the genuine texts:

Quater iam in aedibus nostris ab operis; & stipendariis in me conspiratum est: duce malorum omnium matre Auaritia: quos Deo adiuuante sic fregi: ut ualde omnes poeniteat suae perfidiae. Restabat: ut in Urbe Lugduno libros nostros & mendose excuderent: & sub meo nomine publicarent: in quibus nec artificis nomen: nec locum, ubinam impressi fuerint, esse uoluerunt: quo incautos emptores fallerent: ut & characterum similitudine: & enchiridii forma decepti: nostra cura Venetiis excusos putarent. Quamobrem ne ea res studiosis damno: mihi uero & damno: & dedecori foret: uolui hac mea epistola oēs: ne decipiantur, admonere: infra scriptis uidelicet signis. Sunt iam impressi Lugduni (quod scierim) characteribus simillimis nostris: Vergilius, Horatius, Iuuenalis cum Persio, Martialis, Lucanus, Catullus cum Tibullo: & Propertio, Terētius, in quibus oībus nec est impressoris nomen: nec locus: in quo impressi: nec tēpus quo absoluti

¹ Ambroise Firmin-Didot, *Alde Minuce* . . . (Paris, 1875), p. 227.

² A. A. Renouard, *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde* (Paris: Renouard, 1803), I, 505-6; II, 15-17, 135; Firmin-Didot, *op. cit.*, p. 482.

fuerint. In nostris uero omnibus sic est: Venetiis in aedibus Aldi Ro. illo: uel illo tēpore. Item nulla in illis uisuntur insignia. In nostris est Dephinus anchorae inuolutus: ut infra licet uidere.

In addition to these obvious marks, Aldus notes that the paper is poorer and has a strange odor; that the types, though not displeasing, have a Gallic suggestion; that the capitals are malformed and the consonants stand without ligature. He even furnishes a list of typographical errors in the false texts.¹

The Lyons pirates took advantage of Aldus' publication of their *errata* and issued new impressions containing corrected sheets. The Giunti of Florence also continued to counterfeit Aldine editions, making an imitation even of the anchor device.

Such daring piracy and counterfeiting as this can leave but one conclusion open—that the privileges in Italy, whether granted by Senate or by Pope, were popularly regarded as having only local force. Doubtless the warnings issued by the injured publishers were rather more effective in one way—in guarding their reputation and insuring that the discriminating, at least, would not purchase the spurious editions.² For in spite of partial disguises in new issues, the counterfeits must have been recognizable; for, even if new title-pages and corrected sheets were inserted, the paper and the fonts of type remained to betray them.

The separate issue of a warning notice of piracy, such as Aldus used, seems to have been a less common practice than the advertising of spurious work in the preface or dedication of a new edition issued by the rightful owner. An early example of such a use of the preface to the reader is that of Robert Whitinton (Wytynton, etc.), Oxford grammarian and poet laureate, in two of his works on grammar issued in 1533. Peter Trevers (or *Treueris*, of Triers) pirated several of Whitinton's works.³ One was the *De heteroclitis*

¹ This *Monitum* was discovered by the Abbé Mercier de S. Léger in a Greek manuscript of the Bibliothèque Nationale with several of Aldus' advertising circulars. It is reprinted by Renouard, *op. cit.*, II, 207–11. Cf. also pp. 17–19 and Firmin-Didot, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

² That there was a demand abroad for "Aldine" classics among the less-learned reading public appears in a letter of Glareau to Zwingli, October 19, 1516, which states that large quantities of genuine and imitated Aldines thrown upon the market had been caught up eagerly even by those too ignorant to understand them (Reber, *Beiträge z. Basler Buchdruckergesch.*, p. 86).

³ On his copying Wynkyn's *Polychronicon*, 1527, see Ames, *Typ. Antiq.*, ed. Dibdin, III, 40.

nominibus: Grammaticae Whitintonianae liber tertius, published by Wynkyn de Worde in 1523. Herbert describes a copy of Trevers' piratical edition in his possession as "without date and published without material difference except that in three or four places he has put the head-titles into the margin and so managed to print his edition on the same number of leaves in a larger type." In 1533 Wynkyn issued a new edition *cum privilegio* (a precaution which he began to use about this time for many of his works). On the verso of the title-page he printed, in the name of the author, this complaint and warning:

Whitinton to the Reader.

My kind Reader, that you have seen so many times the mangled features, the lacerated members, of my grammar, the craft of the extremely wicked Peter Trevers brought about, with the aid of his despicable paraphrast. You may call them the dogs of the snake-haired Megaera, as they destroy my things, and she herself hurls the firebrand, Tisiphone harasses the crafty minds and hearts with furies, stirs up in them Cerberean madness (the helpless mind is driven about like a mill forever turning), and causes them to show my things turned out thrice badly. But at length the grammar, snatched from the savage jaws of monsters, has given itself into my keeping: healed by the hands of the Muses and the arts of Apollo, it now comes back entire, acceptable, properly polished—as is rightly our duty to the British youth. Look with favor, dear Reader, upon our grammar, which has been put out from the press of our good Wynkyn and has been (?) recently polished by our file. But cast out from your home, dear Reader, the very corrupt impressions of the thrice wicked Trevers.

In the same year, 1533, Wynkyn issued a new edition of the *De octo partibus* by Whitinton, originally published in 1527, and meanwhile pirated by Trevers. The address to the reader in 1533 is as follows:

The work which the hateful carelessness of Trevers has besprinkled with blemishes, Reader, receive corrected in the smallest details. If the care (?) of our revision is pleasing to you, or the quite painstaking press-work of my Wynkyn, reject the faulty copies of the dishonorable Peter Trevers, cherishing our revised ones in accordance with their merits.¹

¹ Both these protests are reprinted, in an obviously corrupt form, in Herbert's edition of Ames, *Typ. Antig.*, I, 186-87. Professors John M. Manly and C. H. Beeson, of the University of Chicago, suggested a few emendations, and I made others to get a reading. The changes do not alter any matters of fact.

No evidence appears as to whether, in connection with the issuing of privileges to Wynkyn for the later editions and the grammar's coming back safe into Whitinton's possession, "snatched from the savage jaws of monsters," there was any real reparation of the injury. But the printed warning to the reader was sometimes used as supplementary to other forms of procedure, as we have seen in the case of Aldus. It was so used also by Martin Luther when, in 1524-25, a compositor stole about half of the manuscript of one of his Bible translations and had it printed and for sale in Nürnberg before Luther could get his own edition completed. In a letter to the Rat at Nürnberg, dated September 26, 1525, Luther asked for action on the matter, naming the suspected printer, Johann Herrgott, who, he said, was lying in wait to seize upon the rest of the book. Luther begged the council to require the printers of Nürnberg at least to wait about two months before reprinting works published in other districts, and threatened (much as he would prefer not to have to name Nürnberg) to warn the robbers in an open letter if satisfactory action was not taken.¹

The modesty of the request for an eight weeks' start for the publishers of Wittenberg before the works should be reprinted "ausser land" suggests that in Germany, as in Italy and England, printing rights may have been thought of as merely local. Reprinting of important works by their local printers may even have been encouraged by some city authorities because of civic ambition.²

The decision of the council of Nürnberg on October 7, 1525, provided for partial satisfaction of Luther's demands:

Item auff Doctor Martin Luthers schreiben soll man sich bei den puchtruckern erfaren, was seiner gemachten pucher durch sy nachgedruckt

¹ *Luthers Briefe* (ed. De Wette, 1856), Theil 6, s. 70. Cf. Theil 6, s. 78-79, and Theil 8, s. 69 and 381; also, *Börsenvereins für Gesch. d. deutschen Buchhandels* (Leipzig, 1878-98), I, 26 and 49.

² Though Luther's works were supposedly under the ban after the Imperial Edict of Worms, May 8, 1521 ("Wider Martin Luther Bücher . . . auch Gesetz der Druckerey"), the Nürnberg Reichstag stated that it would carry out the prohibition "so viel wie möglich"—an ambiguity which may be significant in view of the practical reprinting of Luther's translations of the Bible that year in Nürnberg. (See F. H. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher* (Bonn, 1883-85), I, 80-81, 108, et passim.) Cf. also F. Gess, "Versuchter Nachdruck des Lutherischen deutschen Neuen Testaments durch Jacob Thanner in Leipzig, 1524," *Börsenvereins*, XII, 302-3—a case where the city authorities pleaded that the "poor printer" be allowed to proceed after substituting certain features of Erasmus' translation.

und geendert seyen und darinnen ein ordnung geben, damit seiner pucher keins in ainer bestimpten zeit nachgedruckt auch bei den puchfuernern verschaffen, nichtst neus zu verkauffen vor und eche solchs besichtigt werd.¹

Luther protested again on November 7, 1525, to the Nürnberg *Syndikus*, Lazarus Spengler, concerning the use of false imprints by the re-printer. This and the corruption of the text were forbidden by an order in the Ratsbuch dated May 11, 1532 (seven years after the protest):

Allen Buchdruckern alhie soll bei iren pflichten bevohlen werden, wann sie hinfür Doctor Luthers und andre Buchlein nachdrucken wollen das sie den namen Wittenberg zu drucken unterlassen und die stat Nürnberg und ihre namen dafür setzen. auch sich besser correctur befleyssen, oder ein rat müsst mit ernstlicher straf gegen inen handeln.²

In the meantime Luther carried out his threat of publicity by prefixing a preface (Sig. Aii a) to his *Auslegung der Episteln und Evangelien von der heyligen Dreykonige fest bis auff Ostern gebessert durch Martin Luther, Gedruckt zu Wittenberg MDXXV*, in which he likened the piratical printers to highwaymen and thieves:

Gnade und Fride. Was soll doch das seyn, meyne lieben druckerherrn, das eyner dem andern so offentlich raubt und stillt das seyne, un undern andern euch verderbt? Seyt yhr nu auch Strassenräuber un diebe worden? odder meynet yhr, das Gott euch segenen und erneeren wird, durch solche böse tücke und stücke? Ich habe die postillen angefangen von der heyligen Dreykönige tage an, bis auff Ostern, so feret zu eyn bube, der setzer, der von unserm schweys sich neret, stilet meyne handschrift ehe ichs gar ausmache, und tretts hynaus, und lesst es draussen um lande drucken, unser kost und erbeyt zu verdrucken. . . . Du bist eyn Dieb. und fur Gott schuldig die widerstattung. Nu were der schaden dennoch zu leyden wenn sie doch meyne bücher nicht so falsch und schendlich zu richten. Nu aber drucken sie die selbigen und eylen also, das, wann sie zy myr widder komen, ich meyne eygene bücher nicht kenne. Da ist etwas aussen, Da ist versetzt, Da gefelscht, Da nicht corrigirt. Haben auch die kunst gelernt das sie Wittenberg oben auff etliche bücher drucken, die zu W. nie gemacht noch gewesen sind. . . . Das sind ja bubenstück den gemeinen man zu betriegen, weyl von Gots gnaden wyr ym geschrey sind, das wyr mit allem vleys, un keyn unnutzes buch auslassen, so viel uns muglich ist. . . . Es ist yhe eyn ungleich ding, das wyr erbeyten und kost sollen drauff wenden,

¹ Friedrich Kapp, "Gesch. d. deutschen Buchhandels bis in d. siebzehnte Jahrh.," *Börsenvereins* (1886), pp. 426-27.

² Kapp, *op. cit.*, pp. 426-27.

und andere sollen den genies und wyr den Schaden haben Man kennet ja unseren buchstaben wol, darnach man sich richten und falsche bücher von den rechten scheyden müge.¹

There is no evidence that Luther received, or even attempted to secure, any repayment of financial losses through the piracies, though he was not above noting in his published protests that the thieves were making money by the sweat of his brow—a monstrous wrong. But he did recover his manuscript, published it, secured action by the city to prevent repetition of the piracy, and broadly advertised the theft and his attitude toward it. The case was long remembered in the history of German publishing.²

It is often stated by writers on copyright that it was not until the eighteenth century that there was any recognition of the legal principle that the gift of a manuscript does not necessarily carry with it the right to publish. While it may be true that the principle was late in appearing in copyright law, and is true that it has been wrangled over as recently as in the time of Pope, we need not suppose that this very elementary principle of ownership burst upon the astonished vision of the publishing world in 1710. A case that will illustrate at the same time the legal attitude toward the principle involved and a method of procedure by which a wronged author might defend himself in part may be found in the history of the publication of the *Emblems* of Andreas Alciat, a distinguished

¹ The original is in the Kirchenbibliothek at Frankenberg (Ph. Dietz, *Wörterbuch zu Luthers deutschen Schriften*, Leipzig, 1870, I.L., Quellenverzeichniss No. 116). I use a reprint in *Börsenvereins*, II, 64. The complaint continued to be printed in later editions; but by 1545 it had taken the form of a more general but no less violent denunciation of all piratical publishers, on the text of Paul's saying, "The love of money is the root of all evil." A reprint of the 1545 protest is accessible in "Wider Hans Worst" , *Kleinere Schriften Dr. M. Luthers*, Bielefeld, 1876, Band I. The reader may be interested in comparing with the earnestness of this "Gott strafe" condemnation by Luther a playful (if not really insincere) attack by Erasmus upon manuscript thieves. It is in the preface to his *Opus Epistolarum*, 1536 (Nichols, *Epistles of Erasmus*, I, lxxviii-ix), where he protests against an alleged unauthorized publication of certain juvenilia, characterizing the pilfering of manuscripts as an act of theft, sacrilege, forgery, libel, treason, whose perpetrators deserve to be "suffocated with burned paper." In view of Erasmus' dealings with his many publishers, which were questionable even according to the publishing ethics of his day, one must take anything he says about pilfered manuscripts with allowance. It is, however, interesting to note that, like Luther, Erasmus had a lively sense of authors' rights in literary property.

² There is a reminder of Luther in the Verordnung Kurfürst Christians von Sachsen, 1594, "Von den Buchhändlern und Buchdruckerrnn, "which calls *Nachdruck* a sin against the seventh commandment and "hiermitt bey Peen verboten und abgeschafft." Luther is specifically named in the *Gutachten der Leipziger Buchhändler*, March 30, 1667 (*Börsenvereins*, II, 53).

Italian lawyer and senator (1490–1550). Alciat had sent to a scholar, Conrad Peutinger, as a token of admiration, the manuscript of his *Emblems* together with a complimentary poem. On February 28, 1531, Henry Steyner, of Augsburg, put the *Emblems* in print, prefaced by this poem. The form of the work greatly displeased Alciat, and within two months Steyner issued a new impression, correcting the *errata* and changing borders and devices. But Alciat was not content with these improvements. Being a good lawyer (at a time when lawyers' minds were happily unclouded by a study of devious decisions such as are to be found in modern statutory copyright procedure), Alciat understood that giving away a manuscript did not imply abandonment of rights in it; and he proceeded to act upon this knowledge. He supervised a new edition by a celebrated Paris printer, Christian Wechel, in 1534. The printer stated that Alciat, being "scarcely able entirely to suppress" the earlier editions, had been persuaded to complete and revise his work for republication. Alciat dedicated the book to Philibert Baboo, Bishop of Angoulême, and criticized the corruption and poor workmanship of the previous edition, which "superioribus annis, idque, autoris iniussi, tam neglecté, ut ne quid grauius addam, apud Germanos inuulgatus fuit, ut illius minuendae existimationis ergô, à maleuolis quibusdam id fuisse factum, plurimi interpretantur."¹

In the same year, 1534, Steyner got out a new edition professing to be revised by Alciat, probably in an effort to compete with the authorized edition. It is doubtful whether Alciat took measures to suppress this. Possibly he felt that his edition with its condemnation of the apparently malevolent ill workmanship of Steyner could hold its own against a third unauthorized edition. Whatever may lie back of the statement that Alciat was "scarcely able entirely to suppress the two earlier editions," it is clear from a letter written on another occasion that Alciat felt the righting of the text to be the chief consideration. Again the complaint concerning a publisher is addressed to a bishop, this time the Bishop of Bologna:

A publisher has recently put out my book under the title *Si certum petatur*. I would not be so vexed about it if only more pains had been taken

¹ *Andr. Alciati Emb. Fontes Quat.*, a facsimile by Henry Green. Manchester: A. Brothers, for the Holbein Society, 1870.

to put the edition into the purchasers' hands in a less corrupt form. But there are lacking in the impression not only single sentences but in one spot whole pages.¹

Alciat's procedure in the case of the *Emblems* shows that a writer had it in his power to repudiate unauthorized issues of his work, have it correctly reprinted with an advertisement of the spurious editions, and register complaint with the bishops, whether or not the manuscript had been given away by the author. Evidence is lacking as to whether the bishops gave him any assistance.

Even an authorized publication was repudiated in England a few years later by Coverdale, who withdrew the use of his name, of a dedicatory letter, and of his translation from the Bible as printed by James Nicolson in 1537-38, on the ground that John Hollybush² had published the work in his absence without keeping his agreement to follow a true copy of the Latin and English texts. Coverdale republished the work through Grafton and Whitchurch in 1538, repudiating, in his dedication to Cromwell, the Hollybush edition of the Lent preceding (which was perhaps suppressed by authority, as Herbert says it is very rare). In 1538 there was also issued *The newe testament both in Latyne and Englyshe . . . Faythfullye translated by Johann Hollybushe*, printed by James Nicolson, with the same types and paging as in the 1537 edition, but with every sheet newly composed and minor differences in the text.³ As Coverdale admitted that he had authorized Hollybush to publish his work, the check placed upon the unsatisfactory edition was as strong as could be hoped for.

A successful legal protest against unauthorized reprinting of posthumous works was made about 1536 by the heirs of Ulric Zasius, a Swiss or German jurist (born at Constance, 1461) and a noted lecturer on law at Freiburg im Breisgau. Shortly after the death of Zasius, which occurred November 24, 1535, Nicholas

¹ Theodor Muther, "Dr. Conrad Lagus: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des juristischen Studiums," *Jahrbücher für Gesch. u. Staatswissensch.* (J. C. Glaser), Band V, Heft 5, s. 419.

² Hans van Ruremund until 1535, when he took out letters of denization (E. J. Worman, *Alien Members of the Book-Trade during the Tudor Period*, L., for the Bibliogr. Soc'y, 1906, p. 56). He is probably one of the ignorant "Douchemen" so severely criticized by Grafton in his petition to Lord Cromwell for privilege in 1537 (Strype, *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer*, II, 285-87, App. xx; Ames, *Typ. Antiq.*, 1911).

³ Ames, *op. cit.*, ed. Herbert, III, 1147-50; cf. I, 511-12.

Freigius (or Frey), who had been a distinguished scholar under Zasius at Freiburg and was himself a professor of Latin grammar there, published several of the jurist's writings under the title *Recensio editionum librorum Ud. Zasii posthumorum*. One son of Zasius was an able lawyer, and the heirs managed to suppress the publication promptly:

So verdienstlich seine Bemühungen sein mochten, so ernte er [Frey] doch anfänglich wenig Dank mit denselben. Die Universität schickte ihm ein ihr gewidmetes Werk wieder zurück, und die Erben des Zasius schlugen wegen eines andern sogar den Rechtsweg gegen ihn ein.¹

An early discussion concerning the form under which strictly legal suits concerning literary property might be entered appears in the explicit mention of several possible complaints in 1543, arising out of the unauthorized publication of a work by Conrad Lagus, lawyer, ambassador, and lecturer on law at the university of Wittenberg. The work was an incomplete compilation of materials on law issued in folio by Christian Egenolf, originally under the title *Iuris utriusque traditio methodica, per clarissimum Iureconsultum Dr. Conradum Lagum, Ordinarium Vitebergensem publice praelecta* (as it appears on page 5 of the text), but changed (perhaps because of Lagus' protest) to *ex ore doctissimi Conradi Iureconsulti annotata*.

Lagus considered the publication a disgrace, and published a protest to defend his reputation and warn law students against dishonest speculators who cared only for gold, as might be seen from the fact that scarcely a sentence in the book was free from errors in grammar. The protest called forth a defense by the guilty publisher. The two documents are entitled respectively:

1. Protestatio Cunradi Lagi adversus improbus (?) suorum commentarium de doctrina iuris editionem ab Egenolpho factam. Gedani. (Mar.) 1544.

¹ Johann H. Schreiber, *Gesch. d. Albert-Ludwigs-Universität zu Freiburg im Breisgau* (1859), II, Theil 16, s. 330. I can find no account of the nature of the legal action taken; but lawsuits concerning literary property seem to have been prosecuted in Germany even before this time. Printing rights of some sort were judged at court in Basel as early as August 21, 1479, when Bernhard Inkuss got a judgment against Schöffler and others giving him possession of a long list of books and publishing rights in them for a certain district; the books seized from Schöffler to be marked by the mayor and his officials so that the people would know what had happened ("Archiv für Gesch. d. deutschen Buchhandels," *Börsenvereins* [1888], XI, 23-25, Nos. 101, 103, 110, 111). A suit definitely concerning piratical reprinting is that against Wendel Rueheli, or Rikel, defended in Strassburg in 1536 (*Börsenvereins*, V, 88-93).

2. Defensio Christiani Egenolphi ad Domini Conradi Lagii Iureconsulti protestationem, Francof. (Sept.) 1544.

The following account is based upon extracts from these documents and from letters in the *Danziger Archiv* which are found in a study of Dr. Conrad Lagus by Dr. Theodor Muther.¹

Lagus complained especially of the corruption of the text, which showed not only countless errors in style and grammar and typography, but insertions and omissions, and the fragmentary character which betrayed its origin in the jottings of lecture notes. Although he had dictated these materials to his students for their use, he had safeguarded his rights by forbidding them to publish his lectures, as he intended to complete and perfect the work when he should have found a patron to support him for the time.

Egenolf had applied for permission to print the book. Lagus had not only refused consent, but cautioned him not to publish, threatening action for theft (*Protestatio* A, 26; and *Defensio Egen.* A, 4b and B, 1a). Now that the publication had been carried out in spite of threats, Lagus proposed a charge of plagiarism, since Egenolf, to evade reproach for theft of an unpublished mental property, had suggested that the compilation was publicly dictated by Lagus in the capacity of *Ordinariat* at Wittenberg; whereas Lagus protested that, although he did lecture there, he was not even a *Lehramt*, much less an *Ordinariat*. The charge of plagiarism, said Lagus, would apply:

Denn da Plagianus der heisst, welcher einen fremden Menschen demjenigen in dessen Gewalt sich dieser befindet entzogen hat: was steht entgegen, dass dieses Verbrechens jener für schuldig erachtet werde, welcher wissend und sehend, dass er gegen meinen Willen und meinem Protest zuwider die Herausgabe meiner Commentarien vornehme, sich nicht abschrecken liess, sein Vorhaben auszuführen: das Vorhaben unter Missachtung meiner Ehre, meines Rufes, meiner Glaubhaftigkeit, wider meinen Willen meine Dictate sehr fehlerhaft zu publiciren.²

The judge would have to decide upon a fitting penalty for such a case. Lagus suggests, however, a special form of legal remedy for purchasers who feel that they have been cheated by more than

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 394-425. The interpretative comment is my own.

² Muther, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

half the value. If there are any, he says, "welche über die Hälfte verletzt zu sein glauben da der Inhalt des Buches dem Titel nicht entspricht, so können sie mit der Wandelklage (*actio redhibitoria*) wider den Verkäufer klagen." There is nothing in the way, he says, of applying the suit to book sales:

Denn obwohl es bisher nicht üblich war, die Redhibition von Büchern abseiten der Verkäufer zu erlangen, wenn nach der Tradition sich herausstellte, dass dieselben fehlerhaft seien, so ist doch da jene Klage gegeben wird, damit der Käufer nicht durch die Arglist des Verkäufers getauscht wurde bezüglich eines verborgenen Fehlers des Viehes und eines nicht offenbaren Mangels der Waare überhaupt, kein Hinderniss, dieselbe auch Bücherkäufern zu gestatten.

But if there should be any question of the applicability of these suits to this case, the authorities of state might then exert themselves to restrain by laws (*Gesetze*) such unruliness of printers.

The apparent uncertainty as to what sort of suit was relevant seems to me to imply not a doubt as to the existence of any legal remedy, but a natural hesitation as to the choice of a form of suit which the tricky piratical printer could not evade. For Egenolf, having been refused permission to publish the manuscript he had managed to purchase, took extraordinary precautions to escape penalties by advertising in his preface that the copy was corrupt, that Lagus was not responsible for the publication—was, in fact, ignorant of it—and that the printer had laid himself open to the charge of *Nachdruck* for the reader's sake:

Daher will ich vor allen Dingen das Zeugniß ablegen, nicht nur, dass Conrad Lagus diese Publication keineswegs veranlasst, sondern dass er nicht einmal etwas davon gewusst hat. Denn wenn er geneigt gewesen ware, seine bessernde Hand anzulegen, so würde zweifelsohne das Buch weit correcter und in allen Beziehungen vollkommener in die Oeffentlichkeit gelangt sein. Darauf habe ich mit Nachdruck aufmerksam machen wollen, damit der Leser, wenn ihm Dunkelheiten oder sonstige Unvollkommenheiten aufstossen, dies nicht etwa dem Lagus als Nachlässigkeit anrechnet, sondern vielmehr der Fehlerhaftigkeit der Abschrift, welche mir in die Hände kam, zuschreibt. . . . Herr Conrad Lagus wird über die Veröffentlichung des Buches in dieser Gestalt nicht ungehalten sein dürfen, denn dieselbe geschah nicht, um Jemand Unrecht zu thun, sondern sicherlich nur zur Bequemlichkeit der Studirenden und zum Vorthail der Wissenschaft.

In his *Defensio* Egenolf took the position that the author's publication of his work in manuscript and by lectures justified others in multiplying copies in print (his position with regard to public lectures anticipating the attitude of English copyright lawyers some centuries later). If Lagus had only kept his manuscript upon his own desk, reasoned Egenolf, matters would have been far otherwise. But the work was to be found everywhere in the libraries of students. Why, then, make such a disturbance over the publication of a book already spread abroad and sold by the author to those to whom he dictated? To a text progressively corrupted by copying in manuscript printing could only be advantageous, as the reprinted version could be gradually purified of error. Pains had not been spared in the work. It was wrong of Lagus to say that scarcely a sentence was free from errors. The name of Lagus had been printed, not for commercial reasons, but to give due credit to the author. The use of the title *Ordinariat* was simply a mistake. If Lagus was greatly vexed over this, he might strike it out or, for that matter, repudiate the whole *Methodus*; for, said Egenolf, "die studenten freuen sich über das Buch und fragen nichts nach dem Verfasser."

To the charge of plagiarism Egenolf replied that, if he had wished to act secretly, he could have published anonymously or without the printer's name. Instead, he had acted openly. No sensible person could blame him for having had something for his pains. Besides, the suit for plagiarism would not hold against such as he, for

Dieses vergehen sei bloss an freien Menschen möglich, nie an Sklaven, und sei nicht abzusehen, wie an dasselbe bei diesem durch ganz Deutschland Buch gedacht werden könne.

He added the taunt,

Lagus habe es auch unterlassen, die Klage, mit der er gedroht, anzustellen.

It is surprising, he said, that Lagus published this Pasquill filled with threats and insults when the much more honorable way of the lawsuit stood open to him. If he did not wish to institute a suit, he should at least have refrained from insult.

As for the entering of a *Wandelklage*, that would be impossible, said Egenolf, because in his preface he had distinctly stated that the print was from a corrupt copy unauthorized by Lagus. After enumerating unprotested publications involving offenses much greater than his, Egenolf expressed his opinion of the applicability of the *Wandelklage* thus:

Gegen den, welcher im bösen Glauben eine fremde Sache öffentlich feil halt, als wenn der Eigenthumer das erlaubt hatte, möchte die Wandelklage eher zulässig sein.

There are two possible interpretations of the nature of the *Wandelklage* proposed by this sixteenth-century lawyer. In its older and broader meaning it was merely a form of suit which permitted the retraction of errors, and was applicable to all kinds of cases. This usage may be illustrated in Germany as early as 1281 and as late as 1516. If, as is barely possible, Lagus used the word in this old loose way, he was merely proposing a safeguard to the purchaser (for any kind of action he might take) against the formalism of the legal procedure of the time, by entering a kind of suit that could not be lost or nonsuited by a mere technical error such as a flaw in the wording of a statement of the case by advocate or plaintiff. The danger of non-suiting or loss of suit seems to have been based on a mediaeval rigidity of attitude toward the sanctity of the statement under oath ("Ein Wort ein Wort"—a man under oath must speak the truth, and may not alter or take back what he has once uttered before a judge).¹ The *Wandelung*, however, gave an opportunity for the retraction of error. It was sometimes made at once, but at least in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries seems to have been a sort of retrial before a special court set once

¹ R. G. Siegel, "Die Erholung und Wandelung im gerichtlichen Verfahren," Wiener Akademie, *Sitzungsab. d. phil.-hist. Cl.*, XLII (1863), 201-44; cf. also his "Die Gefahr von Gericht und im Rechtsgang," *ibid.*, LI (1865), and an explanation of the necessity of *Erholung* or *Wandelung* by Richard Schröder, *Lehrbuch der deutschen Rechtsgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1889, p. 709 ("Der geringste Form verstoss," etc.). Other illustrations of the early uses are as follows: A. Kohler, *Zur Geschichte des Rechts in Alemannen; Beiträge zur German. Privats-rechts-Geschichte*, III, 1888; Freiburger Statuten, XXXI, 16 and 17 (Schott, III, 255); Culm, *Rechtsbuch*, II, 83a and V, 73; Haltaus, Glossar c. 590 (a fifteenth-century decision); Benecke and Müller, *Mittelhochd. Wörterbuch*, concerning the meaning of *dinget das Wandel*; a request for such a suit in *Rheinhart Fuchs*, ed. Grimm, vss. 1370-74; a similar and more formal declaration by Nicholas Wurms: "Hyrr her richter ich dinge ym holunge und wandil"; *Blume des Sachsenspiegels*, Nr. 45 (Homeyer, pp. 366-67).

or twice a year, when he who wished *iterationem sue cause, que vulgo erholunge dicitur, habere poterit*.¹

There is a rarer, but much more applicable, meaning of *Wandel*, which applies specially to laws of purchases, contracts, etc., with the meaning of a right to recall a bargain or contract if it is found (usually within a fixed period) to be unfair, very disadvantageous, or made under false pretenses. In 1448 a recall was provided for contracts made in drunkenness or on an unfair occasion.² Also, a person selling property was required to allow twenty-four hours for the purchaser to consider his bargain:

Swelher burger erb und eigen verkoufen wil, der sol dem kouf den wandel dingen von einem mitten tag ze dem andern und daz wandel sol ietweder der kouft oder verkouft haben den kouf abzesagen.³

The privilege extended to horse sales and even to ordinary shopping:

“Wär aber das niht Wandel an dem kauff gedingt wurd, so hat ains iglichen hausfraw, der chaufft oder verchaufft, den chauff von ainem mittentag zu dem andern auch abzesagen.”⁴

The choice of meaning for *Wandelklage* lies between (1) a form of suit which gave the right to retract errors or appeal the case because of manifest injustice (both being precautions against the formalism of legal procedure), and (2) a legally recognized right to return defective goods purchased in ignorance of their defects. Though the first meaning is the commoner, the second is clearly more applicable to the case of Lagus; for he has given as the Latin equivalent *actio redhibitoria*, which concerns the return of a thing found bad or defective (a practice apparently as old as Cicero: *In mancipio vendendo dicendane vitia, quae nisi dixeris redhibeatur mancipium jure civili*). This interpretation is also favored by Lagus' remarks urging the relevance of the complaint to book sales, which suggest that he has in mind a law governing sales under false pretenses, as well as by Egenolf's statement that the suit is not applicable because he has made no false pretenses but has correctly advertised the defects.

¹ Siegel, *op. cit.*, 238. Two such sessions of court are mentioned for Bayreut in *Bayreuther Verordd.* of 1720 and 1728, cited by Schmeller, *Bayerisches Wörterbuch*, II, 937.

² Ingolstädter Ratschluss, Cgm. 240 f. 70, cited by Schmeller, *loc. cit.*

³ Münch. str. art. 448, cited by Benecke and Müller, *op. cit.*, p. 697.

⁴ Schmeller, *op. cit.*, II, 937.

Lagus died within seventeen months after the publication of Egenolf's defense. No evidence has been found to indicate that he carried out the threatened lawsuits. Indeed, in the *Protestatio* Lagus admitted that, because of the abundance of error, he would not attempt to set the text right, and that he lacked both leisure and money to complete it for publication. Still, the fact remains that one of the leading men of law published in 1543 threats of three forms of legal suits for violation of an author's rights, and that his threats called forth a serious (though tricky) defense from the accused. The suit for theft (*Diebstahlklage*), the pirate thought, would not apply because he had bought, not stolen, the manuscript, and because the lectures, being already in circulation, were in a sense published (a difficulty which has stood for centuries in the way of protecting rights in spoken discourse). The charge of plagiarism (*Plagiat*), which we may guess would have been the most applicable, apparently gave the guilty printer more concern; for he resorted to the evasion that he was technically disqualified by birth for appearance in such a suit, in addition to the genuine argument that he had not taken the author's work without giving him credit. The *Wandelklage*, as we have seen, he objected to as inapplicable because he had frankly confessed in his preface that his text was unauthorized and from a corrupt copy. As to which, if any, of these evasions would then have held in law one can only speculate. Certainly as foolish ones have turned decisions in nineteenth-century lawsuits concerning dramatic copyright. At any rate, one can see in these ingenious evasions of the piratical printer and in his precautions some reasons why a busy author might be slow to seek legal redress. Lagus, a great lawyer, though convinced that he had at hand legal remedies if he chose to use them, apparently contented himself with the printing of a repudiation and a protest.¹ This should make us careful not to assume that, whenever the mild form of protest was employed against unauthorized publication, it was because no legal remedy bearing on the case had yet been conceived.

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¹ If Lagus' work was on the list of forbidden books before he died, this may explain the failure to take action. Paris 51 refers to a Paris edition of 1545, and Lyons 50 to a 1546 edition (F. H. Reusch, *Der Index d. verbotenen Bücher*, I, 119-20).



MILTON AND THE PSALMS

In April, 1648, before he became blind, Milton translated from the original "into meter" nine Psalms (80-88), and in 1653 eight more (1-8) were "done into verse."¹ The earlier attempt was an experiment in accurate translation; the later one, an experiment in versification.² Probably Masson was right in assigning as a motive for the translation of 1648 Milton's desire to improve upon the current versions of the Psalter, and in supposing that this aim determined the form which the experiment took. He used the ordinary service meter of eights and sixes, but rimed the first and third lines instead of merely the second and fourth, as was generally done. He translated directly from the Hebrew, italicizing words in the translation for which there was no Hebrew equivalent. The title reads, "Nine of the Psalms done into meter; wherein all, but what is in a different character, are the very words of the Text, translated from the original." The subordinate clause is rather misleading, for it implies a more literal rendering of the Hebrew than Milton attempted, or, at any rate, than he attained.

The most striking quality of the translation is the expansion of the original. Sometimes this is due to the free use of synonyms, as when Milton employs (in Psalm 82) four different words to render various forms of the Hebrew word שִׁפְט, meaning "to judge." In

¹ Upon Milton the Psalms seem to have exerted an early and lasting influence. At the age of fifteen, while a student at Cambridge, he translated into verse Psalms 114 and 136. Throughout his poetry are scattered allusions sufficient to prove how strong an impression they produced upon him. Cf. *Paradise Lost*, Bk. VII, 205-9 and 565-69, with Ps. 24:7-10; Bk. VII, 370-74, with Ps. 19:5; Bk. XII, 561-66, with Ps. 145; and *Samson Agonistes*, 932-37, with Ps. 58:4. In *Paradise Regained*, Bk. IV, 334-49, he gives his opinion of Sion's songs "to all true tastes excelleng."

² Each is an experiment in a special meter. Ps. 1 is in heroic couplets; Ps. 2 is in "terzetti" or Italian tercets; 3 is in a peculiar six-line stanza of iambic quatrains and trimeters; 4, a different six-line stanza; 5, a four-line stanza of iambic tetrameter, trimeter, and pentameter; 6, an iambic pentameter quatrain; 7, a six-line stanza of iambic tetrameter riming ababba; 8, an eight-line stanza riming ababcdcd.

80:6 he uses two words and a phrase to translate a single Hebrew word יִלְעָנֵנִי. Similarly Milton's

. . . . I have trod
Thy ways, and love the just:

are two words in the Hebrew, חָסִיד אֱלֹהִים (86:2). Again Milton's "Whom thou dost hide and keep" renders the one Hebrew word צִפְּנִיךָ (thy hidden), 83:3. In 83:5 Milton's

For they consult with all their might,
And all as one in mind
Themselves against thee they unite,
And in firm union bind.

translates only seven words in the Hebrew.

Milton's translation is not only more expanded, but weaker in diction, being considerably less concrete, more like eighteenth-century diction, than the original.¹ "Cedars tall" take the place of "cedars of God" (אַרְזֵי-אֵל) in 80:10; and "stately palaces," of "dwellings of God" (בָּתֵּי-אֱלֹהִים) in 83:12. The naïvely simple "Open thy mouth wide (פִּתְּחִי-פִּיךָ) and I will fill it" in 81:10 becomes

Ask large enough, and I, besought,
Will grant thy full demand.

Many of the words Milton italicizes as having no equivalent in the Hebrew² are purely conventional and serve only to weaken the effect. This is especially true of the adjectives. Cherubs are "bright" (80:1), the nations "proud and haut" (80:8), the boar "tusked" (80:13), the vine "lovely" (80:8), the psaltery "cheerful" (81:2), the wood "aged" (83:14), the flame "greedy" (83:14), captivity "hard" (85:1), and peace "sweet" (85:10).

¹ This tendency to substitute the vaguely generic for the concrete is evident in all Milton's translation of the Psalms. "Flocks and herds" take the place of "sheep and oxen" in 8:7; and "On God is cast my defence," of "On God is my shield" (מִגְּדָרִי) in 7:10.

² Milton did not follow very closely his plan of indicating all the words not found in the original. In 87:6, for example, though nine words in the translation have no equivalent in the Hebrew, the fact is not shown by the printing. The same is true in 85:11, where the words "and us restore" are not in the original.

Sometimes the interpolated words result in a gain in clearness. Thus the explanatory clause "like to a flower" in the rendering of 85:11 is justified by the light it throws on the meaning of *תִּצְמַח*, which does signify "to sprout, as a plant." In at least one instance, however, such a gain was purchased at the cost of turning the poetry into prose. This is in the rendering of 84:3, where, through the introduction of "by," Milton destroyed the apposition of *מִזְבְּחֹתָיִךְ* (altars) with *נֶחֱלֶךְ* (nest).¹

More often the interpolated qualifying words and phrases are chosen for their allusiveness. Thus in 80:1, where the Hebrew has merely *אֵשֶׁב הַכְּרֻבִּים* (dwelling in the cherubim), Milton adds "Beneath their wings outspread," alluding to the lid of the ark of the covenant, upon which knelt two golden cherubs, their wings meeting above. In 83:6 Ishmael is called "scornful Ishmael" in allusion to the story in Genesis (21:9) of Ishmael's mocking laughter. The same chapter of Genesis (vs. 20) supplied the suggestion for Milton's insertion in 83:7 with reference to the Hagarenes, "That in the desert dwell." "Hateful Amalek" (vs. 7) alludes to Deut. 25:17-19; and "Tyre, whose bounds the sea doth check," is an echo of Ezek. 27:4. "Kishon old" is "that ancient river, the river Kishon" of Judges 5:21. The words Milton supplies in 88:5-6 appear to have been suggested by Ezekiel's taunting elegy (chap. 32) over Egypt's overthrow, where those "slain in bloody fight" are described as cast down "unto the nether parts of the earth, with them that go down to the pit."²

There seems to be no question that the Vulgate influenced Milton's translation considerably, and that some of his errors are due to its influence. To this may most reasonably be attributed the grammatical error in the rendering of 80:9:

Thou didst prepare for it a place,
And root it deep and fast.

¹ A quaintly grotesque effect is produced by the inserted line in 80:5:

And mak'st them largely drink the tears
Wherewith their cheeks are wet.

This suggests Milton's early fondness for conceits and recalls the "well instructed" tears of the lines of *The Passion* (48-49):

For sure so well instructed are my tears
That they would fitly fall in ordered characters.

² Invariably Milton translates *רַהַב* as "Egypt." In so doing he may have been influenced by Isaiah, for Rahab (pride) is the latter's favorite name for Egypt.

Here Milton followed the Vulgate, which gives *plantasti radices eius*, whereas the form **תִּשְׁרֹשׁ** is really feminine, and the sentence unquestionably reads "It took deep root." The influence of the Vulgate is also apparent in the translation of **גִּלְגָּל** as "wheel" in 83:13 (Latin *rotam*). Though the word, which is derived from **גָּלַל**, meaning "to roll," does sometimes mean "wheel," as in Isa. 28:28, where it is applied to the wheel of a threshing wain, it more usually denotes "that which is blown along by the wind," as dust or chaff or thistledown. The modern Jewish translation and the English revision both translate correctly as "whirling dust." Again Milton follows the Vulgate in a mistranslation of 86:13, where he renders **גִּיטְאוֹל** (from the grave of the lower world) as "lowest hell" (Vulgate, *inferno inferiori*). That this error is attributable to Latin influence appears the more probable from the fact that Milton elsewhere thrice translates Sheol more accurately—as "grave" in 88:3, as "pit" in 88:4, and again as "grave" in 6:5. Yet in 88:11 Milton renders **בְּאֵבְרוֹן** (in the abyss) as "perdition," again following the Vulgate, which translates *perditione*. Even where there is no inaccuracy, the Vulgate seems to have influenced the diction, as in the case of the Miltonic compound "Egypt-land," occurring twice in Milton's translation of Ps. 81, which sounds like the Latin *Terra Ægypti*. In 85:6, again, Milton's

Wilt thou not turn and hear our voice,
And us again revive?

sounds like an echo of the Vulgate, *Deus tu conuersus uiuificabis nos*.

Had Milton followed the Latin more closely, he would in some instances have avoided errors. In 85:12, for example, he renders **יִתֵּן** "shall throw," whereas the Latin *dabit* literally translates it. In 82:1, also, Milton paraphrases

God in the great assembly stands
Of kings and lordly states;
Among the gods on both his hands
He judges and debates.

Here the Latin *Deus stetit in synagoga deorum: in medio autem deos dijudicat* accurately translates the Hebrew.¹ In verse 13 of Psalm 85 Milton translates

Then will he come, and not be slow;
His footsteps cannot err.

Apparently conscious that this did not express accurately the meaning of the original, he added a note purporting to give the literal meaning as "He will set his steps to the way." The form of the verb *יָשַׁם* Milton evidently recognized as masculine, but did not recognize that *צֶדֶק* (righteousness) is a masculine noun and that therefore "righteousness" is the subject of the verb in both members of the parallelism.² A different kind of error occurs in Milton's rendering of 82:7:

But ye shall die like men, and fall
As other princes *die*.

This seems to be the result of a misreading of the Hebrew, which gives *אֲנִי בְּאָדָם תִּמְוִתִּיךָ וּבְאַחֲד הַשְּׂרָרִים תִּפְלֹא*. Here Milton apparently mistook the word *אֶחָד* (one) for the closely similar *אֲחֵר* (other).

Milton's opinions occasionally influence his interpretation, giving a turn to the thought quite different from that of the original. In 83:18, for example, he translates:

Then shall they know that thou, whose name
Jehovah is, alone
Art the Most High, *and thou the same*
O'er all the earth *art one*.

Here the italicized words, which, as Milton indicates, have no Hebrew equivalent, are suggested by his Arian opinions, and furnish an interpretation more Hebraic than the Hebrew text itself. Similarly the capitalization of the phrase "Son of Man" in 80:17 implies

¹ The Syriac translator renders, "God standeth in the assembly of the angels, and in the midst of the angels will he judge."

² In Ps. 4:2 Milton renders *בְּנֵי-אִישׁ* (sons of men) as "great ones." In 5:9 he awkwardly translates *קִרְבָּם* "their inside." The word means literally bowels or intestines, because the abdomen was thought of as the seat of the emotions, but the Authorized Version's phrase "their inward part" is certainly preferable. It should be borne in mind, of course, that these Psalms are not, however, among those which Milton claimed to be translating accurately.

Milton's belief, based perhaps upon the interpretation of the Targum, that the words were meant as a messianic forecast, whereas the phrase בֶּן-אָדָם (son of man) is here a personification of Israel, the verse being virtually a repetition of the fifteenth verse, but without the latter's symbolism.¹

Of the completeness of Milton's equipment for translating the Psalms we have hitherto had no certain knowledge. We know that as early as 1625 he owned a Hebrew Bible given him by his tutor, Young. His poem *Ad Patrem*, written at Horton, gives his father credit for furnishing an opportunity to become acquainted with Hebrew literature. Such an acquaintance Milton seems to have believed essential to a liberal education. In his tract *Of Education* Milton, outlining a course of study for youth, mentions "the Hebrew tongue . . . that the Scriptures may be now read in their original, whereto it would be no impossibility to add the Chaldee and the Syrian dialect." This rather ambitious program he seems actually to have put in practice, for Edward Phillips says his uncle's pupils studied "Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac so far as to go through the Pentateuch . . . in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of Saint Matthew in the Syriac Testament." To the end of his life Milton seems to have retained his interest in Hebrew. Aubrey, in the notes he collected for a life of Milton, tells us that after he became blind he habitually began the day at 4:00 A.M. by rising and listening to a reading of the Hebrew Bible, after which he "contemplated."

Although Milton's acquaintance with the language and its related dialects is unquestionable, there is, nevertheless, nothing in his translation of the Psalms to indicate that his knowledge of Hebrew was at all unusual in that age when Hebrew was considered, with Latin and Greek, a necessary learned language.² He undoubtedly knew more about Hebrew than Pope did about Greek.

¹ A similar mistranslation occurs in 2:2, where Milton translates מְשִׁיחוֹ (his anointed one, viz., Israel's king) as "his Messiah dear." Milton's well-known preference for extempore prayer, expressed in *Paradise Lost*, Bk. V, 145-49, influenced the rendering of 5:3, where he translates אֶתְּרֵךְ (prepare) as "rank."

² A knowledge of the three "holy" languages—Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—was deemed an essential part of the education designed to supply antagonists capable of

Yet, from what has already been said, it should be apparent that his knowledge of Hebrew was not inerrant, that he was not independent of the help the Vulgate might furnish, and that he did not recognize the errors into which his dependence occasionally misled him. His acquaintance with Hebrew was a literary rather than a linguistic or scholarly one. It enabled him to appreciate the distinctive beauties of Hebrew poetry, but did not furnish an adequate equipment for the task he set before himself.¹

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meeting Catholic opponents in disputation. In 1644 Parliament provided, "after advice had with the Assembly of Divines," that in the case of candidates for the ministry "trial be made of skill in the Original Tongues by reading the Hebrew and Greek Testaments and rendering some portions of them into Latin."

¹ Perhaps a consciousness of his inadequacy to the task may account for Milton's having given up (assuming that he ever entertained it) his intention of translating the entire Psalter. Yet Milton did not need to feel ashamed of his accomplishment. Landor's witty comment is absurdly unjust when he said "Milton was never so much a regicide as when he lifted up his hand and smote King David." Milton did not murder the Psalms in translating them.



JAQUES IN PRAISE OF FOLLY

In *As You Like It* Shakespeare follows a custom rather common in his plays of adopting his plot and characters with little modification from some earlier work and then adding a group of subordinate characters not found in his main source. These are often comic characters and may be drawn either from life or from some other literary source than that used for the main part of the play. In the case of *As You Like It* the story follows quite closely Lodge's euphuistic novel *Rosalynde*. The chief variation from the novel is to be found in the introduction of one of the most interesting and puzzling characters in the play, Jaques, and a group of fools and rustics who furnish material for his melancholy philosophizing; none of these is to be found in Lodge's story.

In general, Shakespeare's fondness for fools and clowns is a survival from the literature of the early part of the sixteenth century. The growing distrust of the philosophy and learning of the Middle Ages at that time produced a large amount of satirical literature intended to show the folly of the professional wise men by contrast with the real wisdom of those usually accounted fools. Most famous and most influential of the books on fools were Brant's *Narrenschiff* and Erasmus' *Praise of Folly*. For more than a century the latter remained among the most popular of books. It may be assumed without hesitation that Shakespeare was acquainted with it; but I believe that the introduction of the characters above referred to into *As You Like It* was directly due to the dramatist's reading of Erasmus' satire.

Jaques is a man of the world in whom contemplation of its follies has produced weariness and a conviction that fools are really the only class of mankind worthy of envy and admiration. This conviction he expresses in various forms:

O noble fool!
A worthy fool! Motley's the only wear! . . . ¹
O that I were a fool!
I am ambitious for a motley coat.²

¹ Act II, scene 7, ll. 33-34.

² Act II, scene 7, ll. 42-43.

He is of the opinion that fools have more freedom of speech than others have:

I must have liberty
Withal, as large a charter as the wind,
To blow on whom I please; for so fools have;
And they that are most galled with my folly,
They most must laugh.¹

This is a thought expressed at length in the *Praise of Folly*; the following is typical:

Sed abhorrent à vero Principum aures, dixerit aliquis & hac ipsa de causa, sapientes istos fugitant, quòd vereantur ne quis fortè liberior existat, qui vera magis, quàm jucunda loqui audeat. Ita quidem res habet, invisa Regibus veritas. Sed tamen hoc ipsum mirè in fatuis meis usu venit, ut non vera modò, verùm etiam aperta convitia cum voluptate audiantur, adeo ut idem dictum, quòd si à sapientis ore proficiscatur, capitale fuerat futurum: à morione profectum, incredibilem voluptatem pariat.²

Jaques' defense of this freedom of ridicule seems very similar to Erasmus' at the close of his Preface:

Why, who cries out on pride,
That can therein tax any private party?
Or what is he of basest function
That says his bravery is not on my cost,
Thinking that I mean him, but therein suits
His folly to the mettle of my speech?
There then; how then? what then? Let me see wherein
My tongue hath wrong'd him. If it do him right,
Then he hath wrong'd himself. If he be free,
Why then my taxing like a wild-goose flies,
Unclaim'd of any man.³

Jam vero ut de mordacitatis cavillatione respondeam, semper hæc ingeniis libertas permissa fuit, ut in communem hominum vitam salibus luderent impune, modo ne licentia exiret in rabiem. . . . At enim qui vitas hominum ita taxat, ut neminem omnino perstringat nominatim, quæso utrum is mordere videtur, an docere potius, ac monere? Alioqui quot obsecro nominibus ipse me taxo? Præterea qui nullum hominum genus prætermittit, is nulli homini, vitiis omnibus iratus videtur. Ergo si quis extiterit, qui sese læsum clamabit, is aut conscientiam prodet suam, aut certe metum.

¹ Act II, scene 7, ll. 47-51.

² Quotations from the *Praise of Folly* are given from the edition printed at Basel in 1676, the only edition now available to me. This quotation is from p. 78.

³ Act II, scene 7, ll. 70-87.

Notes in the various editions to the line in the same scene as the quotations already given,

Call me not fool till heaven hath sent me fortune,

point out that this line is a reference to the proverbial partiality of Fortune for fools; this is to be found in the *Praise of Folly* (pp. 191-92):

Nam id quo pacto fieri queat, cùm ipsa etiam Rhamnusia, rerum humanarum fortunatrix, mecum adeo consentiat, ut sapientibus istis semper fuerit inimicissima? contra stultis etiam dormientibus omnia commoda adduxerit?

A note on this quotes the "common proverb": Quo quisque est stultior, hoc est fortunatior.

Touchstone's conversation with Silvius on the foolish things that love causes men to do and his list of his own absurdities when in love, in the fourth scene of the second act, seems to be suggested by the following passage:

Jam num alio nomine, viris magis commendatæ sunt, quàm stultitiæ? Quid enim est quod illi mulieribus non permittunt? At quo tandem auctoramento, nisi voluptatis? delectant autem non alia re, quàm stultitiâ. Id esse verum non ibit inficias quisquis secum reputârît, quas vir cum muliere dicat ineptias, quas agat nugas, quoties fæminea voluptate decreverit uti.¹

In the first scene of the fifth act Touchstone remembers a saying: "The fool doth think he is wise, but the wise man knows himself to be a fool." References to Socrates' remark on this subject are to be found in the *Praise of Folly* (cf. p. 107, note):

Socrates modestiæ causâ dicebat, se nihil scire, ridens arrogantem sophistarum professionem, qui se jactabant nihil nescire, hinc Academici nihil affirmabant, sed quod ubique probabile viderent, id sequebantur. Porro Socrates, in *apologia*, dicit se putare idcirco ab Apolline judicatum omnium sapientissimum, quòd se nihil scire sciret.

These various points of similarity all have to do with one topic, folly. The probability that they represent borrowings by Shakespeare from Erasmus rather than mere parallelisms would be very much increased if it could be shown that there are other likenesses in the two works in the expression of thoughts on some topic not

¹ P. 32.

necessarily connected with folly. This can be done. The most famous of Jaques' speeches is that beginning:

All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players.
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts.

This is practically a paraphrase of a passage in the *Praise of Folly* (p. 55):

Porro mortalium vita omnis quid aliud est, quàm fabula quæpiam, in qua alii aliis obtecti personis procedunt, aguntque suas quisque partes, donec choragus educat è proscenio? Qui sæpe tamen eundem diverso cultu prodire jubet, ut qui modò regem purpuratum egerat, nunc servulum pannosum gerat.

Earlier in Erasmus' satire is to be found an account of the various stages of human life very similar to Shakespeare's, though not definitely divided into exactly seven ages. The following is the description of the "last scene of all" (p. 22):

Alioqui capillorum albor, os edentulum, corporis modus minor, lactis appetentia, balbuties, garrulitas, ineptia, oblivio, incogitantia, breviter omnia cætera congruunt. Quoque magis accedunt ad senectam, hoc propius ad pueritiæ similitudinem redeunt, donec puerorum ritu, citra vitæ tædium, citra mortis sensum emigrant è vita.

With this is to be placed a similar description (pp. 62-63):

Mei nimirum muneris est, quòd passim Nestoreâ senectâ senes videtis, quibus jam ne species quidem hominis superest, balbos, deliros, edentulos, canos, calvos, vel ut magis Aristophanicis eos describam verbis, *ῥηπῶντας, κυφούς, ἀθλίους, ῥυσούς, μαδῶντας, νοδοὺς καὶ ψωλοὺς*.

The first of these is the more interesting in that it comes at the end of an account of the various ages, some sentences of which I give:

Principio quis nescit primam hominis ætatem multò lætissimam, multoque omnibus gratissimam esse? Quid est enim illud in infantibus, quod sic exosculamur, sic amplectimur, sic fovemus . . . ?

Deinde quæ succedit huic adolescentia, quæ est apud omnes gratiosa, quàm candidè favent omnes, quàm studiosè provehant, quàm officiosè porrigunt auxiliares manus?

Mentior, nisi mox ubi grandiores facti, per rerum usum, ac disciplinas virile quiddam sapere cœperint, continuò deflorescit formæ nitor, languescit

alacritas, frigescit lepos, labascit vigor. Quóque longius à me subducitur, hoc minùs minusque vivit, donec succedat τὸ χαλεπὸν γῆρας, id est, molesta senectus.

A further parallel, interesting because it is concerning quite a different subject, is to be found in Rosalind's complaint against Cupid at the end of the first scene of the fourth act, as "that blind rascally boy that abuses everyone's eyes because his own are out." Cf. *Praise of Folly* (p. 36):

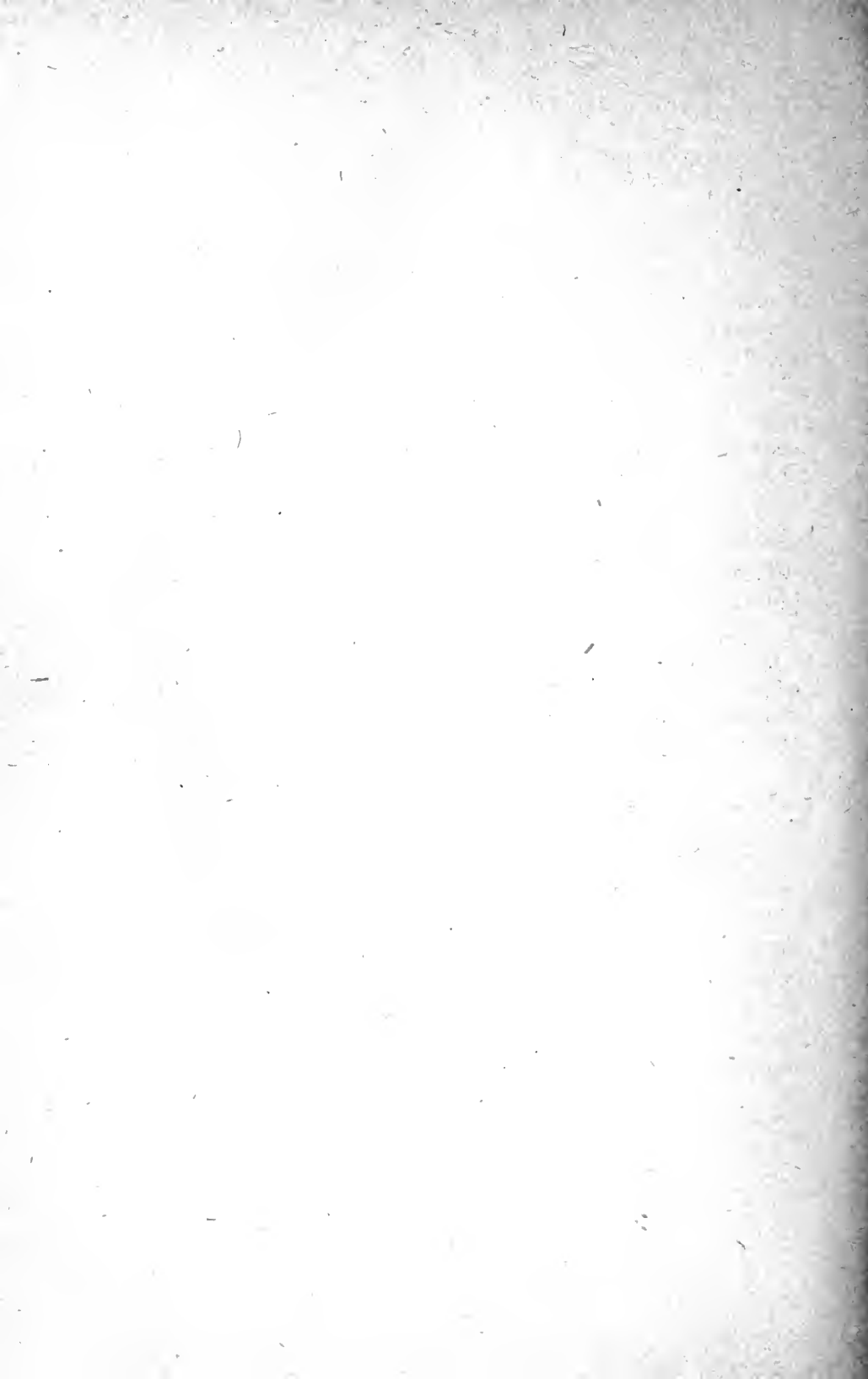
An non Cupido ille omnis necessitudinis autor & parens, prorsum oculis captus est, cui quemadmodum τὰ μὴ καλὰ καλὰ πέφανται, itidem inter vos quoque efficit, ut suum cuique pulchrum videatur, ut cascus cascam, perinde ut pupus pupam deamet.

In view of these various resemblances it is worth consideration whether the following note, found on the same page as the comparison of human life to a drama, is not the suggestion for Jaques' puzzling reference to a "Greek invocation to call fools into a circle":

Notum est illud Diogenis, qui cùm consensu suggesto, subinde clamasset velut concionaturus, ἀκούσατε ἄνθρωποι, id est, *audite homines*. Jámq; frequens multitudo concurrens, juberet quæ vellet proloqui. *Ego*, inquit, *homines convocavi*, in vobis quid hominis video? significans non esse dicendos homines, qui more brutorum animantium affectibus ducerentur, non ratione.

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SPENSER'S LINGUISTICS IN *THE PRESENT STATE OF IRELAND*

The influence of Spenser's Irish environment upon *Colin Clout* and upon the parts of *The Faerie Queene* that were written while he was with Grey's government at Dublin, and especially while he was one of the "undertakers" at the lonely manor of Kilcolman, is somewhat *terra incognita*. Kilcolman, far beyond the English pale, in the midst of the old Desmond country, under the shadow of Arlo Forest still inhabited by "wild Irish" who had escaped the terrible vengeance for the late insurrection—Kilcolman gave excellent opportunities for the gathering of Celtic lore in spite of the stringent legal barriers against marriage and equal social intercourse, in spite of race hatred, on the one hand, heightened by the recent massacres, and in spite of Spenser's contempt, on the other hand, of the native Celt, heightened no doubt by his own respectable official capacity.¹ To trace actual influences of bardic poems in Spenser requires a knowledge of Celtic literature to which the present writer lays no claim; and a complete definition of Spenser's comprehension of things Celtic is beyond the scope of the present study; but an investigation of Spenser linguistics promises to throw some light upon his knowledge of Celtic languages, of Irish manners and customs, and of Anglo-Irish legal procedure.

Such a study promises to bear fruit, not only as contributing to Spenserian biography and criticism, but also as throwing some light on the grasp that English officialdom of the period had of Irish life and institutions. Spenser's *Present State* is the best known of several contemporary documents dealing with Anglo-Irish affairs. Morley has edited a series including, besides Spenser, four lucubrations by Sir John Davies, the attorney-general for Ireland, and one by Fynes

¹ R. W. Church in his *Life of Spenser* (*English Men of Letters Series*) gives a vivid account of the condition of Ireland at the arrival of Lord Grey (pp. 56 ff.), of the effect on Spenser (pp. 68 ff.), and of Spenser's apparent dealings, official and unofficial, with the Irish (pp. 72 ff.). His discussion of *The Present State of Ireland*, with its "odd and confused ethnography" (p. 172), is also of value.

Moryson, Secretary to Lord Mountjoy.¹ We have, moreover, Derrick's *Image of Ireland* (1578) and a tract on the Exchequer (1601).² During the latter sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries Ireland was the political danger spot of the British dominions; and Bagwell³ clearly shows the wretched condition of the Irish, both Saxon and Celt, and the grave difficulties confronting the Lord Lieutenant and his administration at Dublin. Spenser, Lord Grey's secretary, Clerk of the Council in Munster, author of one of the chief historical documents of the period, is a figure of political import; and it is valuable to know just how far he comprehended the Celtic civilization that lay about him.

At the very outset Spenser himself seems to have supplied the answer at least to the linguistic side of the problem; for, in *The Present State*, he twice implied that he knew no Irish: first when he blamed the early English settlers for learning the language,⁴ and again when he said: "I have caused diverse of them [bardic songs] to be translated unto me that I might understand them."⁵ But one must not build too readily upon these statements. In the first place, the stringent laws against the Celticizing of the English colonists would hardly encourage Spenser to admit, in a document intended for English official consumption, just how much Irish he knew; and, in the second place, the necessity of giving orders to retainers in his household and of carrying on legal procedure in the courts must have forced upon him some understanding of the despised tongue⁶—not enough, probably, for him to read or hear intelligibly the flights of Irish poetry with their imaginative figures and tropical diction, but still, perhaps, a slight conversational and some legal vocabulary.

¹ *Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First*, London, 1890. See also Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*, London, 1617, Part I, p. 274; Part II, pp. 1-300; Part III, pp. 156-64, and C. Hughes's *Shakespeare's Europe*, London, 1903, pp. 185 ff.

² See Somer's *Collection of Tracts*, London, 1809-15, ed. by Sir Walter Scott, I, 558, 283. *Ancient Irish Histories*, Dublin, 1809, contains Campion's *History*, which comes down to 1571 and throws some light on contemporary Irish affairs.

³ *Ireland under the Tudors*, London, 1890.

⁴ P. 637, Morris edition. I use the Morris edition (1869) rather than the first edition by Ware (1633) because the former has a better text. See Morris' *Preface*, iii-iv.

⁵ P. 641, Morris edition.

⁶ Cf. the Norman conquerors of England, who, in time, had to learn more and more English, seemingly for the mere convenience of holding direct intercourse with their inferiors.

Of the words that Spenser etymologizes in *The Present State*, several are probably not of Celtic origin; but as he ascribes some of them to this source, and as others, though foreign loan-words, were legal terms current in the Ireland of his own day, it seems wise to give them some attention before passing on to words of more probably Celtic derivation. The list contains five examples: *cesse*, *folk mote*, *liverye*, *paletine*, and *Scot*: *folk mote* is of OE origin; and the others seem to be, so far as we can trace, Latin.

Whether Spenser considered *cesse* an Irish word is doubtful. He calls it an "imposition," and by way of illustration mentions "cesses of sundrye sortes": "the cessing of souldiours upon the countrey," and "the imposing of provision for the Gouvenours house-keeping. . . ."¹ In the first illustration it appears to mean *billet*, and in the second, *tax*.² NED. lists this form of the word as localized, especially in Ireland, describes it as an aphetic form of *assess*, and so derives it through the OF *assesser* and the LL *assessare* (to assess), from the CL *assidere* (to sit by). The sense of *billet* may easily have been derived in England or Ireland from the essential and original idea of *tax* or *imposition*. Spenser, so far as he goes, seems to be correct. It is worth noting, furthermore, that, in this sense of *billet*, the word seems to combine the meaning of the Irish *coynnye* and the Romance *liverye*, both of which this paper will take up in due course.

*Folk mote*³ Spenser defines as "a place for people to meete or talke of any thing that concerned any difference betwene partyes and townships"; and he derives it correctly from the "Saxon." The obvious source is the OE *folc-mot*, defined in NED. as "a general assembly of a town, city or shire." It appears in OE as a compound of *folc* (people, nation, army) and (ge-) *mōt* (meeting, assembly, council). It is not surprising that Spenser knew at least the meaning of this and the preceding term, for both must have survived in at least occasional legal use down to his own day.

¹ P. 643, Morris edition.

² This *cesse* seems in no way connected with the modern dialect *sess* or *cess*, as in "Bad cess to him," which appears to come rather from *success*. The loss of the first syllable in this word seems somewhat parallel to the case in point.

³ P. 642, Morris edition.

*Liverye*¹ again is legal. Spenser associates it with *coygnye*, defines it loosely as "allowaunce of horse-meate," and says it is "derived of livering or delivering foorth their nightlye foode." He is not quite sure whether it is English or Irish in origin, but inclines toward the former hypothesis, probably because of the suggestion of relationship in *deliver*. He continues to explain:

So in great houses, the liverye is said to be served up for all night, that is theyr nightes allowance for drinke. And liverye is called the upper garment which servingmen weareth, soe called (as I suppose) for that it is delivered and taken from him at pleasure.

As a matter of fact, the origin of this word seems to be neither English nor Irish. The English, who seem to have brought the word into Ireland, got it from the OF *livrer* (*to give, to deliver*), whence, in turn, it comes from the VL *liberare, to set free*. *Livery*, in the sense of a servant's garments, is derived from the French *livrée, a gift of clothes*, from the same VL root. Spenser is right in suggesting a relationship with *deliver*, the source of which seems to be *deliberare, to give over*. NED. gives the English word the fullest possible meaning, and defines it in this sense as the "dispensing of food, provisions or clothing, or the food or provisions so dispensed." Spenser was right in associating these various derivatives from VL *liberare*; but he either did not realize or he did not bother to put down the French and Latin sources.

Spenser's use of *palentine* (palatine)² is of especial interest. He explains "county palentine" as follows:

It was (as I suppose) first named Palentine of a pale, as it were a pale and defence to theyr inner landes, soe as it is called the English Pale, and therefore also is a Palsgrave named, that is an Earle Palentine. Others thinke of the Latine *palare*, that is to *forrage* or *out-runne*, because the marchers and borderers use commonly soe to doe.

The derivation of *palentine* from *pale* seems to be the merest popular etymology. NED. quotes from Hatz. Darm. a fifteenth-century use of the LL *palatinus*, used as an adjective to mean *of or belonging to the palatium, or palace*, and used as a noun to mean *an officer of the palace, a chamberlain*. The correct derivation was not unknown

¹ P. 623, Morris edition.

² P. 621, Morris edition. Spenser carelessly cites the deponent *palar* with an active infinitive.

to scholars of Spenser's own day; and, indeed, Selden, in his notes to Drayton's *Poly-olbion*, Song XI, gives a short history of the four counties palatine of Elizabethan England, and goes on to say:

For the name Palatine, know, that in ancient time under the Emperours of declining Rome, the title of Count Palatine was; but so that it extended first only to him which had care of the Household and Imperial revenue. . . .

Selden shows that the term spread to other great lords, and ends with a flourish of learned references.¹ So much for *palatine*. *Pale*, as the name was applied to the English Pales in France, Ireland, and Scotland, is etymologized in NED. as coming from the Latin *palus*, a *stake*, through the French *pal*. The reference to *Palsgrave*, however, is significant. NED. traces this back to a MHG *pfalzgräve* and that to an OHG *pfalzengrāvo*, derived, in turn, from *pfalenza*, *palace*, and *grāvo*, *count*. NED. adds a valuable and suggestive note, that the Latin *palatium* appears to have been altered in Teutonic lands to **palantium*, whence come OHG *pflanza*, OS *palencea*, OE *palente*, *palendse* (fem.), and *palent* (masc.). The most recent use, however, in English, that NED. gives of the *-n-* spelling is in the middle of the sixteenth century; and unless Spenser spelled his word *palentine* in order to force the similarity with *pale* (and I think him not above doing that sort of thing), then his is one of the last uses of the word with the old, traditionally Germanic spelling and pronunciation. Selden, knowing the word's Latin spelling, naturally omitted the *-n-* very much, we may suppose, as the French philologists of the period prefixed an unhistorical *h-* to the OF *om*, *man*. It is not impossible that Selden is largely responsible for our present use of *palatine* in place of *palentine*. In short, Spenser's etymology from *pale* is rather certainly wrong. *Palsgrave* is, indeed, a cousin of *palentine*; but, though Spenser realized the similarity of meaning, I doubt whether he understood any etymological relationship. As for the derivation from the Latin deponent, *palor*, Spenser even seems dubious; and, indeed, he might well have been.

In like manner his etymology of *Scot*² seems fanciful. He takes it from the Greek "*scotos*," which he defines as "darkeness." At least he seems right in that it is very likely not a Gaelic word.

¹ Drayton's *Poly-olbion*, London, 1876, II, 82.

² P. 633, Morris edition.

It first appears in inscriptions and authors in late classical Latin.¹ The Irish form, *Scot*, plural, *Scuit*, seems to have come from this source. The origin of the Latin has been variously traced: some have suggested a rare ON plural, *skotar*; and Rhÿs thought it from some form cognate to the Welsh *ysguthr*, to cut or carve, and so to *tattoo*. The Greek word for *darkness*, to which Spenser refers, was written with an -ο-, not ω; and one has no reason to suppose either that there is any connection between that classic Greek word and the medieval Greek with an -ω-, or that Spenser knew anything about the latter. In short, his derivation is probably guessed from a chance similarity.

One interesting thing about these etymologizings is their revelation at once of the knowledge and of the ignorance of the day. Spenser's interest in law and government easily explains his knowledge of the meanings of such words as *cesse* and *folkemote*; but his knowing the etymology of the latter seems a little surprising, until one remembers that *The Shepheardes Calender* and its glosses show a knowledge, extensive, if not always accurate, of ME words and their ways.² French he seems to have ignored as a source of English words; and Latin also he ignores, curiously enough, even in fairly obvious cases. It must be called to mind, however, that these words are chiefly of LL extraction, and that Spenser was living in the age that produced a Cardinal Bembo who would not read even his *Vulgate* for fear of corrupting the Ciceronian purity he affected. It might well take a man of Selden's stamp to recognize a word of the latter empire. Spenser's definitions are correct; but his etymologies are sulphurous of the limbo of popular philology.

The remaining words that Spenser discusses are probably, if not certainly, of Celtic origin: some are legal terms; some, proper names; some, miscellaneous common nouns. Such dictionaries as Macbain and that of the Highland Society have been of use on the Gaelic side; Pughe and Strachan, for Welsh; Williams, for Cornish;

¹ The Latin form *Scottus* first appeared, says NED., in writers c. 400. There was a variant *Scôtus* (like the Med. Greek form Σκωτος) which became the usual form in Med. Latin; and a third form, *Scôlus*, seems to have arisen. It may represent a native name for the Celtic peoples concerned. See Holder's *Altceltischer Sprachschatz*. Cf. Keating's *History* (I.T.S.) I, 228-31.

² See study by the author in current number of the *Journal of Eng. and Ger. Phil.*

and Dinneen, Lane, O'Reilley-O'Donovan, and Coneys, for Irish. Of course, NED. is often helpful; and, as far as possible, these general reference books have been supplemented from O'Curry's *Ancient Laws and Institutes*, and similar treatises and documents both modern and Elizabethan. The suggestions of Professor F. N. Robinson, of Harvard, and of Professor T. P. Cross, of Chicago, have been particularly valuable. Many of the etymologies are uncertain; and some are so obscure as to reduce hypotheses almost to a matter of guesswork. Of course, Macbain, incomplete as he is, gives fairly trustworthy etymologies for Scotch Gaelic; but in the Irish field there is nothing of even his scope or excellence; and so, until something further is accomplished in the way of complete and reliable reference books, a study like the present can only too easily fall into a quicksand. For most of the words, however, at least one plausible explanation can be found, and some judgment of Spenser's etymology is possible.

The first of the Irish legal terms is *coygnye*.¹ Spenser defines it as "man's meate," and pairs it off with *liverye*. The derivation, he says, is "hard to tell": "Some say of coyne, because they used commonly in theyr Coygnyes, not only to take meate, but coyne also." Spenser, however, thinks the source is Irish. As to definition, he is not quite clear: *coygnye*, he explains, "is a common use amongst Irish landlords, to have a common spending upon theyr tenautes"; and again he defines it as "violent taking of victualls upon other men's tenautes against their willes."² As a matter of fact, the term is a very old one. It appears in Irish literature long before Spenser's day,³ and seems to be present even in a doubtful passage in old Irish law.⁴ The regular sense in these cases is *to billet*. Davies' use of the word, dated 1612 in NED., is quite the same as Spenser's; and NED. gives an extended note, and derives it from the OI **condem*, *condmin*,

¹ P. 623, Morris edition.

² P. 624, Morris edition.

³ See *The Táin Bó Cuailnge* from the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, p. 3, and the Bodleian *Amra Choluimb Chille*, *Revue Celtique*, XX, 42. These texts are of uncertain date, but the substance of both is probably of the Old Irish period. There is a further reference to *condmedim*, *I billet*, in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, *sub anno* 1310.

⁴ O'Curry and Atkinson, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of Ireland*, Dublin, 1865-1901, IV, 348. This, apparently, is not the same word as the common *coingi*, as in *coingi comna*, to obtain communion, O'Curry and Atkinson, I, 266.

to *billet*. Professor Robinson suggests rather the related *condmad* or *condmedim*. In short, Spenser is correct in that he understood what was probably the chief meaning of the word in his day, and in that he assigns an Irish derivation. The knowledge of the former he doubtless gained from his official position, for the word was in vital use in the law of his day; the etymology was probably not much more than a reasonable guess. Of ancient Brehon law, per se, he seems to have known little, and of ancient Irish culture, nothing.

Kin-cogish,¹ the second of Spenser's legal terms in Celtic, he explains as follows:

that every head of every sept and every chief of every kindred or familye should be answerable and bound to bring foorth every one of that kindred or sept when he should be required or charged with any treason. . . . It is a woord mingled of English and Irish together.

Kin-, says Spenser, is English; and *-cogish* the sign of affinity in Irish. At first sight one might suppose that *kin-* was related either to the English *kin* or perhaps to the Celtic *cinneadh* or *cinne*, meaning tribe or clan; and either of these hypotheses would lend at least some support to Spenser's etymology. As a matter of fact, *kin-* seems to be none of these things. *The Ancient Laws of Ireland* again comes to the rescue, at once proving the word venerable, and supplying a fairly certain etymology: the term is translated "crime of relative";² *cin-* means *crime*; and *-cogish* is an anglicizing of the word *comfocus*, *relative*. Gilbert³ gives the Irish spelling as *cean coguis*, but regularly uses the more common English form, *kincogus*. He states that the term originated in ancient Brehon law, quotes an example of its use in 1571 in a document written by an Irish legist, James O'Scingin or O'Sgingin, for Sir Edward Fyton, president of the province of "Connacht," and explains that, as late as the reign of Charles II, "Kincogus warrents" were issued by his government at Dublin for the purpose of reducing or "cutting off by the sword" some Irish in Ulster. In short, the custom and the name that designated it seem to have been in use in Ireland from early antiquity down at least to the latter seventeenth century. Spenser apparently

¹ P. 624, Morris edition.

² *Anc. Laws and Inst. of Ireland*, VI, 137; see also Keating's *History*, ed. Comyn I.T.S.), London, 1902, I, 69.

³ J. T. Gilbert's *National MSS of Ireland*, London, 1884, p. 177 ff.

understood the actual working of the law. His etymology of *kin-* seems to have been led astray by a false analogy in English; but his explanation of *-cogish* as "the sign of affinity in Irish" is probably right.

The third of the Celtic legal terms is "tanistih," usually spelled *tanistry*,¹ the custom of choosing the successor of a chief during his lifetime from any member of his family. Here Spenser seems to have gone quite wrong as to etymology, although, of course, he understood the sense of the word. He naïvely suggests that it comes from "tania," a root appearing in Aquitania, Lusitania, Britannia, Dania, and meaning a "province or seigniorye." He continues to elucidate:

For sure it seemeth that it came anciently from those barbarous nations that over-ranne the world, which possessed those dominions, whereof they are now so called. And so it may well be. . . .

Of course, the first-declension *a-* or *-ia* was commonly used for the names of provinces and countries in both classical and low Latin; but obviously a preceding *-an-* or *-tan-*, as appears in cognate forms, is part of the root, and has nothing to do with this ending. The *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*, for instance, divides the third of the words cited by Spenser: Britan(n)+ia; and whether the word be from the Greek *περραια*,² and whether there be any relation to the Pictish Cruithne,³ the *-tan-* is not part of the termination which follows. As a matter of fact, *tanistry* seems to be a thoroughly Celtic word, existing in Gaelic forms *tánaisteachd* and *tánaisteacht*, meaning "law of succession." The word does not appear in the glossary to the Brehon law; but NED. vouches for its age; and the underlying *tanaise*⁴ does appear. O'Curry⁴ explains the law, and describes the election of a "*tandiste* or successor"; and Gilbert⁵ describes the appointing of a new chief of the O'Karwell Clan in 1558. NED. gives Spenser's as the first use in English, although the word

¹ P. 612, Morris edition.

² See Macbain, p. 393, who refers to Stokes and Rhôs.

³ For the etymology of *tán(a)ise* from *to-ad-+ned-* or *neth-(?)*, see Thurneysen, *Handbuch*, p. 237.

⁴ E. O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, London, 1873, I, clxxxiii and clxi. See also Keating's *History* (I.T.S.), I, 66-67.

⁵ Gilbert's *Nat. MSS of Irel.*, extract from fol. 86 of the *MS Council Book of Ireland*, 1558.

must have been common in Anglo-Irish legal documents long before. Spenser seems to have understood the term as a practical matter of his own day; but again he does not appear to have had any historical background in Irish laws and usages—a condition that was common enough, we may judge, among Anglo-Saxon officialdom.

Of the proper names that Spenser etymologized, one he seems to have looked upon as originally Irish. The name of the chieftain, *Murroghe en-Ranagh*, or *Morroh en-Ranah*,¹ he translates "Morrice of the Fearne or wast wilde places." The rendering of *Morrice* for *Murroghe* is not actual translation, but rather the adoption of a similar English name as an equivalent. Compare the familiar use of *Charles* for *Cathair* or of *Dennis* for *Diarmuid*. The rest of the expression, however, seems to be accurate translation: *-en-* can regularly be a preposition with genitive force; and *Ranagh* is an altogether possible phonological descendant of *raithneach*, *-nige*, meaning *fern*.

In discussing the ethnology of Ireland, Spenser states that, in ancient times, "the Sythians planted in the North parts"; an Iberian people in the west, Gauls in the south, and Britons in the east. He offers no explanation as to how Ireland, in his own day, all spoke one language, and that somewhat similar to Brythonic Welsh. Whether he would have agreed with Rhŷs's theory of two Celtic invasions, vulgate doctrine thirty years ago, may be left to scholarly conjecture. Such works as Boece² and Camden³ are doubtless Spenser's sources. Spenser felt it incumbent upon him to give linguistic proof of the Welsh relationship. In this connection he tried to find Brythonic etymologies for the Irish family names Kavanagh, Brin, O'Toole. Later he gives several Welsh words with their meanings; but he fails to show their connection with the Irish words he is seeking to explain.

Spenser's discussion of Irish family names and his tracing of their etymologies from the Welsh seem to be founded on English rather than Celtic sources. Camden refers to the infinite number of British words in the Irish language;⁴ and Ware, Spenser's first editor, says:

¹ P. 615-16, Morris edition.

² Hector Boece, "Scotorum Regni Descriptio," *Scotorum Historiae*, 1526.

³ William Camden, *Britannia*, London, 1590, pp. 5 ff.

⁴ Camden's *Britannia*, 2d ed., Gough, 1806, IV, 219. Cf. J. Lynch, *Cambrensis Eversus*, Oxford, 1662, pp. 274 ff.

In Richard Creagh's booke *de lingua Hibernica*, there is a plentiful collection of Irish words, derived from the Brittish or Welch tongue, which doth much strengthen the Authors opinion, in houlding that the *Brines*, *Tooles*, and *Cavenaghs*, with other ancient inhabitants of the easterne parts, were originally Brittish Colonyes.¹

Spenser has been severely criticized for trying "to fetch the original of several truly Irish families from England and Wales."²

Kavanagh, Spenser etymologizes from "kaun," meaning "strong."³ I have been unable to find any such word in Welsh, or, for that matter, in Irish or Scotch Gaelic. Keating derives Kavanagh from *caomhan*, "a mild or pleasant person," originally applied to Dómhall Caomhanach, son of Diarmuid. He entirely denies Spenser's etymology.⁴ Kavanagh is not included in Macbain's appendix on personal names and surnames; but Professor Robinson suggests that it may be related to the Irish *cabán*, a *hollow* or *cavity*, and that it is probably a family name of local origin. In any case, Spenser's statement seems to be quite fanciful.

*Brin*⁵ is the only one that helps to prove his point. Spenser gives it as meaning *hillye*; and indeed the noun *bryn* or *brin* is a common Welsh word meaning *hill*. In Irish, *brinne* means *wood*; but there is *bruinne*, having the original sense of *breast*, and also the tropical sense of *hill* in Irish poetry. Anyone who knew of the *bryn*⁶ in Welsh and who ran across *bruinne* in this use, in Irish, might easily associate the two as cognates, as indeed they probably are. The Welsh noun Spenser evidently knew imperfectly, for he gave it as an adjective, but where he picked up knowledge, even as inaccurate as this, is an

¹ Spenser's *Present State*, Ware, 1633, p. 81, n. Ware, in his Preface, praises the soundness of Spenser's judgment regarding "the first peopling of the severall parts of the Iland" and asserts that the latter's conclusions "may be further confirmed by comparing them with Richard Creagh's Booke *de lingua Hibernica*, which is yet extant in the original manuscript." No printed version of Creagh's work is listed in the British Museum catalogue. Hanmer (*The Chronicle of Ireland* [Dublin, 1633], pp. 71 ff.) declares that the "British words among [the Irish] are infinite," gives a list of supposed loan-words, and cites Stanyhurst in support of his opinion.

² *The Irish Historical Library*, Dublin and London, 1724, by William, Lord Bishop of Derry, p. 4. See also Keating, *History of Ireland*, ed. Comyn (I.T.S.), London, 1902, I, 24 ff. Roderick O'Flaherty in his *Ogygia* (Part III, chap. lxxvii) devotes a whole chapter to combating this and other theories set forth in Spenser's discussion.

³ P. 629, Morris edition.

⁴ Keating's *History* (I.T.S.), I, 29.

⁵ Pp. 629 and 659, Morris edition.

⁶ The pronunciation of Welsh *y* like a French *u* would make the word sound very much like the Irish *bruin*.

interesting question. But, not content with thus much learning, he defines *brin* elsewhere as *wood*. He seems to think that it has this meaning in Welsh; but I have found no trace of it. Keating allows *brin* in the sense *woody*, but declares that the family name comes from a young warrior called Bannút.¹ Spenser seems to have put himself to no more pother to gain consistency in scholarship than he did in the plot of his *Faerie Queene*.

The O'Toole² family name Spenser takes likewise from the Welsh, and derives it from "*tol*, that is an hill-countrey." O'Toole almost certainly does not come from *tol* or even from the Welsh at all. Professor Robinson says that the immediate source of O'Toole is Ua Tuathail, which is a familiar family name.³ As for *tol*, its use in the Celtic languages will receive attention in due course, under the noun *tol* defined by Spenser in a British use as "valley or dark."

Spenser was not a very fortunate etymologist of Celtic proper nouns: two of the three from Welsh are more than dubious; and as for Murroghen-Ranagh, the meaning—which is all Spenser gives—was very likely as widely known as the outlaw himself was notorious. Of course, such names as O'Toole and Kavanagh present rather knotty problems even to the modern philologist with his reference books—such as they are—and his scientific method; but Spenser's effort to derive them from the Welsh certainly does not add to one's opinion of his Celtic scholarship. There remains a fairly long list of common nouns, some of which he seems to have thought of as Welsh, some as Irish. In the case of the former he apparently drew considerably upon his imagination.

In Spenser's *cummurreeih*,⁴ which he describes as the cry of one that "flyeth under the succour or protection of any against an enemy" and defines as "help" in "British," I can find no Irish word or cry to be compared with it. Professor Robinson suggests that if Spenser or his informant knew it only in written form, he might have confused the Welsh word with some Irish derivative of *cobair*, *help*, a confusion that might arise from the common interchange of *mh* and *bh*. The

¹ Keating's *History* (I.T.S.), I, 28–29.

² P. 629, Morris edition.

³ Keating also suggests this, *History* (I.T.S.), I, 28–29.

⁴ P. 629, Morris edition.

Dictionary of the Irish Text Society gives a *cumaraċ*, *strong, powerful, capable*: perhaps he had this in mind; or perhaps he was simply drawing again on his imagination. He seems to suggest that there is some relation between this *cummurreeih*, Irish or Welsh, and the Welsh *cummaraig*. This latter he defines as the Welsh word for "theyr own language"; and indeed this is an older spelling of the Welsh *cymreig*, the source of our *Cymric*. The word is easy to identify in Welsh; but of the Irish war cry no certain trace remains.

Spenser's Welsh, on the whole, seems to be pretty thoroughly muddled: *tol*, which, as an origin of O'Toole, he defined as a "hill-country" on page 629, on 659 is "a valley or darke." *Tol*, meaning *hill-country*, we have already discussed. *Toll*, in varied forms, occurs in all the insular Celtic languages, and regularly signifies a *hole* or *perforation*: *toll* in Cornish; *twill* in Welsh; *toull* in Breton; *toll* in Irish; *toll* in Scotch Gaelic; and *towl* in Manx. This sense of *hole* was carried over at least occasionally in Irish¹ and Manx² place-names and rather commonly in Scotch³ to mean a *depression in the land*, and, more specifically, a *pond, cave, hollow*, and *dell*. The word probably had the meaning of *hollow* and *dell*, and so *valley*, in Irish as well as in Scotch Gaelic; but no such use appears in Welsh; and the sense of *dark* does not seem to occur at all.

This group of words is interesting as showing that the author of *The Present State of Ireland* knew very little Welsh. The seeming inconsistencies of the meanings that he himself gives for *brin* and *tol* incline one to believe that the Irish tract was by no means a carefully deliberated and amply revised piece of work, but more likely an odd paper, written off, like so many of the tracts of the day, apropos of a particular occasion. The miscellaneous Irish nouns which will complete the scope of the present study seem to show a greater, though not necessarily more accurate, basis of knowledge behind them.

¹ P. Power, *The Place-Names of Decies* (London, 1907), p. 299, *Toll O'dar, Dun-Colored Pond*.

² A. W. Moore, *Manx Names* (London, 1903), p. 98, *Towl*, a *hole*, a *cave* as in *Towl Dick*.

³ W. J. Watson, *Place-Names of Ross and Cromarty*, Inverness, 1904. *Toll* appears as *cave*, p. 49; as *hollow*, pp. 165, 231; as *hole* or *hollow in the ground*, pp. 73, 105, 180, 218; as *spate-hole, a deep and narrow corry*, p. 168.

*Farrih*¹ Spenser gives as a war cry, and etymologizes it as "a Scotch woord, to weete, the name of one of the first Kings of Scotland, called Fargus, Fergus, or Ferragus, which fought against the Pictes. . . ." Spenser objects to Stanyhurst's theory that the word comes from *Pharao*, and that the Irish were originally Egyptians; and he supports his own contention by remarking that there were many men in the north of Ireland called Farreehs. As to the actual war cry, Keating derives it from *faire, faire ó, watch, watch O, or ó faire, O take care*.² It may be related to *ferrac*, *-aig*, *force or violence*; and Professor Robinson suggests a relation to *fear, man, or ri, king*, in some combination.³ As for Fergus or Fearghas, Macbain gives OI *Fergus*⁴ perhaps from **ver-gustu-s, super-choice*. Spenser's use of the name is interesting as lending a little more credibility to his having browsed in the legendary history of Ireland. Stanyhurst's Egyptian theory comes down from such ancient sources as the *Leabhar Gabhala*, and seems still to have some currency as late as 1790, when Dr. Hastler published his pseudo-antiquarian *Συλλεγόμενα* in satirical proof "that Ireland was originally peopled by the Egyptians." Spenser's etymology is at least not quite so far afield as Egypt.

Gaull,⁵ he says, is Irish for "straunge inhabitaunt." The word is derived, he says, from the days of the Gaulish invasion, which overthrew the "Sythians" in Ireland. The source for Spenser's opinion was probably Buchanan's *Rerum Scotiarum Historia*.⁶ There is a word *gall*, meaning *foreign*, in Irish; and the introduction of the *-u* may show either that Spenser took advantage of Elizabethan license in spelling to enforce his etymologies, or that he was trying to reproduce an Irish dialectic pronunciation *goul*, or merely that he had chanced upon that spelling in Irish. A relation, moreover, to the

¹ P. 632, Morris edition.

² Keating's *History* (I.T.S.), I, 42-43.

³ The former of these suggestions is borne out by an anonymous writer in the *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, III, 203.

⁴ King Fergus is a well-known figure of Celtic legendary history. See Stanyhurst, *De rebus in Hibernia gestis*, Antwerp, 1584, p. 26, etc. Buchanan gives three kings named "Fergusius," *Historia*, 1594, pp. 99 ff., 135 ff., 165 ff. Spenser himself refers to Buchanan in this connection.

⁵ P. 628, Morris edition.

⁶ 1594 ed., pp. 64 ff. Cf. spelling *gald* in the 1633 ed. of Spensér, p. 33. Cf. Keating's *History*, I, 230-31.

Gaul of Continental Celtic is generally accepted by scholars;¹ but his idea of a Gaulish invasion, unless we liken it to Rhÿs's second Celtic invasion, seems, rather than anything else, a figment of the legendary histories of Ireland. Macbain discusses the two opinions as to the etymology of the word as follows:

Gall, a Lowlander, stranger, Irish Gall, a stranger, Englishman, Irish gall, foreigner; from Gallus, a Gaul, the Gauls being the first strangers to visit or be visited by the Irish in pre-Roman times (Zimmer). For derivation, see *gall*, *valour*. Stokes takes a different view; he gives as basis for gall, stranger, *ghaslo, root ghas, Latin hostis, English guest. Hence, he derives gallus, a Gaul, from some Celtic dialect.

Whether Spenser was right or wrong in relating *gall* and *Gaul* is a matter for learned conjecture; but the etymology certainly has some modern authority behind it.

Galloglass,² according to Spenser, originally meant an English "servitour or yeoman," especially one of the English mercenaries. NED. queries the origin as applied necessarily to an Englishman any more than to any other foreigner. In general, however, Spenser seems correct as to the meaning of the word: it is a Celtic compound of *gall*, *foreign*, and *oglach*, *a youth, servant, warrior*.

Rathe,³ also, is a purely Celtic word. Spenser says it means *hill*, and uses it referring to those walled mounds which the ancient inhabitants of Ireland used as fortresses. Spenser seems to have gotten the erroneous sense of *hill* from the fact that these forts were usually upon a barrow or some slight elevation. The ascription to the Danes is noted in NED. as incorrect; and indeed Spenser seems partly responsible for the compounding of the word which has enshrined this bit of pseudo-antiquity in our language.

Of the legal terms, English and Irish, Spenser seems to know the meanings; but his etymologies appear to be the merest guesswork and fancy—a condition quite to be expected in a day when Indo-Germanic roots and phonological variations were as yet unstudied and even unheard of. His Welsh etymologies of family names and of common nouns are, most of them, obviously and radically wrong.

¹ See Kuno Meyer, *Sitzungsberichte der preuss. Akad. der Wissen.*, 1918, p. 1044..

² P. 640, Morris edition.

³ P. 642, Morris edition, commonly in the form *Dane-rathe* or *Dane-rathes*, as writers misled by Spenser's etymology have put it.

But it is even more interesting to note that *The Present State of Ireland* shows some knowledge of Irish common nouns; and Spenser's blunders point to his having supplied this knowledge himself rather than having called in expert assistance. *Rathe*, *farrih*, and the correct etymology of *gall*, moreover, suggest that he had at least some cursory interest in Irish antiquity, but it could not have been much more than cursory. One can readily believe that he had listened to translations of some of the old bardic songs. Just how much, however, and just wherein all this influenced his poetry are matters for future scholarship to decide.

Spenser's knowledge of linguistics as revealed by the *Present State* was sadly narrow. This is particularly true as regards Celtic matters, and one is not surprised to find his political policy unsympathetic, at times almost to the point of savagery: he had no conception of the venerable antiquities of Ireland, and did not realize that there was a time when the students in the schools of Bangor knew more Greek than Pope Gregory the Great. One must not, however, lay too much blame on Spenser for this miscomprehension.

The Present State of Ireland seems to have ranked as a classic treatise for a considerable period. Writers on Ireland regularly attacked or defended it, as their politics dictated. Spenser's very diction had its influence: the form *Dane-rathe* he seems to have introduced into the language,¹ and one or two of the legal terms probably owe to him their literary use. These days the pamphlet treatise is rather neglected; but it is interesting as one of the early monuments of Celtic scholarship in English; and it seems to have a vital connection with English literature as mirroring the environment whence sprang the greatest poetical romance in the language.

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¹ NED. gives no earlier use.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England. By EILERT EKWALL. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift. N.F. Avd. 1. Bd. 14. Nr. 27.)¹ Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup; Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz, 1918. Pp. xiii+125.

Dr. Eilert Ekwall's *Scandinavians and Celts in the North-West of England* is a systematic study of the important and little-known subject of the population elements in certain parts of the north of England during the Viking occupation. The book "contains the results of an examination of the place- and personal-names of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire, undertaken with a view to discover traces of Goidelic influence and thereby to throw some light on the nature and extent of Goidelic influence on the language of the Scandinavians in these districts" (p. 12). Dr. Ekwall also discusses the Brythonic forms in the place-names of the territory covered, especially Cumberland.

As the author admits, the documentation is incomplete, particularly in the omission of the Pipe Rolls and other important publications. The list of Celtic sources might also be considerably extended. Fortunately, however, the inclusion of further linguistic evidence, though important for details, would probably not have materially affected Dr. Ekwall's general conclusions.

A large part of the dissertation is devoted to what the author calls "inversion-compounds," "a peculiar kind of compound names, in which the first element is determined by the second." Typical examples are *Briggethorfin*, 'Thorfin's bridge,' and *Polneuton*, 'Newton pool.' Dr. Ekwall finds in Cumberland and Lancashire a considerable number of inversion-compounds involving Scandinavian and Celtic elements. After examining a large number of cases he concludes that "in all probability inversion-compounds are due to Celtic influence. . . . It follows from the results of the examination of the elements that Goidelic, not Brythonic, influence is to be assumed" (p. 52). From at least as early as the middle of the ninth century the Scandinavians were in more or less close contact with the Goidels of Ireland, Scotland, and the Western Isles,² and it is to some of

¹ Festschrift utgiven av Lunds Universitet vid dess tvåhundra-femtioårsjubileum, 1918.

² It should be noted that Marstrander's *Bidrag til det norske sprogs historie i Irland* (Christiania, 1915), which Dr. Ekwall cites as his authority on the Scandinavian elements in early Irish, overemphasizes the importance of the Scandinavian influence. The book is severely criticized by the late Kuno Meyer in the *Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, XLV (1918), 1030-47. Cf. *Revue celtique*, XXXVI, 241-63.

these Scandinavians (Norwegians rather than Danes) that, according to Dr. Ekwall, we must look for the origin of the place-names discussed. "Most of the inversion-compounds doubtless belong to the earliest Scandinavian names in N.W. England." This method of forming place-names seems to have continued until after the Norman conquest. The author is uncertain whether the Celtic elements were introduced by Scandinavianized Goidels or by "a subject Goidelic class, which had come over with the Scandinavian settlers" (pp. 54 f.), but he inclines to the hypothesis that "the inversion-compounds in England were coined by Scandinavians." In any case Dr. Ekwall's collection of material forms a valuable addition to the constantly growing body of evidence pointing to the strong influence of the Goidels upon the Scandinavian invaders of Celtic territory and to the important part played by Celtic elements in the north of England.

Brythonic elements Dr. Ekwall finds most common in northeast Cumberland. The evidence "proves that a Brythonic population and a Brythonic language must have survived comparatively long in parts of the county" (p. 117). This conclusion should be considered in connection with Rhys's important surmise that Brythonic was spoken in the district of Carnoban (between Leeds and Dumbarton) as late as the fourteenth century (*Celtic Britain*, 3d ed., London, 1904, p. 149).

The general results of Dr. Ekwall's investigation should have a distinct bearing on the question of the possible Celtic elements in certain medieval romances composed in the northwest district of England.

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THE TRAVELLING PLAYERS IN SHAKSPERE'S ENGLAND

"How chances it they travel?" inquires Hamlet, when "the tragedians of the city" are announced. "Their *residence*, both in reputation and profit, was better both ways."¹ Shakspeare's testimony as to the inferior rewards open to the players "on the road" has had many an echo since, for then as now the reputation and profit of the great metropolitan centers of dramatic activity—the Bankside and the Blackfriars, Broadway and the Strand—have been the goal of "the quality" and the subject matter of students of dramatic history. And yet the humbler Elizabethan actors who travelled "softly on the hoof"² through the length and breadth of merry England contributed no small share to the making of the national drama which remains one of the glories of their spacious times.

Many an interesting record has come down to us of the good-humored but irresponsible strolling players who were content to

travel with pumps full of gravel
Made of all such running leather
That once in a week new masters we seek
And never can hold together.³

It is more important to bear in mind that many of the great tragedians of the city trod the boards in country towns frequently and

¹ *Hamlet*, II, 2, 352.

² *Vox Graculi*; see Collier, *Annals*, ed. 1831, III, 310.

³ *Histrio-Mastix* (1599), II, 251.

profitably. Among them were such distinguished actors as Henslowe's son-in-law, Edward Alleyn, and his colleagues, Singer and Towne,¹ and Shakspeare's friends and fellow actors, Thomas Pope, Augustine Phillips, William Kemp, and John Hemings, business manager of the Shakspeare-Burbage forces.² And there is every reason to believe that Shakspeare played with his company in the provinces, even though his name has not yet been found in the town records. Singer and Kemp, whose names do appear, tried their hand as playwrights as well as in acting. I have shown elsewhere that a very large number of Elizabethan playwrights—Ben Jonson, Heywood, Nathaniel Field, Richard Brome, to mention only a few of the leading names—were recruited from the ranks of the actors.³ These actor-playwrights profited magnificently by their opportunity of viewing the life of their time in the large, of examining with equally open eyes the hucksters of Bartholomew Fair and the rustic philosophers of Stratford and Gloucestershire.

And yet the curiously interesting circumstances and conditions of the provincial drama have been neglected or ignored by most students of the period. Miss Gildersleeve, for example, fails to include in her "hierarchy of dramatic rulers"—the Privy Council, the Lord Chamberlain, and the King⁴—an almost equally important element: "Mr. Mayor" and the town councils. Many valuable compilations of the dramatic records of various towns and localities have been produced, but nothing approaching a synthetic study of the extant materials has yet appeared. The most valuable contribution of recent times in this field is John T. Murray's compilation of materials in the second volume of his *English Dramatic Companies* (1910), and his earlier article based on some of these materials.⁵ This article, however, was written before he had completed his investigation, and its conclusions were necessarily, as Murray says, "more or less tentative." His later collections and

¹ *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. Greg, I, 4 and 6.

² Halliwell-Phillips, *Illustrations*, p. 33.

³ See chapter 6 of my MS dissertation, *Finance and Business Management of the Elizabethan Theatre*, Harvard University, 1918.

⁴ *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama*, p. 19.

⁵ See *Modern Philology*, II (1905), 539-59. Murray's book on the subject, promised some time since, has not yet appeared.

additional materials which I have gathered from other sources make available much information not hitherto accessible to the general student. It is the purpose of this article to present in short compass some of the conclusions derivable from these materials.

We may begin with a glance at the strollers and vagabonds of Elizabethan drama. These players were frequently made the butt of contemporary jibes, and it appears that they paced the open road humbly enough. One of the earliest extant records of them, an entry from the exchequer accounts of Henry VII, suggests something of their low estate. In the year 1493 the King gave largesse of 6s. 8d. "to the players that begged by the way."¹ Nor did the strollers of the next century fare much better, if we may believe Thomas Dekker. The poet of *The Gentle Craft* did not always deal gently with the misfortunes of his fellows, and yet his picture of their indigent condition makes good contemporary evidence. In his *Belman of London* (1608), Dekker takes a fling at certain "Players . . . who, out of an ambition to weare the Best Ierkin (in a Strowling Company) or to Act Great Parts forsake the stately Cittie Stages to trauel upon ye hard hooft from village to village for chees and buttermilke."² Again, in his *Newes from Hell* (1606), he transcribes a leaf from Charon's account book: "Item, lent to a Companie of country players, being nine in number, one sharer & the rest Iorneymen that with strowling were brought to deaths door, XIIIId. ob., upon their stocke of apparell, to pay for their boat hire, because they would trie if they could be suffred to play in the diuels name."³ The last phrase of the passage obviously refers to the Statute of 1572, by which unlicensed players were threatened with branding as "rogues, vagabonds and sturdy beggars."⁴ It is interesting to note further that Dekker's nondescript company of nine, "one sharer & the rest Iorneymen," is paralleled by other evidence, later and more specific. Richard Bradshawe, one-time servant of Gabriel Spencer, the actor who enjoyed the distinction of being killed by Ben Jonson,⁵ forsook the city stages

¹ Malone's *Shakespeare*, ed. Boswell, III, 43.

² Grosart's *Dekker*, III, 81.

³ *Ibid.*, II, 146.

⁴ Gildersleeve, *op. cit.*, p. 27; Thorndike, *Shakespeare's Theatre*, p. 204.

⁵ *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 243, 313.

sometime before 1633. In that year his company of seven was arrested at Banbury because its license was believed to be fraudulent, and all its members testify that Bradshawe alone was "master," the rest being apprenticed to serve him for seven years for "nothing but meat and drink."¹ And yet even the more soundly constituted companies—organizations that boasted full complements of "sharers"²—were sometimes in almost as heavy case as Dekker's hopeless crew. Pembroke's Men, for example, travelled happily into the provinces in 1593, only to be stranded on the road and forced to pawn their properties.³

The passage from *Histrio-Mastix* quoted above points at one of the difficulties experienced by the strollers—that of "holding together." Even the best of the London companies—Shakspeare's among them—had to use elaborate safeguards to keep their members from seeking all too frequent changes of scene.⁴ The road companies, having fewer advantages to offer, must have found this problem much more difficult to solve, and their managers were frequently embarrassed by the tardiness or disappearance of actors entrusted with important parts. The lateness of Bottom the Weaver, and the non-appearance of one of the important actors in the play of *Sir Thomas More*⁵ probably had many a counterpart on provincial stages.

Nor were the absent members always to blame, for sometimes their non-appearance was brought about by causes beyond their control. The strollers, even if they avoided the letter of the statute against masterless men, were ready victims for the recruiting officer's press gang. "Press money!" exclaims a sadly surprised player in *Histrio-Mastix*, "alas, sir, press me? I am no fit actor for the action!" But the recruiting officer is not to be denied. "Text-bills," he insists, "must now be turned to iron-bills."⁶ The licenses of the great London companies specifically protected them from

¹ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 163.

² I.e., actors who had graduated from the "hireling" or apprentice stage and had become investors in the capital of their company and sharers in its profits.

³ Collier, *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, p. 32; Murray, *E.D.C.*, I, 65.

⁴ Compare chapter 2 of my dissertation.

⁵ *Midsummer-Night's Dream*, IV, 2; *Sir Thomas More*, IV, 1.

⁶ Act V.

interference of this sort,¹ but their humbler brethren had no recourse except to suit the word even to this sort of action. Again, the strollers were subject to retributive justice—or malice—dispensed by petty local functionaries whose officiousness they delighted to ridicule in their plays. Justice Clack, in Brome's *Jovial Crew* (1641), cools his wrath at the players and illustrates our point. "They can act Justices, can they?" he suggests; "I'll act a Justice among 'em: that is to say, I will do justice upon them."²

In fairness to Justice Clack and his kind we are obliged to add that certain elements among the strollers were a sore burden to the constituted authorities. Beggary was not the sole offense of the strollers. The actors in *Histrion-Mastix* describe a rival company as an aggregation of "coney catchers that cousen mayors,"³ and the merry crew of "comedians, tragi-comedians, comi-tragedians, pastorists, humorists, satirists," who hold forth in Middleton's *Mayor of Queenborough* (ca. 1602), meet the description to a nicety. They throw flour into Mr. Mayor's eyes and, having stolen his purse, leave His Honor to derive such comfort as he can from his clerk's explanation: "You are cozened, Sir; they are all professed cheaters. . . . They only take the name of country comedians to abuse simple people with a printed play or two which they bought at Canterbury for sixpence."⁴ Similar exploits enacted by other "roguish players" might be recounted,⁵ but we must leave the strollers here to look into the affairs of the companies that had more reputation and profit to lose.

We have seen that the names of some of the most distinguished Elizabethan actors appear in the provincial records. It is safe to add that without the resource of going into the country when acting in London was unprofitable or impossible, even the best of the city companies could hardly have survived. The conditions which periodically forced the players to travel are well known, and a rapid summary will suffice to recall them to the reader. The

¹ See my dissertation, chapter 5.

² V, 1.

³ Act V.

⁴ V, 1. Cf. Percy Simpson, *Shakespeare's England*, II, 240.

⁵ See T. S. Graves, *Modern Philology*, IX, 431, on the famous *England's Joy* episode at the Swan Theatre in 1602, and compare pp. 507-8, below, on a similar exploit ascribed to Peele.

ravages of the plague again and again led to an inhibition of acting in the metropolis, and brought about a steady exodus of actors, sometimes for periods of many months in successive years.¹ The closing of part or all of the London theatres at times when the Puritan opposition was able to dominate the situation led to the same result, as did also the very frequent occurrence of theater fires in London.² Another driving force was the keen competition among the companies in London—such competition, for example, as that between the children's companies and the adult actors to which Shakspeare alludes in *Hamlet*.³ More important, perhaps, was the sharp rivalry for public favor among the adult companies themselves.⁴

Nor was competition eliminated when the players left the city. Managers anxious to steal a march upon their rivals were none too scrupulous in their methods. Certain playwrights also—Robert Greene and perhaps Thomas Dekker among them, if contemporary allusions may be trusted—were sometimes guilty of sharp practice. A familiar passage from *The Defense of Conny Catching* (1592) would seem to indicate that on one occasion Greene profited by the synchronous absence of copyright protection and of a certain company with which he had had business relations:

Aske the Queens Players if you solde them not *Orlando Furioso* for twenty Nobles and when they were in the country sold the same play to the Lord Admirals men for as much more? Was not this plaine Conny-catching, Maister R. G.?⁵

Somewhat later the Admiral's Men may have been concerned in a similar transaction, in which Thomas Dekker and Shakspeare's company also appear as principals. On January 30, 1599, Henslowe significantly records a loan of 3*l.* 10*s.* to the Admiral's Men "to descarge Thomas dickers from the a reaste of my lord chamberlens men."⁶

A more serious abuse than the stealing of plays, however, was the stealing or forging of licenses. A notable dispute at Leicester

¹ See Fleay's *Stage*, and Murray, *E.D.C.*, I, 155, etc.

² Fires at the Globe, the Fortune, the Rose, and the Blackfriars are recorded.

³ II, 2, 361.

⁴ See my dissertation, chapter 6.

⁵ See Grosart's *Greene*, XI, 75.

⁶ *Henslowe's Diary*, I, 101.

in 1583, between Worcester's Men and those of Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels, may serve as a case in point. Tilney's Men reached the mayor first, and were permitted to play. The other company received a gratuity of 10s., and orders to leave the town. Thereupon they marched "with drum & Trumppytts thorowe the Towne in contempt of Mr. Mayor," and then calmly put on their play, Mr. Mayor to the contrary notwithstanding. By way of excuse for their action Worcester's Men urged that their rivals "were not lawfully authoryzed & that they had taken from them there comysson." Tilney's company categorically denied the charge, but the Mayor settled the controversy by accepting the apology of Worcester's Men and authorizing them to stay on.¹ Whatever the merits of this particular case may have been, it is clear that many similar irregularities occurred. Their causes are not far to seek. After 1581 each and every company was required by law to obtain a license from the Master of the Revels, and that official made heavy demands upon the financial resources of the players, his fees being limited only by his judgment of what the market would bear.² Bartholomew Jones, one of the witnesses in the Bradshawe case at Danbury in 1633, testifies that "the Master of the Revels will give allowance to the raising [of the license] if he be paid,"³ so that the trouble there seems to have resulted only from the manager's inability to pay the five or ten pounds which were probably required.⁴ By 1633, however, licenses were not to be had freely, even though the applicants were able to pay. In that year witnesses stated that the Bradshawe license had been sold in turn to at least three different managers, and that Bradshawe "gave 20s. in earnest for this commission, and was to pay either 10*l.* or 20*l.*"⁵ It must be remembered that in order to gain legal standing, a company besides paying its license fee had to find some nobleman willing to lend it his name or "countenance."

¹ Kelly, *Notices of the Drama at Leicester*, p. 213.

² See my dissertation, chapter 6, section 4.

³ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 164; Collier, *Annals*, II, 48-49. "Raising" means "renewal."

⁴ If we may judge from the rates charged the city companies. The sum in question (between \$200 and \$400 in our money, allowance being made for the greater purchasing power of Elizabethan money) was no small item for those days and circumstances.

⁵ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 165.

Minor companies doubtless experienced difficulty in finding such patrons. At all events, more or less illegitimate trading in players' licenses had come to be a considerable annoyance to the authorities at least ten years before the Bradshawe case, for in 1622 we find Pembroke, the Lord Chamberlain, writing to provincial officials to forbid transactions whereby irresponsible companies, for "whome such grants & lycences were nev^r. intended are suffered to have free passage."¹ The stealing of plays and licenses was symptomatic of the keen competition among the travelling players. Some allowance for the sharp practice then in vogue may well be made, however, in view of the fact that the players had not only to compete with rivals of their own "quality," but also with hordes of jugglers, exhibitors of puppet-shows, dancers, sleight-of-hand artists, and miscellaneous performers of all kinds. And there were other difficulties.

It was formerly believed that the Puritan opposition was not serious in the provinces,² but the contrary is true. The documents prove beyond a doubt that many towns made holiday when the players came, and supported them in something of the same spirit that still finds expression in the receptions accorded to Chautauqua organizations in our own rural districts. But the documents prove just as clearly that from about 1600 to the closing of the theaters in 1642 the Puritan opposition in the provinces as well as in London became increasingly troublesome. Indeed, certain notoriously puritanical towns had come to be bywords among the players even in the first decades of the seventeenth century. Banbury, the scene of Bradshawe's troubles, was so prominent an offender that Ben Jonson in *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) freely labels Zeal-of-the-Land Busy "a Banbury man." Later in the play, when the elder feels called upon to rehearse all the stock arguments against tolerance for the players, the poet scathingly enlarges upon Busy's "Banbury vapours."³ The University of Cambridge, as early as 1592, protested to the Privy Council because certain players, in defiance of

¹ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 351-52.

² Murray (*Modern Philology*, II, 557) held this view, and took sharp exception to Courthope's position in this connection (*History of English Poetry*, IV, 391).

³ V, 3.

orders prohibiting their appearance within five miles of the University, "sett vp their bills" upon the very gates of the colleges.¹ In 1604 the Duke of Lenox wrote to "all maiors and Justices of the peas" to urge forbearance of opposition to his "servants . . . in the exercise of their plays,"² but in that very year the town of Cambridge once more forbade all plays, in order to put a stop to the corruption of manners "in the younger sort."³ Exeter in 1618 took similar action on the ground that "those who spend their money on plays are ordinarily very poor people,"⁴ and so did Norwich in 1623, "by reason of the want of worke for the poor & in respect of the contagion feared and for many other causes."⁵ In short, it is clear that such towns as Exeter, Dover, Barnstaple, Canterbury, and Plymouth, which until about 1610 had supported visiting players with numerous grants from their town funds, practically closed their doors to them thereafter. In some cases, however, the towns were still willing to pay them gratuities "for putting them off," that is, "for not suffering them to play"⁶—in short, to speed them on their way elsewhere with a fee meant to express the town's respect for the patron who had lent his name to the players: "for their L. and Mr. his sake," as a Norwich entry has it.⁷ Barnstaple between 1618 and 1637 allowed but two companies to play, whereas eleven companies were bought off "to ridd the Towne of them." Dover after 1610 made payment for but two town plays, though it records thirty-five gratuities "upon benevolence . . . to dept. the cittie & not to play," and Canterbury took much the same action.⁸ Many towns remained open to the players until the close of our period, but the evidence here cited certainly indicates that in its later decades the Puritan opposition

¹ *Malone Society Collections*, I, 2, 191–202. Both universities, of course, furnished dramatic entertainment from time to time to Elizabeth and her successors, but the authorities did not take kindly to the professional players until Restoration times. Cf. *Mal. Soc. Coll.*, I, 3, 247, and W. J. Lawrence, *Elizabethan Playhouse*, II, 192.

² Warner, *Cat. Dulwich Coll. MSS.*, p. 27.

³ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 220 ff.

⁴ Collier, I, 369; Fleay, *op. cit.*, pp. 310–21; Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 6, 253–54.

⁵ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 347.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 270, 258.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 25, 337.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 197–200, 258–67, 221–34.

made the struggle for existence much severer for the travelling companies than it had been.

These were the decades also when they felt most strongly the competition of showmen not connected with the legitimate drama. In some of the town records the payments to the regular companies are almost entirely crowded out by rewards granted to manipulators of "Italian motions" or puppet-shows—the "movies" of Elizabethan times—and to miscellaneous tricksters and jugglers. The Coventry records for the years 1624 to 1642 are particularly illuminating in this connection. During these years the town allowed payment for many interesting entertainments on the occasion of the first appearance of the artists in question. Thus it granted 3s. 4d. to one Richard Thompson, "who had a commission to play the Worlds wonder," and 12s. to three performers "who had a motion to shew expressing the worlds abuses." Still better fared Christopher Thomson, who "came with Commission to shew the Creation of the world" and won an official reward of 13s. 4d. "Walter Neare that went about to show a child borne without armes," and "a soldier that tossed a Pike at the Crosse before Mr. Maior and his Bretheren," made a less favorable impression and got but 2s. 6d. and 18d., respectively. Other performers did better. "An Italian that thrust himself under the side to make experiment of his oyle," Bartholomew Cloys "for shewing a musical organ with divers strang and rare motions," and "one John Shepheard . . . who came wth. commission to shew a sow with 6 hoggs," drew five or six shillings each, whereas during the same years the town repeatedly paid but two or three shillings by way of reward for official first performances by regular dramatic companies. Between 1636 and 1642 Coventry made thirteen payments to tricksters such as the gentleman with the sow and hogs and divers other strange and rare motions, and but ten payments for legitimate plays.¹

The actors, however, were quick to respond to the demands of their public, and soon began to appear with certain "special" or "added" attractions of their own. Thus "the Kings Players

¹ For the materials quoted see Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 235-54, and II, 340 for similar items at Norwich.

and hocus pocus" arrived in Coventry in 1638 (the year of Mr. Richard Thompson and the World's Wonder, and but one year before John Shepherd and his hogs) and the King's Men and their assisting artist led all the rest, for the town fathers gave them a reward of 20s.¹ Meanwhile the players "of the Earle of Essex & the Turk"—without question another redoubtable tumbler or juggler—had earned a fee of 40s. elsewhere.² From Marlowe to Shakspeare and Jonson, the playwrights rebelled at the low conceits which clownage keeps in pay—the antics of the clowns and buffoons which the astonishing elasticity of Elizabethan taste applauded and supported almost as liberally as it did its Tamberlaines, its Alchemists, and its Hamlets. It was left for Ben Jonson to express most clearly the playwrights' objection to the growing taste for jugglery and buffoonery which signalized the period of the decline. "Do they think this pen can juggle?" inquires Damn-Play in *The Magnetic Lady* (1632); "I would we had Hokos-pokos for 'em, then, or Travitanto Tudesco."³

The players learned to meet in still another way the difficulties created by the ever increasing competition for the favor of the public. We have seen what happened when Worcester's Men and Tilney's simultaneously claimed the plaudits and the shillings of the city of Worcester in 1583. Later companies realized that co-operation may at times be more profitable than competition and court proceedings. They hit upon the simple expedient of joining forces, doubtless with an eye to the advertising value of an arrangement which may have been forced upon them by sheer necessity. Such arrangements had, indeed, high precedent in their favor. Thus the two leading companies of London, the Admiral's Men and the Chamberlain's Men, are known to have played together before Queen Elizabeth in 1586.⁴ From the records of Newcastle-on-Tyne we learn that its town fathers enjoyed a similar distinction not long after, for in 1593 they granted the sum of 30s. "to my Lord Admiralls plaiers and my Lord Morleis plaiers being all in one

¹ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 253.

² *Ibid.*, I, 313.

³ I, 1. Tudesco was a famous Italian juggler. For another allusion to Hokos-pokos, see *The Staple of News*, II, 1.

⁴ Halliwell-Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

company.”¹ So too when on March 20, 1616, trouble threatened between the advance agents of Queen Anne’s Men and the representatives of “the Prince’s servants,” who came on the same day to book their companies with the authorities of Norwich, the matter was compromised, “and theise two companys” together were given “leave to play fflower days this next weke.”² Other cases of this sort are on record, but sufficient evidence has been cited to establish our general point—that competition was keen, that the players had at times to face sharp rivalry from non-legitimate performers and strong opposition from the authorities, but that, on the whole, they learned to adapt themselves to the situation. It remains to examine the evidence concerning the expenses and the income of the provincial companies, their methods of financing their trips, and the manner of their reception by the towns they visited.

Since the provinces had no playhouses properly speaking, the travelling players were not required to find money for the building and upkeep of theaters, as were their London colleagues.³ Like them, however, their sharers had to provide capital for the expenses of production—costuming, playwrights’ fees, lighting, the wages of the inferior actors or “hirelings”—and for travelling expenses. We have already seen that in such humble organizations as that of Bradshawe the whole burden rested upon the single manager and owner, who likewise appropriated any profit that might be earned. *Henslowe’s Diary* indicates clearly, however, that when the stronger companies went on tour their actor-sharers raised money toward the company equipment fund much as they sometimes did on preparing for a London season. On May 3, 1593, Henslowe notes that his nephew, Francis Henslowe, borrowed from him the sum of 15*l*. “for *his share* to the Quenes players when they broke & went into the contrey.”⁴ Two years later came a loan of 9*l*. “for *his halfe share* with the company wch. he dothe play wth.,”⁵ and still a third entry, probably of the year 1604, shows Henslowe lending his

¹ See Richard Welford, 10 *Notes & Queries*, XII, 222.

² Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 340.

³ For a full discussion of London playhouse and company finance see chapters 2 and 6 of my dissertation.

⁴ *Diary*, I, 4.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 6.

nephew 7*l.* to "goyn wth. owld Garland & symcockes & sauery when they played in the duckes nam at ther last goinge owt."¹ This entry does not necessarily indicate that only Garland, Simcock, and Savery were young Henslowe's fellow-sharers when the Duke's Men went on tour in 1604. We shall see in a moment that respectable travelling companies averaged some six or eight full sharers. Since Francis Henslowe borrowed 15*l.* and 9*l.* for his "share" and "half-share" respectively, it would follow that the travelling companies of which he was a member started with a capital of 100 to 150*l.* or its equivalent in properties. From other sources it appears that a single share in the stock of Worcester's Men, a travelling company in 1589, sold for 37*l.* 10*s.*²—in other words, that the total stock of that company was probably worth some 200*l.* Provincial playgoers in their own degree were as fond of gorgeous costume and expensive show as the gallants and groundlings of the metropolis.³ Moreover, the cost of Elizabethan theatrical apparel was so high⁴ that a capital of 100 to 200*l.* would have been none too much to provide the necessary equipment and to leave a working reserve for travelling expenses. "Our companie is greate," complain the Lord Chamberlain's Men in 1592, "and thearbie our *chardge intollerable in travellinge the countrie*, and the contynuanee therof wilbe a meane to bring us to division and separation."⁵

Not the least difficult of the problems to be faced by the managers of the travelling companies must have been that of limiting expenses by keeping down the number of actors. Their plays required such large casts—Shakspeare's, for example, averaging twenty-five speaking parts—that it must have been difficult to draw the line between the conflicting demands of the stage and business managers. Murray puts the usual number of actors in a travelling company of any importance at about ten or eleven,⁶ and this estimate will serve as well as any that could be reached. It

¹ *Ibid.*, I, 160; II, 267.

² Collier, *Memoirs of Edward Alleyn*, p. 4. Cf. *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 130.

³ See *Malone Soc. Coll.*, I, 247–59; Dibdin, *Annals of the Edinburgh Stage*, pp. 8–9; Collier, *Annals*, I, 9; Kelly, *Notices of the Drama at Leicester*, pp. 19, 24, 61. On silk robes used by travelling players, see quotation from Peele's *Jests*, below, p. 503.

⁴ See chapter 6 of my dissertation.

⁵ Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 11; Murray, *E.D.C.*, I, 88; II, 127–28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I, 88.

may be worth while, however, to give some indication of the evidence on the subject. The earliest companies, naturally, were the smallest, unless we except the obscure strollers of later times. Thus we learn from the Household Book of Lord Howard, afterward Duke of Norfolk, that this nobleman "on Crystemas daye [1482] gaff to *IIII* players of my Lord Gloucestres" the sum of 3s. 4d.,¹ and the strollers who entertain More and Erasmus in *Sir Thomas More* (ca. 1599) manage with "Foure men and a boy."² An equal economy of means is practiced by Sir Oliver Owlet's Men in *Histrion-Mastix*. Sir Oliver's Men number "but four or five"—whereby, as the poet Posthaste remarks, "they are the liker to thrive."³

Posthaste to the contrary notwithstanding, the town records prove that the more thriving companies had larger resources in man power, though the number of actors varies from town to town and from year to year. "My lorde Sussex players, *being VI* men," appeared at Ludlow in 1570,⁴ and the travelling license of the Chamberlain's Men for 1593 enumerates seven performers, though the list is probably incomplete.⁵ Worcester's Men at Norwich in 1583 had at least ten "Players & servants," and "the lady Elizabeth's Players" at Plymouth in 1618 employed the respectable number of "20 persons, wch. had the King's hand for playing as well by night as by day."⁶ Other entries place the number of actors at 6, 8, 10, 13, 15, 16, and 18, respectively,⁷ and the average lies between 10 and 12. We may add that the Lady Elizabeth's Company of twenty probably included six or eight hirelings, whose demands upon the company treasury would have been moderate even if they received something more than bread and meat by way of remuneration. Henslowe once more helps us here, for Edward Alleyn's transcript of one of his father-in-law's entries shows that in at least one case a hireling expressly agreed to accept, while playing in the country, one-half of his London wages of 10s. a week.⁸

¹ Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

² IV, 1, 53.

³ I, 1, 154.

⁴ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 324.

⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 88; Halliwell-Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁶ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 336, 385.

⁷ *Ibid.*, II, 333, 103, 254-55.

⁸ Henslowe agreed to give William Kendall (Dec. 8, 1597) "everl week of his playing in london Xs, & in ye cuntrie Vs" (*Diary*, I, XLIX).

Our materials make possible a somewhat more definite view of the income than of the expenses of the provincial companies. We shall see that in spite of the "intollerable chardge" they had to meet, when conditions were favorable their sharers had something to look forward to besides the "chees and buttermilke" at which Dekker scornfully put their part in the gains.¹

The evidence, in fact, proves conclusively that the players frequently enjoyed much more substantial cheer, and with it certainly more comfort than fell to the lot of Dekker in his all too frequent sojourns in the prisons of London. "Wine & chirries," "junktets & bankets," "dynner wth beere & bysketts" and "musyck" and much good "sacke"—such items appear with pleasing regularity in the expense accounts of the town fathers who provided the players with these sound refreshments at the public charge "to welcome them to towne" or to wish them God-speed with "a breakfaste at their depture."; all this perhaps after making additional provision for the purchase of certain "loads of coal" and "links for lights"—"to keep the actors warm"—and properly illuminated, one is tempted to add, in case the sack ran short.² The custom is worth something more than passing notice. These "junktets with Mr. Mair and his brotherne"³ did not in themselves perhaps represent a large credit item on the books of the company business manager, but they speak eloquently of the hearty reception accorded the players in normal times. Possibly these feasts did not provide for more than an occasional change from Dekker's "chees and buttermilke," and yet they came often enough to win the notice of still another redoubtable commentator upon the life of the times. Ben Jonson has Cokes in *Bartholomew Fair* score a point for the puppets, the actors of the "Italian motions," over "the great players": "I like 'em for that . . . there goes not so much charge to the feasting of them, or making them drunk, as to the other, by reason of their littleness."⁴

¹ See above, p. 491.

² See Dibdin, *op. cit.*, p. 9; Richard Welford, 10 *Notes & Queries*, XII, 222; Watts, *Theatrical Bristol*, p. 4; G. D. Rendel, *Newcastle-on-Tyne*, p. 10; and Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 259, 380, 392, 362, 365, 324, 228-31, etc. Murray (*Modern Philology*, II, 548) notes that the towns "sometimes" paid for the players' ale or wine, but does not indicate that the practice was widespread and well established.

³ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 220.

⁴ V, 3.

The drinkings and banquetings, moreover, made but a part of the substantial advantages derived by the players from the public receptions given them by the towns they visited. Many years ago Malone called attention to the fact that the town fathers regularly attended the opening performance in state, and rewarded the actors from the public funds. The documents bearing on this point have been repeatedly discussed,¹ but they may be made to yield more information than has yet appeared. Malone's quotation from R. Willis' *Mount Tabor* (1659) deserves repetition here:

In the city of Gloucester the manner is (as I think it is in other like corporations) that when players of enterludes come to towne, they first attend the Mayor, to enforme him what nobleman's servants they are, and so to get license to play their first play before himself and the Aldermen and Common Counsell of the city, *and that is called the Mayor's play: where everyone that will comes in without money, the Mayor giving the players a reward as he thinks fit to shew respect unto them.*²

The passage is indispensable—but not altogether trustworthy, nor does it tell the whole story. It may well be supplemented by an entry from the Leicester records of the year 1553, which indicates that Mr. Mayor and the aldermen did not always stand upon ceremony, but on at least one occasion were quite ready to honor the players at a moment's notice, even though they had to sacrifice an official dinner of good vension upon the altar of Thalia or Melpomene. In that year the Council made allowance "for the expences that went to the buck that my lady of Huntynghton gave to the XLVIII,³ which was ordeyned at the hall for the Company & they cam not because of the play that was in the Church."⁴

It is well to bear in mind the advertising value of these public receptions and official first performances over and above the rewards in pounds, shillings, and pence. Indeed, a further word on theatrical advertising in the country may be in order before we seek to estimate the earnings of the players from official grants and popular "gatherings."

¹ Cf. Murray, *Modern Philology*, II, 539-59.

² Malone, *op. cit.*, III, 28.

³ I.e., the town council.

⁴ Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

I have already referred to the custom of sending advance agents to make the necessary arrangements, and to that of posting bills to advertise plays.¹ A more spectacular part of the Elizabethan publicity man's work was to arrange for circus processions through the towns to announce the presence of the players. Many a hireling in his time "led the drum before the English comedians"² in their travels through provincial England, sometimes against the wishes of the authorities. We have seen that in 1583 Worcester's Men went with drum and trumpet through the town of Leicester in defiance of its mayor,³ and there is evidence of the same sort of high-handed procedure in Dover and even in London itself.⁴ The advertising methods of the travelling company in *Histrion-Mastix* are of particular interest because, in this case the instrumentalists of the company are not the only ones called upon to trumpet forth the quality of its wares. The players have just arrived in the market-place of a small town, where a crowd is gathered to bargain for country produce. One of the actors "steppes on the crosse and cryes 'A Play.'" He then illustrates our point and enables us to pass from the consideration of advertising methods to the counting of the gains, as follows:

All they that can sing and say
Come to the Towne-house and see a play,
At three o'clock it shall beginne—
The finest play that ere was seene;
Yet there is one thing more in my mind:
*Take heed you leave not your purses behind.*⁵

The last line of this passage indicates that a first performance—a "town-play," as it is called in *Histrion-Mastix*—with all its official sanction and reward was not necessarily a performance "where everyone that will comes in without money," as the *Mount Tabor* passage has it. That it was sometimes free to the public appears from such records as those of Newcastle-on-Tyne for the year 1593,

¹ See above, pp. 500 and 497, and cf. W. J. Lawrence, *op. cit.*, II, 55.

² *All's Well That Ends Well*, IV, 3, 244. Maurice Jonas, *Shakespeare and the Stage*, p. 233, states that this passage "puzzled" him, but its significance is obvious after all.

³ See above, p. 495.

⁴ Cf. Halliwell-Phillips, *op. cit.*, pp. 31-32; Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 342; and chapter 3 of my dissertation.

⁵ Act II.

when the town granted 3*l.* to Sussex's Men "in full paymente . . . for playing a free play."¹ On the other hand, Murray has justly called attention to several entries covering official payments at Leicester which distinctly state that these were "over and above that was gathered" from the public at the doors.² And there is other evidence to the same effect.³ We shall try to determine in a moment just what amounts the players derived from these town fees and public gatherings. Meanwhile we must note that Murray's attempt to decide this point on the basis of the Leicester entries for 1590 leads to unacceptable conclusions. One of these entries reads as follows: "Received of John Underwood, the Mayor's Sergeant, which was by him received of the *Mayors Brethren*⁴ for 6 plays and one Bear Baiting—44*s.*" From this and certain other entries Murray infers that such items as the 44*s.* represent *the public gathering* over and above the town fee, and he concludes that the average takings at the door "seem to have been about 7*s.*," while the official rewards "vary from 10*s.* to 40*s.*"⁵ It is difficult to believe that the players could have managed with such small average takings as 7*s.*, for we must bear in mind that the extra town fee was paid only for the first performance. Moreover, a highly advertised first performance must have drawn at least as large a public gathering as any that might be expected at subsequent plays, so that if we are to accept Murray's interpretation of these entries it would follow that a 7*s.* house was the best the players might expect at any time. But this interpretation is not valid. Murray for the moment overlooked the Leicester ordinance of 1566, which provided that "everyone of the *Mayors brethren* and of the forty-eight, being required to be [at the town play] shall bear everyone of them his . . . portion." This ordinance was passed because "the town stock has been much decayed by giving of great gifts."⁶ Later council orders reiterated the provision that the aldermen must raise the town reward from their own pockets, and other towns took the

¹ See Richard Welford, 10 *Notes & Queries*, XII, 222.

² See *Modern Philology*, II, 547, and Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 194, 227.

³ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 202.

⁴ The italics are mine.

⁵ *Mod. Phil.*, II, 553-54.

⁶ Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 95.

same action.¹ There can be no doubt that the entries Murray has mistaken for the totals of the public gatherings, represent merely certain contributions of "the mayor's brethren" toward the town fee. The town officials had no interest in the public gatherings, and their records throw no light upon that part of the players' income.

A passage from *Ratsey's Ghost* (1606), a pamphlet celebrating the adventures of the redoubtable Gamaliell Ratsey, highwayman, does contribute certain information on this subject. Ratsey, we are told, fell in one day with a travelling company—"heard their play and seemed to like that . . . and verie liberally . . . gave them *fortie shillings*, with which they held themselves richly satisfied, for they scarce had *twentie shilling audience* . . . for a play in the country."² Ratsey, to be sure, immediately after relieved the players of their 40s. and also forced them to make him "a desperate tender of their stock," yet it is comforting to reflect upon the margin of difference between their usual 20s. receipts and the seven of Murray's estimate. Indeed a gathering of 40s. was probably by no means beyond the ken of the players. One of the *Jests* of George Peele (1607) may serve for further testimony on this point. According to the story, Peele had stayed in Bristol "somewhat longer than his coin would last him," his hard-hearted landlord thereupon attaching the poet's horse for security. A fortunate turn of circumstance enabled Peele and his Pegasus to beat a strategic but very successful retreat:

It so fortun'd that certain players came to the town . . . to whom George Peele was well known, being in that time an excellent poet. . . . There were not past three of the company come . . . the rest were behind . . . so that night they could not enact, which George hearing had presently a stratagem in his head. . . . He goes directly to the Mayor, tells him he . . . had a certain history of *The Knight of the Rhodes*, desiring the mayor that he with his presence . . . would grace his labours. The mayor agreed to it . . . but for himself he could not be there being in the evening, but . . . very liberally gave him an angel. . . . About his business [Peele] goes . . . hired the players' apparel to flourish out his show, promising to pay them liberally, and withal desired them they would favor him so much as to gather him his money at the door . . . George in the meantime, with the ten shillings he had of the

¹ Bridgenorth did, for example. See Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 206.

² Halliwell-Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 85.

Mayor, delivered his horse out of Purgatory. . . . By this time the audience were come *and some forty shillings gathered*, which money George put in his purse, and, putting on one of the players silk robes after the trumpet had sounded thrice . . . *down stairs goes he*, gets to his horse, and so with forty shillings to London: leaves the players to answer it.¹

Even a gathering of 40s. was only about a quarter of the average takings at the London playhouses,² and the probabilities are that the travelling companies occasionally drew much more.³ The records of Bristol, the scene of Peele's fabled exploit, prove, at any rate, that they sometimes succeeded very well indeed in their efforts to attract a full audience. In 1576 the town paid 5s. 1d. for repairing the guildhall door and replacing "the cramp of yren weh was stretched wth. the press of people at the play of my Lord Chamberleyne's survts before Mr. Mayor and thaldermen."⁴ Again, though travelling charges may have been "intollerable," the cost of living was much lower in the country than in London.⁵ We shall see presently, moreover, that the travelling players frequently doubled their earnings by giving two performances a day. And they had no playhouse charges to meet, for the town-hall, or sometimes the church, was to be had gratis. Queen Anne's warrant to her players in 1605 specifically commands all officers of towns and municipalities to "affourd them your Townehalls" or other suitable quarters for acting, "that they may be in better readiness for our service,"⁶ and the licenses of the King's and the Prince's Men call for the same privilege.⁷ Some of the towns objected to the custom. Chester, for example, in 1615, took exception to "the common scandall of late incurred by admittinge of Stage Plaiers to act their obscene and unlawful plays in the comon hall of the Citie, thereby convertinge the same, beinge

¹ See Bullen's *Peele*, II, 389; Watts, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-11.

² See my article on "Shakspere's Income," *Studies in Philology*, XV, 89.

³ A play produced in Malden, Essex, brought total receipts of over 7l. in 1540 (A. Clark, 10 *Notes & Queries*, VII, 182). See also Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 388, on average receipts of 2l. 16s. at St. Ives, Cornwall.

⁴ Watts, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁵ On comparative costs and wages see the extensive materials in Nichols' *Progresses* (Elizabeth and James) and cf. Feuillerat, *Revels Documents, Elizabeth*, p. 257; Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 214.

⁶ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 400.

⁷ *Malone Soc. Coll.*, I, 268-69, 281.

appointed for the judicial hearinge of criminal offenses, into a stage for players and receptacle for idle persons."¹ Southampton and Worcester likewise objected,² and Mayor Simon of Queenborough, whom we have met earlier in this paper, was also of the opposition party. The players have asked his permission to give the usual official performance. "In the town-hall?" he queries; "'tis ten to one I never grant them that. . . . If my house will not serve their turn I would fain see the proudest he lend them a barn."³ Most of the towns, however, did not object at all. The communities which delighted to entertain the players with good ale and wine and substantial dinners felt no hardship in welcoming them to their town-halls. At worst, when the business of the town pre-empted its hall, most of them probably followed the example of Coventry and Leicester and allowed the players special grants to cover their expenditure in providing quarters elsewhere.⁴

Our summary of the evidence concerning the size of the public gatherings, and the non-chargeable item of playing facilities brings us back to the question of the receipts from official fees at first performances. The town treasurers scrupulously record the amounts they expended for this purpose, and we are not compelled to seek our information in out-of-the-way places, as in the case of the unofficial but really much more important item of public gatherings. We have seen that the gifts of the city of Leicester, about 1590, ranged from 10s. to 40s. Naturally, as one surveys the whole of the provincial accounts, a much larger variation appears. The lowest payments on record are two of 4d. each—the rewards of the town of Gloucester to Sir Andrew Fortescue's Players in 1560, and of Plymouth to Lord Mounteagle's Men in 1575.⁵ Other small fees, of 11d., 2s., 3s. 4d., 5s., and 6s. 8d., are recorded,⁶ but as a rule

¹ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 235.

² *Ibid.*, II, 395, 409.

³ *The Mayor of Queenborough*, V, 1.

⁴ See Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 254, and Kelly, *op. cit.*, p. 226. It is interesting to note that the town-hall of Leicester was used for the presentation of plays until 1722, when a statutory prohibition put an end to the custom (Kelly, p. 273).

⁵ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 276–86, 383.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 200–205, 196, 197, 220, 256, 273. Murray, who collected much of this material, doubted the authenticity of an entry for the payment of 3s. to Lord Willoughby's Men at Coventry in 1612. He believed this sum too "niggardly" to be accurate, but the weight of his own evidence throws this view absolutely out of court. See Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 75.

these payments either came comparatively early in our period or went to companies of small repute. The great majority of the town rewards ranged from 10s. to 2*l*.¹ At the other end of the scale we find such towns as Newcastle-on-Tyne, Plymouth, Norwich, Worcester, and Coventry, occasionally granting the large² fees of 3*l*., 3*l*. 6s., and even 4*l*.³ One of the Bristol entries indicates that this town on one occasion allowed a definite amount for each actor in the company which entertained the council. In the year 1581 the treasurer paid Lord Oxford's Men "being i man and ix boys at iis. a piece the sum of xxs."⁴ but this rather blind method of fixing the reward of artistic endeavor does not appear elsewhere in the records. Both Collier and Kelly believed that the town rewards to the players were minutely graded according to the rank and prestige of their patrons.⁵ Murray qualifies this view by noting that the records show no particular differentiation between the payments to companies patronized by the greater and the lesser nobles, but he follows Kelly to the extent of holding that "those companies patronized by royalty and one or two of the more famous noblemen always received the greatest amount."⁶ This was generally but not "always" the case. I find, for example, that the reward of the King's Men at Coventry in November, 1627, was but 2s. 6*d*., whereas the same town fifty-two years earlier had paid Warwick's Men, an organization of much less prestige, the sum of 30s.⁷ Again, the accounts of Smithills, Lancashire, for 1612 record a payment of 50s. to Lord Mounteagle's Players, the same company which had drawn but 4*d*. from Plymouth some years earlier.⁸ Smithills, further, paid Strafford's Men 40s. in 1612, and but 3s. 4*d*. when they returned five years later, and Doncaster, which had granted Leicesters Men 20s. for a performance in 1574, gave but 10s. to the King's

¹ See the records of Dover, Bristol, Doncaster, Worcester, York, or any of the towns, in Murray's collections, *E.D.C.*, II, and compare Kelly, Watts, and other collections of extracts from the town records.

² See above, p. 495, note 4.

³ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 335, 358, 380, 412-13, 235.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 215.

⁵ Collier, *Annals*, I, 84; Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-27.

⁶ *Modern Philology*, II, 553.

⁷ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 235 ff.

⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 220.

Men in 1633.¹ As a rule the companies under the patronage of the royal family or the great nobles fared best, but the evidence indicates that many of the towns practiced a refreshing eclecticism in apportioning their rewards—that on occasion at least they paid most liberally the companies whose acting pleased them most, irrespective of their patrons. The evidence indicates also that town fees increased gradually in the course of our period, and that in the ordinary course of events local prosperity or hard times were reflected in the rewards granted the players.

A word may be added concerning the gratuities often paid by the towns when for one reason or another they did not permit the players to "enact."² The amounts cover about the same range as the payments for official first performances. Thus "Lord Dakers his Players who did not play" at Leicester in 1592 received 5s., "the King's Players who played not" drew 20s. there in 1621, and in the same year Queen Anne's Men were bought off with a gratuity of 30s.³ The records of Leicester contain thirty-seven entries for the payment of similar gratuities, but the players were not always to be bought off. In 1585, for instance, Norwich refused Essex's Men permission to act "for fear of . . . infeccon," but "for their L. and Mr. his sake" allowed them a gratuity of 26s. 8d. The actors pocketed the money—and then calmly proceeded to play at the inn. The city fathers thereupon solemnly voted to withhold all future rewards from the culprits, only to prove a little later that they knew how to forgive and forget. Within four years the offending company received another reward of 20s. by order of the mayor.⁴ Curiously enough, the gratuities paid "for sending them out of the city" were sometimes larger than the fees for the official performances. Barnstaple, for example, allowed the Prince's Men 40s. "for not playing" in 1621, and only 30s. for a town play the next year.⁵ Certain of the poorer companies seem to have been quite content to pocket their gratuities and to go on their way rejoicing.

¹ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 256.

² See above, p. 497.

³ Kelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 226, 255.

⁴ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 336-37.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 199. See also II, 341-42, etc., for gratuities of 2l., 3l. 6s., etc.

The Norwich records of 1614 make mention of certain players who, "being demaunded wherefore their comeinge was, sayd they came not to ask leave to play But to aske the gratuetie of the Cytty."¹ Even substantial gratuities, however, could have offered but small compensation to the better companies for the loss of the takings of an extended stay. Indeed the records show that several companies absolutely refused to accept the gratuities offered them. Instead, on the strength of their licenses they defied the authorities and "enacted."²

Another matter deserves attention here—the number of performances the companies gave on an average visit,³ and this involves the question of evening performances. Murray noted that the players sometimes gave their entertainment in the evening, but he believed that "their usual time of performance was in the afternoon, as in London."⁴ The weight of the evidence indicates, however, not only that evening performances were the rule rather than the exception, but that the companies often played twice a day. Pembroke's Men at Norwich, for example, in the year 1598, got "lycens to use their facultie *two days and two nights* and not to use the same after nyne of the clock on either night." In 1610 this town allowed the Queen's Men to stay for one week on condition that they keep the Sabbath "nor [give] *more then one play a day*."⁵ Again, the Plymouth records for 1618 testify that the Lady Elizabeth's Men "had the King's hand for playing *as well by night as by day*,"⁶ and Richard Heton's draft for his patent as governor of the Queen's Men in 1635 provides for the same privilege. Heton stipulates that his company when in the country shall be free to perform "at all tyme or tymes (the tyme of Divine Service only excepted) *before or after supper*. . . ."⁷ Many of the towns objected strongly to the

¹ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 339.

² *Ibid.*, II, 347, 356.

³ Murray (*Modern Philology*, II, 555) states that he was unable to determine "how long a company would remain in a town" and "how many performances it would give . . . as the town records deal almost exclusively with the single performance in which the . . . authorities were financially interested." His later documents, and others, answer the question.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 551.

⁵ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 337–39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 385.

⁷ Cunningham, *Shakspeare Soc. Papers*, IV, 99.

disturbances which frequently accompanied evening performances. "Consideringe . . . the many disorders which by reason of plaies acted in the night time doe oftentime happen"—more particularly the rioting of apprentices—the town of Chester in 1615 felt obliged to forbid acting after six o'clock at night.¹ It is interesting to note that Canterbury, which in 1636 complained that its citizens were unable to "restrain their servants from being at the plays till near Midnight," some sixty years earlier had gone so far as to allow certain companies extra money to pay for "candells & torches . . . at the play."² Such allowances were made from time to time also at Dover, Newcastle, and Bristol.³ In short, it is clear that the custom of giving evening performances—or, in many cases, two a day—was very well established indeed.⁴

Some of our citations have touched not only upon the matter of double performances but also upon the length of the company's stay for any one visit. Considerable additional information on this point is available. We know, for example, that the companies occasionally played at great private houses for but one or two performances,⁵ that the Norwich authorities in 1587 paid Leicester's Men 40s. on condition that "they play not above II times," and that the Queen's Men in 1600 successfully petitioned for leave to play there four days, whereas Huntington's Men and Hertford's were allowed three days each in the same town that year, the Lady Elizabeth's three days in 1617, and the Duke's Men eight days in 1614.⁶ The 1618 patent of the Queen's Men authorized them to "play in any one place [not] above fourteen days together."⁷ Twenty-three years earlier Canterbury had passed an ordinance which allowed but two performances to any one company, no company to visit the town more than once a month.⁸ Restrictive measures of this sort sometimes caused trouble. When the Lady

¹ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 235.

² *Ibid.*, I, 275; II, 222, 227; cf. *Cal. State Papers*, 1636.

³ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 261, 335, 214.

⁴ Cf. T. S. Graves, *Studies in Philology*, XIV, 103.

⁵ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 296.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 337-40, 344-45.

⁷ Collier, *Annals*, I, 413, note.

⁸ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 233.

Elizabeth's Men came to Norwich in March, 1617, with the king's authority to play for fourteen days in any one town, the city fathers demurred, for this company had been in town earlier that year. They compromised by giving the players "one whole weke & no longer . . . and they pmise . . . not to come agayne duringe this whole yeare."¹ Our evidence warrants the conclusion that the average stay of the companies was three or four days, though occasional visits lasted for a week or even two weeks, and that many of the companies played twice on each day of their stay.

But one question remains to be dealt with. How many plays and companies did the provincial towns of England see in the course of a year? Once more the records may be permitted to speak for themselves. Bath paid for at least four town plays each year from 1577 to 1598—that is to say, its citizens probably had the opportunity to see fifteen or twenty plays a year during this period.² From 1590 to the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign in 1603 Leicester was visited by four, five, or even six companies each season, and an average of four companies came during the reign of King James.³ Coventry paid for 304 official first performances between 1574 and 1642, distributing its largesse to some five different companies each year, with not a single year missing. And Stratford-on-Avon in 1587, about the time of Shakspeare's arrival in London, was entertained by four different companies.⁴ The list might be extended indefinitely. No additional figures or illustrations are needed, however, to show how great a hold the drama had upon the provinces, nor to drive home the fact that from them the players and their playwrights derived a very substantial part of the support that enabled them to live in their own day, and so, in the last analysis, for all time.

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¹ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 345.

² *Ibid.*, II, 200 ff. The calculations and summaries are my own.

³ See Kelly, *op. cit.*

⁴ Murray, *E.D.C.*, II, 235, 402.

THE EARLY POPULARITY OF MILTON'S MINOR POEMS—*Concluded*

III

There is hardly room here for a discussion of the theories of imitation prevalent in the years 1645-1740.¹ Luckily the large facts of the case are generally known. In the earlier part of this period imitation of classical *genres* was the duty of every poet. Such imitation produced "Paradise Lost," "Samson Agonistes," and dozens of lesser creations in the several approved "kinds." Meanwhile, there was relatively little attention to types struck out by modern or English poets. Such writers were mainly utilized as storehouses of excellent phrases, and their diction was frequently echoed by their successors. Hence the value of the phrasal digests made by such men as Poole, Bysshe, and Gildon. Borrowing phrases was not necessarily a covert proceeding, as Thomas Warton seems to have thought (*op. cit.*, pp. x, xi), though it was apparently more creditable to borrow from the ancients than from the moderns. The poet, if successful, made some new or clever application of the phrase borrowed, whereupon he was frequently content to advertise the fact by printing the source in a footnote, or by printing the borrowed phrase in italics. Early in the eighteenth century occasional quotation marks indicate borrowings, but this present-day method was then rare. In most of his poems, for example, Pope called attention to his classical borrowings—and decidedly less often to his English borrowings—in footnotes. Not late in the century the hold of the classical "kinds" on poets began to weaken, and imitations of various English and French poets became more frequent. The numberless imitations of Milton's minor poems, or, to be more exact, of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso" around 1750 do not necessarily imply a sudden awakening to the merits of these poems; the fact is merely that, Horace's *Satires* and Ovid's *Heroides*

¹ A very interesting comment on some phases of imitation may be found in the University of North Carolina *Studies in Philology*, XV, 195-206: "Imitation of Spenser and Milton in the early Eighteenth Century: a new Document," by R. S. Crane.

having had their day, poets moved on to Boileau, Fontenelle, La Fontaine, Spenser, Cowley, Butler, and Milton.

The early imitations of the minor poems here to be cited consist mainly of phrasal echoes. In fact, it is difficult to distinguish structural imitation of most of the poems, because they themselves follow well-established types. One cannot tell surely whether a pastoral elegy follows "Lycidas," Theocritus, Bion, Virgil, Sannazaro, or Spenser. Imitations of "L'Allegro," "Il Penseroso," and "Comus" are perhaps easiest to detect, a fact which may explain in part why more of them have been noted. Someone may observe that the parallels here noted are mainly later than 1700. It is true that the poetry read from the seventeenth century has yielded slight return, whereas the early eighteenth-century parallels seem inexhaustible.¹

Organization of the citations again is a problem. Since the passages from Milton are not to be printed, it seems wise to arrange the parallels in the order of the passages which they recall. This method, of course, is faulty because not infrequently two different Milton poems—sometimes three—are reflected in one passage.

A rough chronological summary may be given. From the seventeenth century there are parallels in the poems of at least eight different authors. The first decade of the eighteenth century has furnished about two dozen parallels from about twelve different sources; the second decade, thirty-five from twenty-four sources; the third, sixty-five from over thirty sources; the fourth, over thirty from less than twenty sources. There would be a total of about fifty different men, of all descriptions, echoing the minor poems in this period. Some poems cited are anonymous, and may be by the same author: this invalidates any rigidly exact summary in figures.

It may be useful also to mention together the individual poets of the period who were most notable borrowers from these poems. The earliest and most glaring case—in which borrowing becomes rank plagiarism—is the *Cyprian Academy* of Robert Baron (1647).

¹ Professor C. A. Moore in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIV, 278-81, has just pointed out interesting influences of the minor poems on W. Hinchliffe's "Seasons" (1718), which I have not seen. Hinchliffe justly seems an important link in the tradition leading from Milton to Thomson.

Thomas Warton (pp. 403-7) has cited sufficiently numerous parallels from this curious work. Baron drew perhaps most frequently from the "Comus," but he slighted nothing, using even the sonnets and the Marchioness of Winchester poem. The plagiarism was condemned; for in his *Pocula Castalia* (1650) in an Epigram to Momus (p. 124) Baron says:

My Book, like *Persius*, 'gainst the wall he hurries
Saying, *Dicitque tibi tua Pagina fur es.*

Another type of indebtedness is seen in the mid-century work of Andrew Marvell, who in his poem "Upon Appleton House" seems influenced by the structure of the two poems "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso." Grosart in his edition of Marvell points out that line 610 of this poem has the phrase "gadding vines" from "Lycidas," line 40. I have seen no other close verbal parallels.

In the earlier eighteenth century Pope is doubtless the most illustrious borrower of phrases from the minor poems, and Thomson is the most illustrious borrower of mood and detail. Others whose work was colored by the poems are John Hughes, whose "Calypso and Telemachus" is reminiscent of "Comus" in plot; Parnell, who has many pieces tinged with "Il Penseroso"; Moses Browne, whose "Piscatory Eclogues" (1727, 1739) are full of echoes; David Mallet, who blends Thomson with Milton; and William Hamilton, some of whose poems written before 1740 are very close to "Il Penseroso." Hamilton must have had an auditory rather than a visual memory for this poem, for in "Contemplation" he seems to have translated "black, staid Wisdom's hue" ("Il Penseroso," l. 16) into "Wisdom's black-stay'd train." This version is an extreme specimen of the "hash" poets made of these popular poems.

A. "L'ALLEGRO"

It is difficult to separate "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso," especially when it comes to substantial imitations. Gay, for instance, in his "Rural Sports" (1713), Canto I, follows "L'Allegro" (ll. 41-90) in lines 31-52, and then shifting, follows "Il Penseroso" (ll. 131-50; 51-76) in lines 53-90 and 105-14. Dyer in 1726 published "Grongar Hill" and "The Country Walk," which in a manner

are companion pieces after the model of these two Milton poems.¹ In "An Epistle from a Gentleman to his Friend in the Country" (in the *Bee* for April 26, 1733 [I, 542-43]) the emphasis is rather on "Il Penseroso" and the night details, but the resemblance is real. The *Gentleman's Magazine*, April, 1735 (V, 215), has a poem in the vein of "L'Allegro" written "To Sylvan Urban" recounting the pleasures of a day in the country. After noting these general, structural imitations, we may pass to consideration of imitations of specific passages of "L'Allegro."

Since the *procul este* and the invocation of the start seem very popular, two or three imitations of them need quotation. Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe in an early poem "To Mrs. Arabella Marrow, in the Country" writes (ll. 21 ff.):

Hence ye gilded toys of state,
Ye formal follies of the great,
Nor e'er disturb this peaceful seat;

and in Amintor's poem "On our Saviour's Nativity" in her *Letters moral and entertaining* (Letter XII, dated 1733) we read:

Fly, rigid Winter, with thy horid face.
And let the soft and lovely Spring take place;
Oh! come thou fairest season of the year,
With garlands deck'd and verdant robes appear.

John Hughes (d. 1720) in a paraphrase of Horace's "Integer vitae" went out of his way to write:²

Hence slavish Fear! thy *Stygian* Wings display!
Thou ugly Fiend of Hell, away!
Wrapp'd in thick Clouds, and Shades of Night,
To conscious Souls direct thy Flight!
There brood on Guilt, fix there a loath'd Embrace,
And propagate vain Terrors, Frights,
Dreams, Goblins, and imagin'd Sprights,
Thy visionary Tribe. . . .

¹ For Dyer's indebtedness to Milton see an article in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, XVI, 274-81, by Professor Garland Greever. In general, I save space by not citing persons who have pointed out parallels that I use. I am willing to disclaim any credit there may be in finding the parallels that are exclusively my own, if there be any credit; for I have no interest in the parallels as such—merely as proof that the poems paralleled were known and liked. It is only just, however, to mention with thanks the many editors of Pope, from Newton down; the edition of the "Seasons" by Zippel; G. C. Macaulay's *Life of Thomson*; Professor J. E. Wells's additions to Macaulay's lists of parallels (see *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, 60-61); and Mary Stuart Leather's article on "Pope as a Student of Milton" in *Eng. Stud.*, XXV, 400 ff.

² *Poems* (1735), I, 113.

Among briefer phrasal echoes of the opening passage may be noted the "Stygian caves" found in Thomson's "Upon Happiness" (l. 90); and the "low-brow'd rocks" of Pope's "Eloisa" (l. 244). A palpable copying of Milton's parentage of "heart-easing Mirth" (l. 13) appears in John Philips' "Cyder" (1708; Chalmers, VIII, 393-94):

Now solemn Rites he pays
To *Bacchus*, Author of Heart-cheering Mirth.

The invitation of "L'Allegro" (ll. 25-40) was also frequently imitated. Lines 25 and 26 are echoed in "The Happy Lover's Invocation to Night" (*Gent. Mag.*, III, 487):

Night! to lovers joys a friend,
Haste, and thy assistance lend;
Hasten, goddess, lock up day,
Bring the willing Nymph away

Isaac Hawkins Brown, avowedly imitating Swift, writes in Imitation VI of his "Pipe of Tobacco" (*Gent. Mag.*, VI, 105):

Come jovial pipe, and bring along
Midnight revelry and song.

Dr. Hoadly's "Verses under the Prints of Mr. Hogarth's Rake's Progress" (1735) used the minor poems for matter, and hence the lines under plate II may be quoted, though not especially close to "L'Allegro":

PLEASURE, in her silver throne,
Smiling comes, nor comes alone;
Venus comes with her along,
And smooth *Lyaeus* ever young;
And in their train, to fill the press,
Come apish *Dance*, and swoll'n *Excess*,
Mechanic *Honour*, vicious *Taste*,
And *Fashion* in her changing vest.

Philips' "Cyder" lists some figures familiar in the train of Mirth (Chalmers, VIII, 389):

Heav'n's sweetest Blessing, hail!
Be thou the copious Matter of my Song
And thy choice *Nectar*; on which always waits
Laughter, and Sport, and care-beguiling Wit

Parnell (d. 1718) had absorbed the minor poems before writing his eclogue "Health" (see Chalmers, IX, 361):

Come, country goddess, come; nor thou suffice,
But bring thy mountain-sister, Exercise.

Oh come, thou goddess of my rural song,
And bring thy daughter, calm Content along,
Dame of the ruddy cheek and laughing eye,
From whose bright presence clouds of sorrow fly

Now to grave books I bid the mind retreat

Green's "Grotto" in Dodsley's *Collection*, V, 162-63, exclaims:¹

Let not profane this sacred place,
Hypocrisy with Janus' face;

Or frolic Mirth profanely loud,
And happy only in a crowd;
Or Melancholy's pensive gloom,
Proxy in Contemplation's room.

William Hamilton in his "Contemplation" (written 1739) addresses Devotion, saying:

Sure thine to put to flight the boy
Of laughter, sport, and idle joy.

The landscape details of early morning are dangerously conventional, but either because of obvious resemblance or of Miltonic details in the context the following parallels seem quotable:

Before the yellow barn I see
A beautiful variety
Of strutting cocks, advancing stout.

[Dyer's "Country Walk," ll. 9-11. Cf. L'A.,
ll. 51-52.]

Here let me frequent roam, preventing morn,
Attentive to the cock, whose early throat,
Heard from the distant village in the vale,
Crows cheerly out, far-sounding through the gloom.

[Mallet's "Excursion" (1726) in Chalmers, XIV, 17. Cf.
L'A., l. 54, etc.]

¹ Cf. also "Il Penseroso," l. 54. Green's poem is advertised in Dodsley as "printed in the Year 1732, but never published."

Hygeia's sons with hound and horn,
And jovial cry awake the Morn.

[Green's "Spleen" (1737),¹ ll. 73-74. Cf. L'A.,
ll. 53-54.]

This part of "L'Allegro" is, as Professor J. E. Wells has indicated,² reflected in the details of Thomson's "Morning in the Country," especially in line 2, where

The morning springs in thousand liveries drest.

Moses Browne's "Piscatory Eclogues" (1st ed., 1727), as quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, VIII (1738), 432, show the conventional whistling ploughboy in a Miltonic manner:

The plow-boy, o'er the furrows whistles blith,
And in the mead the mower whets his syth.

And possibly John Philips' "Cyder" should also be quoted:

. this the Peasants blith
Will quaff, and whistle, as thy tinkling Team
They drive.

Milton's "russet lawns" and high embosoming trees (L'A., ll. 71, 78) are appealing; witness Pope's "Windsor Forest," ll. 23 and 27, Thomson's "Winter" (1726 version), l. 74, and a poem called "Stoke's Bay" in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, IX (1739), 263-64, which has:

Here the tall grove surrounds the rural seat,
There russet downs the distant view compleat.

Thomson's "Autumn" has also a "russet mead" (l. 971) suitable for solitary and pensive wandering. Milton allows "the nibbling flock" to "stray" here (l. 72); Thomson lets his "nibbling flock stray o'er the rising hills" in line 13 of "On Beauty," a poem full of echoes of this passage of "L'Allegro" and of "Il Penseroso," ll. 56-59. Thomson's "Spring," l. 954, has "villages embosom'd soft in trees."

Passing to the country sports, we find Gay ("Rural Sports," Canto I, ll. 31, 32) echoing "L'Allegro" (ll. 91, 92) in rhyme at least when he exclaims:

'Tis not that rural sports alone invite
But all the grateful country breathes delight.

¹ The rural images of this poem, especially in ll. 630-87, have at least general resemblance to "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso."

² *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, 60.

The "chequer'd shade" (L'A., l. 96) appealed to Pope ("Lines to Gay," l. 7) and Dyer ("Grongar Hill," l. 27); and Pope also liked the later pleasures of the "spicy nutbrown bowl" ("Wife of Bath's Prologue," l. 214; cf. L'A., l. 100). Milton's passage on the superstitious tales told at night (ll. 101-16) found appreciative reflection in Thomson's "Autumn," ll. 1145-56 and "Winter," ll. 617-20.

The transition to the city was early used by Andrew Marvell, who in "The Garden" (ll. 11, 12), speaking to Quiet and Innocence, says:

Mistaken long, I sought you then
In busy companies of men.

The city pleasures have fewer echoes than those of the country. Thomson has a poetically "haunted stream" in "Summer," ll. 11, 12 (L'A., l. 130), but for the rest I have noted only parallels—some doubtful—to the Shakespeare passage (L'A., ll. 131-34):

Whether in masks he pleas'd the town;
The buskin or the sock put on
[*"Epitaph for the Late Lord Lansdown" in Gent. Mag.,*
VII, 508 (August, 1737).]

Is not wild Shakespeare thine and nature's boast?
[Thomson's "Summer," l. 1566.]

And while by Art your charming Numbers move,
Her *Wood-wild* Notes instruct her to improve
[Nahum Tate, "To the Athenian Society."]¹

Warble the birds, exulting on the wing,
And all the wood-wild notes the genial blessings sing
[Wm. Thompson, "The Nativity" (1736); see Chalmers,
XV, 19.]

A final parallel—to line 137—may be added from the prose of the *Gentleman's Magazine* (VII, 195), where the writer says: "Milton elegantly expressed it, *Music was married to Poetry*." We have here in all something like forty-four parallels from about twenty-five authors, in poems all dating before 1740.

B. "IL PENSEROSO"

The mood of "Il Penseroso" was so thoroughly in tune with the mood of the many poems on retirement, night, etc., produced in

¹ This poem was prefixed to Gildon's *History of the Athenian Society* (1692) and reprinted by Dunton in his *Life and Errors* (1705), p. 259. "Her" refers to Tate's Muse.

this period, that it would be strange indeed if Milton's poem did not find imitators. Among the poems of a melancholy cast that seem to have a general indebtedness to "Il Penseroso" may be listed the following: John Hughes's "Thought in a Garden" (1704); "Pre-existence: A Poem in Imitation of Milton,"¹ published first in 1714 with a preface by J. B., and reprinted in Dodsley's *Collection* (1766), I, 158-72, (see especially p. 166); Parnell's "Night Piece on Death," "Hymn to Contentment," and "Hermit"; James Ralph's "Night" (1728); Thomson's *Seasons* in various passages;² and perhaps Mallet's "Excursion" (1728), his "Hermit," and his "Funeral Hymn"; a poem in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, IX (1739), 599 beginning "Hail Melancholy! gloomy power"; and lastly the early work of William Hamilton, to be quoted presently.

We may most conveniently follow through the parallels to "Il Penseroso" as we did those to "L'Allegro." The first lines indeed were largely treated with the opening of "L'Allegro," but we may add Broome's lines from his ode "Melancholy" (1723):

Adieu, vain mirth, and noisy joys!
Ye gay desires, deluding toys!
Thou, thoughtful Melancholy, deign
To hide me in thy pensive train!

The invitation to Melancholy (ll. 31 ff.) found almost endless imitation. Hamilton, in his poem "To the Countess of Eglintoun"³ (1726), even applies to Happiness the sedate Miltonic adjectives:

Nun sober and devout! why art thou fled
To hide in shades thy meek contented head?
Virgin of aspect mild! ah why unkind,
Fly'st thou displeas'd, the commerce of mankind?
O! teach our steps to find the secret cell
Where with thy sire Content thou lov'st to dwell.

Similarly in "Contemplation" (written 1739) after Faith and Hope have been invited, he proceeds in Miltonic fashion:

And bring the meek-ey'd Charity,⁴
Not least, though youngest of the three:

¹ See *Notes and Queries* for Jan. 5, 1907 (10 ser., VII, 4).

² See the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, X, 108; Zippel remarks a resemblance in the first form of "Winter," ll. 33-300, to Milton's poem from l. 45 on; Professor Wells has thought "Spring," ll. 1024-47, worth citing; and there are other passages.

³ Hamilton's poems are quoted from Chalmers, Vol. XV.

⁴ Cf. "meek-ey'd Peace" in the "Nativity Hymn," l. 46.

With Silence, sober-suited maid,
 Seldom on this earth survey'd:
 Bid in this sacred band appear,
 That aged venerable seer,
 With sorrowing pale, with watchings spare,
 Of pleasing yet dejected air,
 Him, heavenly Melancholy hight,
 Who flies the sons of false delight,

.....
 Last to crown all, with these be join'd
 The decent nun, fair Peace of Mind,
 Whom innocence, ere yet betray'd,
 Bore in Eden's happy shade.

Hamilton continues presently with an address to Devotion quite in this same strain. In this one poem he has echoes not only of "Il Penseroso" but of "L'Allegro," "Lycidas," and the "Nativity Hymn." Thomson likewise goes to Milton when he wishes to summon his Amanda:¹

Come with those downcast eyes, sedate and sweet,
 Those looks demure that deeply pierce the soul.

Milton would doubtless prefer to think the following address to Delia (Queen Caroline?) from Green's "Grotto" as "without father bred," but it seems Miltonic—though it is Milton sadly debased:

Come Nymph with rural honors drest,
 Virtue's exterior form confest,
 With charms untarnished, innocence
 Display, and Eden shall commence:
 When thus you come in sober fit,
 And wisdom is prefer'd to wit;
 And looks diviner graces tell,
 Which don't with giggling muscles dwell.

The use of the somber details (ll. 34, 35) of Milton's invitation passage with intentionally gloomy effect is perhaps best seen in a passage in Parnell's "Night Piece on Death":

Why then thy flowing sable stoles,
 Deep pendent cypress, mourning poles,
 Loose scarfs to fall athwart thy weeds,
 Long palls, drawn hearses, cover'd steeds,
 And plumes of black, that, as they tread,
 Nod o'er the escutcheons of the dead?

¹ "Spring," ll. 485-86. Cf. also "L'Allegro," l. 138.

Mallet in his "Excursion" presents Night in a pensive fashion less gloomy:

Onward she comes with silent step and slow,
In her brown mantle wrapt, and brings along
The still, the mild, the melancholy hour,
And Meditation, with his eye on Heaven.

Mallet here has made especial use of lines 38 and 39. Parallels to line 42 are strangely few; at least the only one I have seen is in Pope's "Eloisa" (l. 24):

I have not yet forgot myself to stone.

In "Grongar Hill" (l. 115) similarly is the only use noted of the "trim gardens" of line 50.

"The cherub Contemplation" as conceived by Milton in his poem (l. 54) and in "Comus" (l. 377) was thought by Newton to be new and less satisfactory than Spenser's figure of venerable age.¹ Both conceptions are met with in our period. Hamilton in his poem "Contemplation" gives a Miltonic treatment; Green ("The Grotto," l. 166) places Contemplation with other figures from "Il Penseroso"; and perhaps two lines from Mrs. Elizabeth Rowe's *Letters moral and entertaining* (1729) reflect Milton:

Upon its banks you, undisturb'd may ly,
While Contemplation wafts you to the sky.²

Passages concerning Philomela and the moon are usually too conventional to be associated specifically with Milton's famous lines 56-72. The moon affords more and better parallels, two of which are worth quoting:

Now stooping, seems to kiss the passing cloud:
Now, o'er the pure *Cerulean*, rides sublime
[Thomson's "Winter" (1726 version), ll. 91, 92; cf.
"Il Penseroso," ll. 67-68, 71-72, and "Comus,"
ll. 331-33].

Now while Phoebus *riding high*
[Dyer's "Grongar Hill," l. 11].

The sound of Milton's curfew (l. 76) had at least one astonishing echo. The *Grub-street Journal* for February 5, 1730, in distinguishing

¹ See Newton's ed. of Milton's *Works*, III, 372, note on "Il Penseroso," l. 52; and compare "Faerie Queene," I, Canto X, ll. 46-48, for the figure "of a venerable old man." In his "Hymn to Heavenly Beauty," ll. 133-36, Spenser seems to me to furnish sufficient source for a soaring Contemplation.

² Quoted from her *Works* (1796), I, 172.

between "the Parnassian and the Grubean fashions" of imitating Milton, cites as example of the latter, John Dennis' "Poem on the battle of Blenheim." Dennis writes thus of the Danube:

. . . . thy brown billows sounding on the shore
And swinging slow with hoarse and sullen roar,
Kept murmuring comfort to thy threat'ning moan.

James Ralph's "Night" is also criticized in the *Journal* essay. It is interesting to see any periodical in 1730 assuming that imitation of Milton—minor poems included—is prevalent, and attempting to set bounds to the mode.

The night scene indoors is easily conventionalized, but at least two similar passages seem influenced by Milton (ll. 79 ff.). John Philips in "Cyder" (Chalmers, VIII, 388) writes:

. . . . lo! thoughtful of Thy Gain,
Not of my Own, I all the live-long Day
Consume in Meditation deep, recluse
From human Converse, nor, at shut of Eve,
Enjoy Repose; but oft at Midnight Lamp
Ply my brain-racking Studies

Certainly the mood, probably the "midnight lamp" also, comes from "Il Penseroso" (cf. l. 85). But the most famous imitation is found in the 1726 version of "Winter," lines 256-58:

A rural, shelter'd, solitary, Scene;
Where ruddy Fire, and beaming Tapers join
To chase the cheerless gloom: there let me sit
And hold high Converse with the mighty Dead.

The outdoor details of the following day are more often copied, especially the "twilight groves" (l. 133), which fitted the very popular theme of retirement. The earlier details of morning are sometimes used; at least a faint echo of Milton's lines (128-29) on the morning breeze is to be found in Pope's "Winter," line 80:

. . . . when the whisp'ring breeze,
Pants on the leaves, and dies upon the trees.

Pope's "Eloisa" (l. 163) borrows the "twilight groves," as do the following lines from Thomson's "Autumn" (ll. 1030-31), which also embody an echo of "L'Allegro," line 78:

Oh! bear me then to vast embowering shades,
To twilight groves, and visionary vales.

The ease with which shade and retirement are associated is apparent in Broome's "Poem on the Seat of the War in Flanders, chiefly with relation to the sieges: with the praise of peace and retirement. Written in 1710," where Broome entreats:

Come, thou chaste maid, here let me stray
While the calm hours steal unperceived away;
Here court the Muses, while the Sun on high
Flames in the vault of Heaven, and fires the sky:
Or while the night's dark wings this globe surround,
And the pale Moon begins her solemn round.

And in the morning he reads old books "reclin'd" in silence "on a mossy bed." The latter half of an undated "Fragment" by Mallet¹ shows alike the influence of this noon-time passage and of similar passages in "L'Allegro" and the *Seasons*. The bee, which Milton artfully (ll. 142-43) and Mallet casually introduce, was made more consciously a part of a similar scene in Canto I, lines 83-86 of Gay's "Rural Sports":

The careful insect 'midst his works I view,
Now from the flowers exhaust the fragrant dew;
With golden treasures load his little thighs,
And steer his distant journey through the skies.

Thomson ("Summer," ll. 627-28) seems to have an eye on Gay as well as on Milton, for his bee

Strays diligent, and with the extracted balm
Of fragrant woodbine loads his little thigh.

Todd, in his note to line 152,² cites a highly interesting passage from the first version of Thomson's "Summer":

And, frequent, in the middle watch of night,
Or, all day long, in desarts still, are heard,
Now here, now there, now wheeling in mid sky,
Around, or underneath, aerial sounds,
Sent from angelick harps, and voices join'd;
A happiness bestow'd by us alone,
On Contemplation, or the hallow'd ear
Of poet, swelling to seraphick strain.

The scene within the church (ll. 155-66) made notable appeal to Pope and Addison. The "storied halls" of the "Essay on Man,"

¹ Chalmers, XIV, 14.

² Milton's *Poetical Works* (1809), VI, 135, note.

Epistle IV, line 303, is thought a reminiscence of Milton's "storied windows." Certainly in "Eloisa" (ll. 143-44) Pope succeeds in producing the romantic thrill of Milton's church:

Where awful arches make a noon-day night,
And the dim windows shed a solemn light;

as he does also in line 353:

From the full choir, when loud Hosannas rise.

Addison conveniently adopted some of Milton's organ details into his "Ode for St. Cecilia's Day" (1699):

Next, let the solemn organ join
Religious airs, and strains divine,
Such as may lift us to the skies,
And set all Heaven before our eyes.

It is possible also that John Pomfret, at some time about the same date, had line 165 in his mind when he wrote, in "Love Triumphant over Reason" (Chalmers, VIII, 313):

My ravish'd soul, with secret wonder fraught,
Lay all dissolv'd in ecstasy of thought.

The figurative use of "dissolve," however, seems generally popular with both Milton and Pomfret.

From the ending of the poem we have the phrase "mossy cell" imitated in Dyer's "Grongar Hill" (l. 15) and doubtless many other poems. Pope's "Summer" (l. 32) palpably adapts line 172 of "Il Penseroso" into:

And ev'ry plant that drinks the morning dew.

It is well known that John Hughes thought the ending might be improved by adding eight rather moral lines of his own composition. They may be read in Chalmers, X, 55.

Even if we had no other evidence, it seems to the writer that the preceding parallels prove sufficiently that English poets had, before 1740, thoroughly masticated—rather than mastered—the idiom of "L'Allegro" and "Il Penseroso."

C. "COMUS"

Imitations of the *genre* of "Comus" are naturally not numerous, for the masque was a declining type before the eighteenth century. Nevertheless one may note in Baron's *Cyprian Academy* (1648)

two works, "Bona Deorum" and "Gripus and Hegio," which are indebted to Milton's poem. In 1712 John Hughes brought out an opera called *Calypso and Telemachus*, which is obviously reminiscent of "Comus" in plot. The designs of *Calypso* are sufficiently indicated in the words of Mentor to Telemachus:

She still deludes thee.
Th' alluring cup she lately gave
Was filled with noxious Juice
T' inslave thy Reason's nobler Pow'rs.¹

Dr. Good (p. 35, note) also lists "Sabrina, a Masque Founded on the Comus of Milton" as printed in 1737. It was by Rolli, and was intended as operatic material. Finally, in 1738, "Comus" was reworked by the Rev. John Dalton and with music by Dr. Arne was successfully staged.² Dalton's adaptation was for a time frequently reprinted; it doubtless did serve to increase interest in Milton's poem and perhaps in all the minor poems, but evidently such interest existed already.

Further general influence of the poem is slightly visible in such pieces as "A Poem on Chastity. . . . By Pastorus" printed in the *Post-Angel* (III, 152) for March, 1702, and in Ralph's "Night" (1728; see p. 50), where the poet remarks:

Sometimes the guardian pow'rs of virtue's sons,
Array'd in all the glories of the sky,
Descend indulgent to their earthly charge,
And drive the horrors of the night away;
Tune to immortal songs their golden lyres,
And sooth the woes of life with heav'n's eternal joys.³

There is a somewhat similar passage—less close to the idea of "Comus"—in Thomson's "Summer," lines 525-30.

It is interesting, and of course dangerous, to speculate how far the various uses of the proper names "Comus" and "Sabrina" in later poems may be due to the "Mask."⁴ Both occur before Milton; but "Comus" occurred in rather inconspicuous places. Sabrina's story is told by Spenser, whose predecessors, in turn, seem to reach

¹ From Hughes's *Poems* (1735), II, 55.

² On this matter see *Gent. Mag.*, VIII, 151-52, or the *Universal Spectator*, No. 454 (March 25, 1738).

³ An excellent parallel to l. 86 comes to light as this goes to press. See Thomas Killigrew's "Claracilla" (1664), p. 5 (Act I, Scene 3).

⁴ See Todd's ed. of the *Poetical Works*, VI, 247-49, note.

back as far as Geoffrey of Monmouth. But Rolli in retelling her tale avows the stimulus of Milton; and quite possibly John Philips, an ardent disciple, may have been influenced by "Comus" to devote two lines to the "naïs" in his "Cerealia" (1708). Moses Browne's seventh "Piscatory Eclogue" (1727, 1739) also is certainly to be mentioned; for in it Comus, a decent sort of rustic, sings in a song contest the story of Sabrina—much in the manner of Spenser's pastorals, but with Miltonic echoes, as when he ends:

Sabrina, cease thy list'ning flood to bring,
And Echo, cease, and let me cease to sing.

Usually the mentions of Comus as a rustic or supernatural being are more definitely "in character," implying at least joviality. Such mentions may be found in *Spectator*, No. 425; in an "Anacreontic" by Parnell; in Congreve's "Mourning Muse of Alexis"; and lastly in Mallet's "Cupid and Hymen"—which may date after 1740. An interesting modification of the name is probably to be seen in a pastoral elegy signed "Comerus," which has faint echoes of "Il Penseroso" and "Lycidas." In the elegy Comerus is a typical shepherd, not the jovial or supernatural personage of Milton.¹

The phrasal echoes of "Comus" are numerous, though not more plentiful than those of the two poems already considered. These echoes distribute themselves over the whole poem evenly—with perhaps some emphasis on the lyric portions.

There are notable parallels to the opening speech of the Attendant Spirit. From line 6 Pope took "low-thoughted care" for "Eloisa to Abelard," line 298; and Thomson in "Autumn," line 967, has "low-thoughted vice" in a passage otherwise colored by the minor poems. Pope, who curiously enough borrowed more from "Comus" than from any of the other minor poems, "lifted" line 14 for use in his "Epilogue to the Satires" (Satire II, l. 235):

And opes the temple of eternity.

Dr. Hoadly similarly borrowed entire from line 47 one of his verses placed under the third print in Hogarth's "Rake's Progress" (1735):

Sweet Poison of misused WINE.

¹ The poem was printed in *Mist's Weekly-Journal* for Sept. 10, 1720 (No. 93; p. 554), and reprinted in the 1722 *Collection of Letters from Mist's Weekly-Journal*, I, 309-10.

Line 53 was probably in Pope's mind when in his "Satires of Dr. Donne Versified" (Satire IV, ll. 166-67) he wrote:

Not more amazement seized on Circe's guests,
To see themselves fall endlong into beasts.

The same poet, so Elwin pointed out,¹ probably changed his first writing of "Windsor Forest," line 385, because it too closely resembled the bold lines of "Comus," 94-96. The tone of Milton's lines 102-6 is much like that of the conventional "Anacreontic" of his century; but in at least one of Cowley's "Anacreontics" (1656), as Godwin² points out, there is unusually close resemblance to Milton, lines 105-6. Cowley's lines are:

Fill the bowl with rosie wine,
Around our temples roses twine.

It is further noticeable that Pope's dancers in "January and May," line 353, "beat the ground" as do those of "Comus," line 143. Perhaps the romantic thrill of Comus' "dazzling spells" is most truly caught by Moses Browne in his fifth eclogue, which ostensibly imitates "Lycidas":

Mean time to the merk gloom trip fast along
The wood-nymph bevy and swart fairy bands,
And the elf-urchin throng,
With each drear shape that lives in mildew blight,
And ev'ry blue fog of the spongy air,
Oft do I view 'em from the hilly lands
Ere the fled Cock rings his shrill matin clear,
Or toiling hind loath leaves his dawn-woke dream³

The scene between Comus and the Lady offers some parallels, which are, however, of but slight value. Thomson's "Winter," lines 297-99, may be compared with lines 205-9 of "Comus." There are doubtfully significant resemblances between Pope's "Winter" (l. 41) and line 230; and between his *Odyssey*, Book XIII, line 57, and line 262 of "Comus." More striking is Pope's indebtedness to lines 290-91 for lines 61-62 of his "Autumn":

While lab'ring oxen, spent with toil and heat,
In their loose traces from the field retreat.

¹ Pope's *Works*, I, 364, note.

² *Op. cit.*, pp. 287-88.

³ Cf. with this passage "Comus," ll. 154, 436, and "L'Allegro," l. 114. The meter may be referred to "Lycidas."

Echoes from the conversation between the brothers and from their scene with the supposed Thyrsis group themselves about two or three passages. The first of these deals with Contemplation (ll. 377 ff.), and is to be related to the similar figure in "Il Penseroso," lines 51-54. Some uses of this figure by Milton's successors have been given; two or three more are worth giving in connection with the "Comus" passage:

Delightful Mansion! Blest Retreat!
Where all is silent, all is sweet!
Here Contemplation prunes her Wings,
The raptur'd Muse more tuneful Sings,
While May leads on the Cheerful Hours,¹
And opens a New World of Flowers
[John Hughes, "A Thought in a Garden" (*Poems*,
I, 171)].

Nature in ev'ry object points the road,
Whence contemplation wings my soul to God
[Mrs. Mary Chandler (ca. 1736 ?); quoted from T.
Cibber's *Lives of the Poets*, V, 347].

Bear me, some God! oh quickly bear me hence
To wholesome Solitude, the nurse of sense:
Where Contemplation prunes her ruffled wings
And the free soul looks down to pity Kings!
[Pope, "Satires of Dr. Donne," Satire IV, ll. 184 ff.].

Another popular line from this section of the poem is 429, which was used, slightly changed, by Pope in "Eloisa" (l. 20), and by Thomson in "Spring" (ll. 909-10). Lines 494-95 also caught the attention of readers: witness Pope's "Summer," lines 5-6; his "Winter," lines 57-58; and Moses Browne's eclogue "The Sea Swains":

He, wond'rous artist, with his magic lay,
Could the steam's rapid tide encaptiv'd stay.

A striking parallel to line 549 is seen in Thomson's "Summer," lines 947-50:

At Evening, to the setting Sun he turns
A mournful Eye, and down his dying heart
Sinks helpless; while the wonted Roar is up,
And Hiss continual thro' the tedious Night.

¹ See also Milton's "Sonnet to the Nightingale," l. 4.

The lyrics surrounding the appearance of Sabrina were justly among the most popular parts of the poem. Ambrose Philips in his second "Pastoral" (ll. 65-66) perhaps chose his adjectives from "Comus" (ll. 859, 865):

Unhappy Hour, when first, in youthful Bud,
I left the fair Sabrina's silver Flood!

His rival, Pope, echoed these lyrics in strange places. There is a "translucent wave" from "Comus," line 861, in his "Lines on his Grotto," and in his *Odyssey*, Book VII, line 10, may be found "cool, translucent springs" from the same source. In his *Iliad*, Book XVIII, line 64, a nereid appears wearing amber hair somewhat after Sabrina's mode (l. 863); and lastly in his "Lament of Glum-dalclich" (l. 48) we have a significant reminiscence of "Comus," lines 898-99, in the line:

Or in the golden cowslip's velvet head.

Moses Browne's seventh eclogue may be cited again for the resemblance of the following couplet to "Comus," line 825:

Of the smooth *Severn* I a Lay rehearse,
And call the wave-rob'd Goddess to my Verse.

The beautiful epilogue of the Spirit in "Comus," with its description of

. . . . those happy climes that lie
Where day never shuts his eye,

is vaguely paralleled by a poetic passage from Mrs. Rowe's *Letters moral and entertaining* (1733), Letter X, in which the sylph Ariel describes the abode of sylphs. The resemblance is not minute; there is a similarity in the piling up of details.

This concludes the total of some forty parallels to "Comus" drawn from about twenty different writers.

D. "LYCIDAS"

Many of the ancient conventions of the pastoral elegy were so widely known in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries that it is frequently difficult to tell whether a poet is harking back to "Lycidas" or to the Greek elegists or Virgil or Sannazaro. It has

been pointed out that Milton follows these earlier elegists very closely in passages.¹ The name "Lycidas," for instance, is used by Theocritus, Bion, Virgil, and Sannazaro, to name shepherds; hence similar uses by Gildon (*Miscellaneous Letters* [1694], p. 183), Mrs. Behn (*The Land of Love* [1717], p. 3), Broome ("Daphnis and Lycidas, A Pastoral"), Pope ("Winter"), Mrs. Rowe (Letter XX of her *Letters moral and entertaining*), and Aaron Hill ("Cleon to Lycidas") may mean nothing concerning the popularity of Milton. It seems clear, however, that Nicholas Rowe's "Stanzas to Lady Warwick on Mr. Addison's going to Ireland" apply the name to Addison with Miltonic implications; for Addison was a literary personage about to risk his life on the Irish seas, which had proved fatal to Milton's Lycidas. Some of the other works listed as using the name have additional echoes of Milton, but even this establishes only a probability of influence so far as the proper name is concerned.

Among the poems generally reminiscent of "Lycidas" are Fenton's "Florelia; a Pastoral lamenting the death of the late Marquis of Blandford" (ca. 1710), the anonymous poem signed "Comerus" in *Mist's Weekly-Journal* for September 10, 1720, and Moses Browne's fifth eclogue, "Renock's Despair. An Imitation of Milton's Lycidas" (1727, 1739). This last is by far the most important. Browne is evidently more concerned to copy the irregular rhyme recurrence and the varying meter than to echo Milton's details or phrases. His preface of 1739 is interesting because it is highly eulogistic of "Lycidas" and because he thinks himself its earliest imitator. His poem is the first avowed imitation that I have noticed; but the *Gentleman's Magazine* for May, 1740 (X, 253), says the poem "is reckon'd the best Imitation of Milton's Lycidas that has yet appear'd"; implying, certainly, that it was not the only imitation. Probably Browne made his claim to priority in 1727—I have not seen the first edition of his preface. The poem contains practically no phrasal reminiscences of its avowed model.

In fact, there are rather surprisingly few sure phrasal imitations of the poem, considering the high praise we have seen it receiving.

¹ See Professor Hanford's study "The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's Lycidas" in *P.M.L.A.*, XXV (1910), 403-47.

The opening lines are recalled by a passage from the midst of Mrs. Rowe's poem "On the death of the Hon. Henry Thyne, Esq.":

Ye tender myrtles mourn, nor let your boughs
Hereafter deck one joyful lover's brows.
Ye folding bays, and laurel's sacred shade,
At once let all your wreathing glories fade.

Hill's "Cleon to Lycidas" contains a passage that recalls line 10 and also the ecclesiastical satire of the poem:

Bid throb, the muse's pulse—for THY sweet call,
What muse, uncharm'd, can hear?
.
Bid the *priest Poet* consecrate the rage
Of a wrong'd nation's curses.¹

Others have seen a parallel between line 12 and Pope's *Odyssey*, Book XIV, line 155; the resemblance lies in the thing described and the word "welter," which is common to both. Pope is more clearly echoing Milton (l. 34) in his "Summer," line 50:

Rough satyrs dance, and Pan applauds the song.

Lines 50, 51, and 124 were obviously in Broome's mind when he wrote, in his poem "On the Death of my dear Friend Mr. Elijah Fenton" (1730):

Where were ye, Muses, by what fountain side,
What river sporting, when your favourite dy'd?
.
Unlike those bards, who, uninformed to play,
Grate on their jarring pipes a flashy lay²

Parnell seems in the following from "Piety" to be thinking of the noble passage where Milton (ll. 64-76) condemns such poets as celebrate Amaryllis or Neaera's hair:

. Be thy Muse thy zeal,
Dare to be good, and all my joys reveal.
While other pencils flattering forms create
And paint the gaudy plumes that deck the great;
While other pens exalt the vain delight,

¹ I am aware of Virgil's *neget quis carmina Gallo?* but the ecclesiastical reference added to the other seems to point to "Lycidas" rather than to Virgil's *Ecloques*, X, 3.

² The first of these couplets, of course, might have been inspired direct from Theocritus, but not the second.

Whose wasteful revel wakes the depth of night;
 Or others softly sing in idle lines
 How Damon courts, or Amaryllis shines;
 More wisely thou select a theme divine,
 Fame is their recompense, 'tis Heaven is thine.

The general doctrine together with the attitude toward Fame seems Miltonic. The proverbial line on fame (l. 71) was possibly copied by Marvell in his "Fleckno, an English Priest at Rome" (lines 27-28):

Only this frail ambition did remain,
 The last distemper of the sober brain.

But of course the aphorism is much older than "Lycidas." The attendant advice "to scorn delights and live laborious days" (l. 72) found clearer echoes: Pope used the "laborious days" in his *Iliad*, Book IX, line 431; and Hamilton invoked "Contemplation" as follows:

Teach me to scorn, by thee refin'd,
 The low delights of human kind:
 Sure thine to put to flight the boy
 Of laughter, sport, and idle joy.

Pope originally used another line from this general passage (l. 77) in the first form of line 131 of his "Essay on Criticism":

Ere warned Phoebus touched his trembling ears.

It is dangerous to try to point parallels to anything so conventional as the flower-list in "Lycidas"; but some passages seem worth risking. Pope in "Spring," line 31, makes his violets "glow" as did Milton (l. 145); Thomson ("Spring," ll. 448-49) makes "cowslips hang the dewy head" after "Lycidas," line 147, and possibly echoes line 151 in "Summer," lines 1522-23:

Bring every sweetest Flower, and let me strow
 The Grave where Russel lies

The flower-list (ll. 107-20) in Ambrose Philips' third pastoral, which is an elegy, suggests Milton in some details, but not certainly the "Lycidas" passage.

The somewhat unusual use of nectar¹ in the immortalizing of Lycidas (l. 175) very likely is echoed in two lines from an anonymous

¹ On similar uses see Todd's note on "Comus," l. 838, *Poetical Works of Milton* (1809), VI, 372.

"Ode to my Lord D. of B——. An. Dom. 1704," printed in the *Oxford and Cambridge Miscellany* (1710), page 294:

And now they bathe in *Nectar* Streams,
Nor need the Sun's officious Beams.

Lycidas' "oozy locks" in the same line seem to have hit Moses Browne's fancy; for in his metamorphosis of Glaucus into a sea god, he writes:

His scaly limbs outspread a larger space,
And oozy locks his azure shoulders grace.

A last parallel may be noted between the first form of line 46 of Pope's "Messiah" and line 181 of "Lycidas." Pope wrote,

He wipes the tears for ever from our eyes,

which is certainly closer to "Lycidas" than to the original passage in Isaiah. This completes the list of not very satisfying parallels to "Lycidas." At most there are about two dozen of them from fifteen different writers.

E. OTHER MINOR POEMS

To emphasize the fact that practically all of Milton's poems had been levied upon by imitative poets before 1740, it is important to cite the parallels noted to his shorter pieces.

The "Vacation Exercise" (ll. 91 ff.) stimulated Pope and Moses Browne to imitation. Pope in his "Summer," line 2, and in "Windsor Forest," line 340, uses "Thame" for "Thames" (cf. Milton, l. 100); and in "Windsor Forest," lines 346-47, he borrows other riparian details:

The gulphy Lee his sedgy tresses rears;
And sullen Mole, that hides his diving flood.

Browne in his eclogue "The Strife" has a river-list of record length in which all Milton's rivers are embodied. In footnotes he refers to the "Vacation Exercise" and to "Lycidas," line 55. His descriptions of or notes on the Thames, the Mole, the Avon, the Trent, the Lea and the Dee are all in some way conscious of Milton's rivers.

It is less surprising to find the "Nativity Ode" echoed. Lines 21 and 114 possibly find imitation in line 894 of Samuel Wesley's "Epistle . . . concerning poetry" (1700):

Tho Virtue's glittering Squadrons drive the Field.

From line 46. Hamilton probably derived "meek-ey'd" Charity for his poem "Contemplation," just as Pope made the nuns in "Eloisa," line 21, "pale-ey'd" in remembrance of Milton's "pale-ey'd priest" (l. 180). Grosart has pointed out that the tail of Milton's "Old Dragon" (l. 172) inspired lines 151-52 of Marvell's "First Anniversary of the Government under his Highness the Lord Protector":

And starrs still fall, and still the dragon's tail
Swinges the volumes of its horrid flail.

Lines 173-78 are perhaps facetiously alluded to when the *Weekly-Journal: or Saturday's Post* (Mist) for August 9, 1718 (p. 519) remarks on the fact that "the Athenian Oracle is ceased and his Godship Apollo is become dumb."¹

Todd has cited two interestingly early parallels in his notes to lines 229 ff. The first one reads:

All the purple pride that laces
The crimson curtains of thy bed

[Crashaw, *Sacred Poems*, ed. Paris, 1652, p. 17].

The second, Todd introduces by saying that Thomas Forde in his *Fragmenta Poetica* (1660)

has given us several poems on Christmas Day, in one or two of which he adopts some sentiments and expressions in this sublime and wonderful Ode; betraying, however, a want of genuine taste and fancy in affected emendation or ridiculous expansion. For example, in p. 7,

What made the sun post hence away
So fast, and make so short a day?
Seeing a brighter sun appear,
He ran and hid himself for fear:
Asham'd to see himself out-shined,
(Leaving us and night behind,)
He sneaked away to take a nap,
And hide himself in Thetis lap.

Pope's "Dunciad," Book II, lines 341-42, is obviously indebted to "Arcades," lines 30-31:

As under seas Alpheus' secret sluice
Bears Pisa's off'rings to his Arethuse.

A few parallels to the sonnets are notable. Steele in his *Poetical Miscellanies* (1714, 1727) printed some anonymous verses "To

¹ The "Athenian Oracle," of course, here means the collection of questions and answers reprinted under the title at least as early as 1704 from the *Athenian Mercury* (1691-96).

Aristus, in imitation of a sonnet of Milton." The "bloomy spray" of the nightingale sonnet figures with song birds in line 23 of Pope's "Spring" and in Ambrose Philips' lines "To Miss Charlotte Pulteney. (May 1, 1724)." Dyer's "Country Walk" (l. 135) has a "bloomy mead." Pope's "Imitation of Martial" glances at the phrasing of Milton's sonnet "On his being arrived to the age of twenty-three" in the following lines:

. While time with still career
Wafts on his gentle wing his eightieth year.

A parallel pointed out between the same sonnet and the "Dunciad," Book IV, line 6, seems insignificant.

This ends our citation of parallels as evidence of interest in Milton's early poems. Any mathematical summary of such things is dangerous, because one may easily multiply parallels by counting a single passage twice or three times. Without doing this, and without including Robert Baron's work—in which the parallels are too frequent for counting—it may be said that roughly we have here cited something like one hundred and sixty-five parallels from about fifty different authors, though some anonymous poems may be by the same author and thus cut down our totals. These parallels are drawn from over a hundred different works.

IV

From the evidence here presented with regard to editions, mentions of the poems in various places, and parallels found in later poems or prose, it may be concluded that the "neglect" of the minor poems before 1740 has been somewhat exaggerated. Certainly the Warton brothers overstated the case. I have cited almost a hundred writers who showed consciousness of these poems in the first century of their existence; from these ninety-odd persons almost two hundred works have been cited, and in these only three passages have taken a slighting attitude toward the poems—those by Saumaise, Dryden, and William Benson. Considering the size of the reading public and the state of letters in general, these two hundred poems, biographies, letters, essays, etc., seem a not inconsiderable amount. Nor is the quality of the attention given the poems less impressive than the quantity. It is probable that after the Restoration Milton's literary credit temporarily declined—as

his political credit certainly did; but after the period when Toland's *Life* was written, the reputation of the minor poems is undoubted.

Of the great vogue the poems came to enjoy in the middle of the eighteenth century, something has already been said. The writer may perhaps add two very strong personal impressions that have arisen in his mind from reading much of the poetry inspired by Milton's early pieces. The first is that the vogue of the poems after 1730 was greatly quickened by the fact that Thomson's "Seasons" had made very frequent and successful levies upon them; consequently the mid-century vogue may be in part a tribute to Thomson rather than to Milton. In the second place, it seems doubtful whether this increased interest in the poems was a blessing to English poetry. The more poetry of the time one reads, the more doubtful one becomes. The sentimental twilight poems, the feebly grotesque night-pieces that follow in Milton's train are as a rule not highly creditable to their authors. Some of Gray's worst phrases come directly from these poems and their kind. On the other hand, it is of course true that he, and some few others—very few—got genuine inspiration from Milton's minor poems. The idea that poetry was debased by this copying of Milton is not original with the present writer. The following satire on the sort of Miltonism fostered by Dodsley and his *Collection of Poems* will show the opinion of one observer in 1763. The verses¹ are entitled "To a Gentleman, who desired proper materials for a monody":

Flowrets—wreaths—thy banks along—
 Silent eve—th' accustom'd song—
 Silver-slipper'd—whilom—lore—
 Druid—Paynim—mountain hoar—
 Dulcet—eremite—what time—
 ("Excuse me—here I want a rhyme.")
 Black-brow'd night—Hark! scretch-owls sing!
 Ebon car—and raven wing—
 Charnel houses—lonely dells—
 Glimmering tapers—dismal cells—
 Hallow'd haunts—and horrid piles—
 Roseate hues—and ghastly smiles—
 Solemn fanes—and cypress bowers—
 Thunder-storms—and tumbling towers—
 Let these be well together blended—
 Dodsley's your man—the poem's ended.

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¹ They are quoted from the Fawkes-Woty *Poetical Calendar* (1763), V, 111.

THE BEOWULF CODEX

In the MS volume Cotton Vitellius A XV the three prose tracts immediately preceding the *Beowulf* epic are clearly the work of a single scribe. Furthermore, and what is of greater interest, the script in which they are written is no other than the well-known first hand of *Beowulf*. This fact, until recently unrecorded, gives to the three prose pieces an added importance which will justify, it is reasonable to expect, a re-examination of the texts.

Neither the texts nor the hands in which they are written, however, can profitably be discussed until a clear idea of the state of the MS is presented. So well known a codex as that which contains the *Beowulf* epic ought, it would seem, to have been carefully and correctly described by at least one of the scholars in whose hands it has been; yet such is the neglect of paleographic details that even this celebrated MS volume has yet to be accurately described. At so late a date as 1916, appears in print¹ an inaccuracy as to the foliation. It seems, accordingly, advisable to remove the confusion at once by a detailed account of the MS. Two separate codices, both small quarto on vellum, have been bound together since the time of Sir Robert Cotton to make the present volume. The first, in two main hands of the twelfth century, contains four articles: *Flowers from St. Augustine's Soliloquies*, translated by King Alfred, fol. 4a; *Gospel of Nicodemus*, fol. 60a; *Dialogue between Solomon and Saturn*, fol. 84b; and a fragment of eleven lines concerning martyrs, fol. 93b. The second codex, likewise in two hands, but of considerably earlier date, consists of five articles: a fragment of the *Life of St. Christopher*, imperfect at the beginning, fol. 94a; *Wonders of the East*, fol. 98b; *Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle*, fol. 107a; *Beowulf*, fol. 132a; and *Judith*, fols. 202a-209b.

With the first three tracts of this second codex we are here principally concerned. They are written in a bold, easily legible

¹ K. Sisam, *Mod. Lang. Review*, XI, 335. Mr. Sisam's statement that "the numbering of blank dividing leaves advances the foliation by three" is incorrect, as is shown in a later paragraph.

hand, there being, with two exceptions, twenty lines to a full page.¹ The second of the three pieces is curiously illustrated with numerous water-color sketches of no great merit. The MS is otherwise quite unadorned, the capitals throughout the codex being large, plain letters in the ink of the text. The vermilion pigment of the pictures has in several places left its trace on the adjacent page, the most prominent instance being a stain on folio 95*b* (94*b*) which corresponds exactly to an illustration on folio 102 (95). From this, as well as from the older foliation given here in parentheses,² it is obvious that these two pages were at one time bound in immediate sequence. The margins of the volume were so badly charred in the fire of 1731 that many letters at the beginning and end of a line were either distorted or scorched past recognition. Of the charred portion much was lost by the gradual crumbling away of the fragile edge of the burned parchment—a loss which a modern binder has put a stop to by fitting each leaf into a frame of heavy paper. Zupitza's auto-types of *Beowulf* give an excellent idea of the state of the MS. It is impossible, however, even in the best facsimile, to reproduce the actual condition of the burned margins. The parchment has in many places become transparent, with the result that letters often show through the leaf in a manner which has confused more than one editor of the several texts. In many instances whole words that appear totally obliterated may be deciphered by looking at the MS against a strong light. The transparent paper used by the binder in repairing the crumbling edges of the text hides numerous letters in the facsimile which are easily seen in the MS itself. Some letters, or parts of letters, however, are unavoidably hidden by the heavy paper of the new margin. Occasionally the effect of the charring is such that letters may be recognized only by *reducing* the quantity of light and allowing it to pass through the glazed parchment at a certain angle. A lens is of little use. Infinite patience, and a willingness to read and to re-read the MS under different atmospheric conditions, are the essential needs of the editor of these texts. The margin alone, however, is difficult to read, the central portion of every leaf being for the most part easily legible.

¹ Fol. 125*b* has 21 lines; fol. 111*b* but 19.

² For foliation cf. pp. 543–45 below.

Still another point to be considered in a full description of the MS volume is its threefold-foliation. Ward, in his *Catalogue of Romances*, Volume I, gives as the first page of *Alexander's Letter* fol. 109a. In Volume II of the same *Catalogue*, the same article is said to begin at fol. 107a. In Volume I, the eleven-line fragment on martyrs is assigned to fol. 94b; in Volume II, to fol. 90b. In fact, there is but one point of agreement in this matter between Ward's first and second volumes, and that is the citation of fol. 4a as the page on which the *Flowers from St. Augustine's Soliloquies* begins. The ten years' interval between the publication of the two volumes cannot account for the discrepancies, as no alteration in the foliation or binding of the codex was made during that time. Cockayne¹ and Baskervill² number the leaves of the MS still differently, both placing the first line of *Alexander's Letter* at fol. 104a. Such is the confusion that equally good printed authority is found for putting the beginning of *Beowulf* at fol. 129a, at fol. 132a, and at fol. 134a. The explanation of this discrepancy is quite simple. Long after the fire of 1731 the leaves of the volume were numbered consecutively in ink, that leaf being counted as fol. 1 on which begins the *Flowers from St. Augustine's Soliloquies*. Three leaves immediately preceding this article were ignored. This is the earliest foliation,³ and the one referred to by Cockayne and Baskervill in their editions of *Alexander's Letter*, and by Zupitza in his autotype edition of *Beowulf*. The numbers, easily seen in the autotypes, were written as near to the upper right-hand corner of the recto side of the leaves as their charred condition would permit. *Alexander's Letter*, according to this numbering, begins at fol. 104a; *Beowulf*, at fol. 129a. Reference to this oldest foliation is made in parenthesis in the present paper. The later foliations, made after the leaves had been framed in paper and rebound, are easily accounted for. In the first place, the three leaves at the beginning of the volume, unnumbered in the old foliation, were rightly included in the new. The first of these three leaves has since been removed to MS. Royal 13 D I*; the second

¹ *Narratiunculæ anglie conscriptæ*, London, 1861.

² "The Anglo-Saxon Version of the 'Epistola Alexandri ad Aristotilem,'" *Anglia*, IV, 139.

³ Previous to the fire there may have been a still earlier foliation. Wanley (1705) gives the foliation substantially as it was after the fire, but whether from his own counting of the leaves or from another's numbering is uncertain.

contains an *Elenchus Contentorum* in which, oddly enough, there is no mention of *Beowulf*; the third contains some rough notes on parishes, etc., in England and on various events that occurred in 1346, 1383, and 1453. The inclusion of these leaves in the foliation advances the folio numbers by three, so that *Alexander's Letter* begins at fol. 107a and *Beowulf* at fol. 132a. This foliation—the one to which reference is made throughout this contribution, and which is used by Ward in Volume II of his *Catalogue of Romances*—is written in pencil in the upper right-hand corner of the recto side of the new paper margins, as it should be. It is not shown in Zupitza's autotypes. It is to be hoped that this foliation will hereafter be employed by those who refer to the MS. In the second place, not only the first three leaves, but also two blank paper leaves inserted by the binder between fols. 59 (56) and 60 (57), and between fols. 93 (90) and 94 (91), were counted in still another foliation. This, used by Ward in Volume I of his *Catalogue*, is written in pencil in the lower recto margins. It is not to be recommended as a means of reference, its effect being to advance the oldest foliation in some places by three, in others by four, and in still others by five. The transfer of fol. 1 to another MS creates the possibility of yet another numbering of the leaves. If we neglect the two recently inserted blank sheets of paper, there are at present in the codex 208 leaves. It ends with fol. 209b (206b).

Not only has the foliation been changed, but also the relative position of the leaves. Their sequence in the earlier binding of the volume was quite wrong. In fact, so little did the first binder understand the material with which he was dealing that he dovetailed the *St. Christopher* fragment with the *Wonders of the East* and interchanged two gatherings of eight leaves in *Alexander's Letter*. The foliation of *Alexander's Letter*—despite Wülcker's erroneous statement¹ that “die Blätter sind jetzt in der hs. in ihre richtige Ordnung gebracht”—is still to be corrected. For the correct sequence of the subject-matter, fols. 110–17 should exchange place with fols. 118–25. This has been done by Cockayne, Baskervill, and in the edition now in preparation by the present writer. The leaves of the two other pieces, however, have been properly rearranged by the latest binder,

¹ *Anglia*, I, 508, note.

throwing the old foliation into so chaotic a state that it can no longer be conveniently used. Just what the present arrangement is may be clearly seen from the following table. The original gatherings, of course, cannot now be determined, the threads and margins being new throughout the codex.

| Present Foliation | Old Foliation |
|-------------------|---------------|
| 94 | 93 |
| 95 | 94 |
| 96 | 91 |
| 97 | 92 |
| 98 | 97 |
| 99 | 98 |
| 100 | 99 |
| 101 | 100 |
| 102 | 95 |
| 103 | 96 |
| 104 | 101 |
| 105 | 102 (?) |
| 106 | 103 |
| 107-130 | 104-127 |

From this detailed account of the MS we may now turn to a consideration of the script. It has for some time been recognized that *Judith* and the second portion of *Beowulf* are written in the same hand, but until quite recently no notice has been taken of the fact that the first 1939 lines of *Beowulf* and the three articles immediately preceding the epic in the MS volume are the work of a single scribe. Professor Sedgefield is the first to note¹ the identity of the hand of *Alexander's Letter* and the first hand of *Beowulf*. Mr. Kenneth Sisam points out² that this identity extends also to the hand of the *St. Christopher* fragment and of the *Wonders of the East*, and that certain conclusions depend upon this fact. No other writer, of the many who have examined the MS, has called attention to this important feature. Of the identity of the hands there can be no real doubt. For those who have access to the MS, however, special attention may be drawn to the letter *k* (cf. *kynnes*, fol. 126*a*, l. 19, and *kyning*, autotypes, fol. 144*a*, l. 12); to the letter *s*, the shorter

¹ *Beowulf*, 2d ed., p. xiv, note.

² *Mod. Lang. Review*, XI, 335.

form of which is used throughout the texts; to the *æg* ligature (cf. fol. 126*a*, l. 20 and autotypes, fol. 130*b*, l. 19); to the "spreading" *y*, found occasionally both in *Alexander's Letter* and in *Beowulf* (cf. *ytemestum*, fol. 109*a*, l. 3 and *ymb*, autotypes, fol. 129*a*, l. 9); to the capital letter *M*, which occurs in two forms, one with four straight strokes, the other a fanciful form with the first and last strokes curved. This use of differently formed capitals is no indication of change of scribe. It is common enough, even today, to see such a letter as capital *S* variously written on a single page. Should the two types of capital be found respectively confined to separate articles, then, with reason, one might suspect the two articles to be the work of different scribes. This, however, is not the case. The usual form of the capital *M* in *Alexander's Letter* is the one with curved stems, but there also occurs (cf. fol. 109*b*, l. 7 and fol. 122*a*, l. 7) the identical straight-stroke capital *M* used in the *St. Christopher* fragment and in *Beowulf* (cf. autotypes, fol. 171*a*, l. 16). Furthermore, it must be remembered that a scribe's hand varies from page to page, so that to the unaccustomed eye it may often seem to be the work of more than one writer. Compare, for example, in Zupitza's autotypes, the recto and the verso of fol. 144; or fol. 129*b* with fol. 133*b*. The difference is obvious. Yet no one doubts that these contrasted pages were written by one scribe only. A similar contrast is seen on the MS pages of the three texts under discussion. It is this, doubtless, which has caused the identity of the script to be overlooked hitherto.

In addition to these paleographic considerations there is yet other evidence, which, if not conclusive, is at least corroborative. There is an indication that the last five pieces in MS Cotton Vitellius A XV formed at one time a book by themselves. If this be so, the likelihood of their being written by more than two scribes is lessened. One scribe, apparently, started to make a book, probably to order. He got as far as the middle of his fourth article (l. 1939 of *Beowulf*), when something occurred to prevent his completion of the book. It was finished by a second copyist. The evidence is twofold. In the first place, at the top of fol. 94*a* (93*a*), the first page¹ of the codex, and the beginning of the *St. Christopher* fragment,

¹ It was once bound as the third leaf of the fragment, as the old foliation still shows.

is written, "Laurence Nouell A. 1563."¹ Nowell, Dean of Lichfield, acquired the MS, apparently, in its present incomplete condition, and put his name, as was but natural, on the outside page. Secondly, we have the testimony of Wanley, who, in his catalogue of 1705, says of *Alexander's Letter*: "Hoc autem exemplar cum 3 superioribus,² . . . fuit peculium doctiss. viri Laurentii Nowelli. a.d. 1563." Whether or not Wanley had other evidence than we possess today is not known, but his statement is of corroborative value. That the three prose tracts, accordingly, formed part of a single volume and were written by a single scribe may well be assumed. That they originally formed part of the volume which contained *Beowulf* is indicated only by paleographic considerations—the size and shape of the page, the foliation, the undoubted identity of the script. In fact, this identity of the script is proof sufficient, the other considerations being merely supplementary.

The recognition that fols. 94a-175b, l. 4, are written in the same hand necessitates a correction in the dating of the prose pieces. The *Beowulf* MS is accepted by all authorities as a work of about 1000.³ Yet the three prose pieces are variously assigned to the eleventh and even to the twelfth century.⁴ Obviously, if *circa* 1000 is to be kept as the date of the *Beowulf* portion of the codex, *circa* 1000 must also be accepted as the date of the prose tracts written by one of the *Beowulf* scribes. A correction must also be made, in view of the identity of the scripts, in certain accepted theories regarding the *Beowulf* scribes. Discussion of this important matter, however, must be reserved for the full treatment it deserves in a separate article.

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¹ The "3" is now gone and has been supplied in pencil.

² I.e., cum 2 superioribus; viz., *St. Christopher* and *Wonders of the East*(?).

³ W. Keller (*Palastra*, Vol. XLIII, No. 1, p. 37), on paleographic grounds, puts the *Beowulf* MS "in die letzten Decennien des 10. Jahrhunderts."

⁴ Knappe, Greifswald dissertation, p. 8, puts the *St. Christopher* fragment roughly in the eleventh century, and the two following pieces more definitely in the middle of the eleventh century. Förster, *Archiv*, CXVII, 367, puts *Wonders of the East* in the twelfth century. Ward assigns *Alexander's Letter* to the late tenth century.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Richard Rolle of Hampole's Mending of Life. WILLIAM HENRY HULME. Western Reserve University Bulletins, New Series, Vol. XXI, No. 4, May, 1918.

Professor Hulme has here printed an edition of a Middle English translation of Rolle's Latin tract, the *De Emendatione Vitae*, from a rotograph of Worcester Cathedral MS F. 172. Richard Misyn's translation of the same Latin tract has been published by Harvey for the Early English Text Society, and modernized by Miss F. M. Comper; but the translation here printed is in a different dialect, and probably of later and independent origin. Rolle wrote the *De Emendatione Vitae* some time before 1349. Misyn wrote his Middle English translation in 1434 (E.E.T.S., Vol. 106, p. 131), and the Worcester manuscript from which this translation is printed dates from the last quarter of the fifteenth century. Misyn's translation is very literal, and therefore of little beauty: as a Middle English tract it has none of the charm of those pieces which Rolle himself wrote in, or turned into, the vernacular; for Misyn construed the Latin rather than translated it. The Worcester manuscript translation, however, in the dialect of the southern Midlands, is much freer, and of greater literary merit. The two translations are to some extent examples of the rival theories of translation which perplexed Europe at the end of the fourteenth century, when so many Latin textbooks were being rendered into the national tongues—the theories that translation should be “according to the letter” or “according to the sentence,” or meaning. The author of the *General Prologue* to the second version of the Wycliffite Old Testament dealt with this point in a familiar passage, as did a contemporary translator, or reviser, of certain Tuscan gospels: “Holy scripture speaks in many places like the centre of a wheel, . . . and there are words which should be supplied to help the unlettered: and so that others may not misunderstand, and believe that the meaning of the text is changed when I supply or explain a word, which shall be necessary, and where it is understood, I underline such words and sentences.”¹ Rolle himself had felt the difficulty in his translation of the text of the psalter, and though his translation was usually very stiff and literal, in places he “followed the wit of the words.” Misyn's translation is, in fact, a curiously late specimen of the earlier school; and its stiffness, in contrast with the freer style of the Worcester translation, renders the interval between the making of the two

¹ *Romania*, XXIII, 408.

translations apparently greater than the fifty years which probably separated them.

In certain notes on the other treatises which accompany the *Mending of Life* in the Worcester manuscript, Professor Hulme makes suggestions on which he would scarcely have ventured, had he access to the manuscripts of Rolle's Middle English tracts and to those of the two versions of the Wycliffite Bible as printed by Forshall and Madden. The Worcester MS F. 172 contains *inter alia*: (1) the psalter in the second Wycliffite version, as printed by Forshall and Madden;¹ (2) parts of what is, apparently unknown to Professor Hulme, the *General Prologue* to the Wycliffite Old Testament, also printed by Forshall and Madden; (3) part of Rolle's prologue to his version of the psalter, printed by Bramley² and by Forshall and Madden (I, 39-40); and (4) the second version of the Wycliffite *Acts of the Apostles*, as printed by Forshall and Madden (IV, 507-93). Professor Hulme, on the strength of the presence in the manuscript of Rolle's prologue to the psalter, attributes the second Wycliffite psalter to him also, and, not content with this, would be pleased to claim for Rolle the authorship of the whole second Wycliffite version of the Bible: "If Richard Rolle was the author of the latter [the second Wycliffite psalter], which seems almost certain, then he was of course the author of the 'later' so-called Wycliffite version, which would accordingly be the earlier instead of the later version" (p. 13). The fact, which Professor Hulme notices, that this manuscript does not contain Rolle's commentary on the psalter, should have made him chary of so startling a suggestion; the English text of Rolle's psalter is well authenticated, and quite distinct from the second Wycliffite translation, as can be seen by comparing Bramley's edition of Rolle's psalter with the second Wycliffite psalter as printed by Forshall and Madden. All the early manuscripts of Rolle's psalter are accompanied by his commentary and are in the northern dialect. Apart from the fact that we possess the undoubted text of Rolle's psalter, it would be very rash to attribute to him a different text of the psalter, because in a late fifteenth-century manuscript it is accompanied by Rolle's (and another) prologue to that book.

Again, the prologues to the five books of Wisdom, printed by Professor Hulme as Rolle's on pages 16-18, are actually part of the *General Prologue* to the Old Testament in the second Wycliffite version, and are printed by Forshall and Madden (I, 37-41). Rolle's prologue to the psalter is found in another manuscript in connection with the *General Prologue*, as Forshall and Madden notice (I, 40).

Similarly, Professor Hulme's suggestion (p. 25) that the *Acts of the Apostles* of the second Wycliffite version "may have had in its origin some

¹ *The Holy Bible . . . made from the Latin Vulgate by John Wycliffe and his followers*, ed. by J. Forshall and F. Madden (Oxford, 1850), II, 739-888.

² *The Psalter . . . with a Translation and Exposition in English by Richard Rolle of Hampole*, H. R. Bramley (1884), p. 3.

connection with Rolle of Hampole" cannot be taken seriously. There is no manuscript of the second Wycliffite version till between forty and fifty years after Rolle's death, and no early manuscript of this version is in the northern dialect. The whole question of Rolle's Middle English works will soon be cleared up by the forthcoming work of Dr. Hope Emily Allen, whose book has been unfortunately delayed by the war.

It should be noticed that the reference numbers inserted by W. Thomas in the Worcester manuscript, mentioned by Professor Hulme (p. 9), are from the *Catalogi Librorum Manuscriptorum Angliae et Hiberniae*, Bernard, Oxford, 1697; and that information about Nicholas Love, the Carthusian prior of Mount Grace in 1409, which is desiderated by Professor Hulme on page 8, is accessible in an article on "Mount Grace Priory," by H. V. Le Bas, in the *Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal*, XVIII, 264.

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A Study of William Shenstone and of His Critics, with Fifteen of His Unpublished Poems and Five of His Unpublished Latin Inscriptions. By ALICE I. HAZELTINE. Menasha, Wisconsin, 1918.

This study was occasioned by Shenstone manuscripts owned by Professor George Herbert Palmer of Harvard, from which are drawn the slender additions to the poet's output here printed for the first time. The writer purposes to defend Shenstone's personality and work from injustices done him by Dr. Johnson, Mason, and others. Although injustice is here sometimes done to Dr. Johnson, Miss Hazeltine's explanation of how Johnson deduced the dilapidation of Leasowes from Shenstone's own lines is a just and skilful piece of work. The argumentative style is on occasion weakened by use of exclamation, rhetorical question, and a tone of pity for one's opponents (e.g., pp. 42, 51). The whole study is frankly and excessively partisan. Otherwise it is commendable.

G. S.

A Geographical Dictionary of Milton. By ALLAN H. GILBERT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1919. Pp. viii+322.

This volume of the Cornell Studies in English, a part of which was accepted at Cornell as Mr. Gilbert's doctoral dissertation, does perhaps even more than its title indicates. The author says (p. vii):

I have given in alphabetic order the place-names in Milton's prose and poetry (except the addresses of the *Letters of State* and the Biblical quotations in *De*

Doctrina Christiana), and have endeavored so to explain these names, especially those occurring in the verse, as to reveal something of what they meant to the poet himself. To this end, I have drawn the quotations, so far as possible, from books he actually read. When this has been impossible, I have quoted from representative books accessible to him.

We have thus not mere explanations of place-names but frequently valuable annotations of poetic passages. Good examples are found under the headings of *Malabar*, *Punic Coast*, and *Severn*. Upon cursory examination the work seems done with commendable care; it should prove very useful.

G. S.

Englishmen for My Money, or a Woman Will Have Her Will. By WILLIAM HAUGHTON. Edited with Introduction and Notes by ALBERT CROLL BAUGH. Philadelphia, 1917. Pp. 236.

This University of Pennsylvania dissertation is an excellent bit of editing. The text is carefully reprinted from the best sheets of the copies of the first quarto, with a few corrections and with a full record of the variants in a number of the copies of the three quartos. The notes are few but in the main adequate. A satisfactory account of Haughton's place in the history of Elizabethan drama is given in the Introduction, which contains a study of the conventions of the play and its influence on the rise of the type of realistic comedy that deals with London life; a survey of the lost plays and of the few extant plays written in conjunction with others; and an excellent re-examination of the problems in this connection, such as that of Haughton's relation to *Two Lamentable Tragedies*, and the authorship of *Grim the Collier of Croydon*.

C. R. B.

A Subject-Index to the Poems of Edmund Spenser. By CHARLES HUNTINGTON WHITMAN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918. Pp. xi+261.

This work, published under the auspices of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, furnishes a valuable reference book for students of Spenser, and incidentally for students of Elizabethan science, topography, mythology, etc. The index includes practically every term, general or specific, under which passages or themes of Spenser's work might be grouped, and the citation of Spenserian passages seems to be nearly exhaustive. Cross-references render it easy to follow a general subject. Explanations are given of the meaning of various terms as used by Spenser and of the place or function, allegorical or other, of characters in Spenser's works. Withal, the volume is a good specimen of artistic bookmaking.

C. R. B.

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C. F. MEYERS SCHILLERGEDICHT

Conrad Ferdinand Meyer hat ein Gedicht, *Schillers Bestattung*, geschrieben, das in den *Gedichten* an dritter Stelle steht, zwischen den Gedichten *Das heilige Feuer* und *Liederseelen*; nach der 68. Auflage, Leipzig, 1914, S. 5, lautet es:

Ein ärmlich düster brennend Fackelpaar, das Sturm
Und Regen jeden Augenblick zu löschen droht.
Ein flatternd Bahrtuch. Ein gemeiner Tannensarg
Mit keinem Kranz, dem kargsten nicht, und kein Geleit!
Als brächte eilig einen Frevel man zu Grab.
Die Träger hasteten. Ein Unbekannter nur,
Von eines weiten Mantels kühnem Schwung umweht,
Schritt dieser Bahre nach. Der Menschheit Genius war's.

Die acht ungereimten Verse sechsfüssiger Jamben sind in ihrer Schlichtheit ergreifend schön und wirken im rechten Sinn des Wortes monumental; denn in ihrer Kühnheit stellen sie sich als ein ureigenes Bekenntnis des lyrischen Meisters Conrad Ferdinand Meyer dar. Ausserdem ist dieses grosszügige Gedicht als Huldigungsgedicht auf Schiller von seltenem Wert.

Der Gedichte *in memoriam* gibt es in jeder modernen Literatur Legion. Es gehört heutzutage beinahe zum guten Ton, in einer Gedichtsammlung solch ein Werkchen zu haben, und selbst echte Dichter, die wirklich aus inneren und nicht aus rein äusserlichen

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Gründen einen grossen Toten feiern, sie bringen mehr ihre eigene Person als die Persönlichkeit des Grossen zum Ausdruck, den sie besingen. Innerhalb der modernen deutschen Literatur lässt sich wohl nur Theodor Fontanes tiefes Gedicht auf Bismarcks Tod mit *Schillers Bestattung* von Meyer vergleichen. Liliencron beispielsweise, der gewiss ein bedeutender Lyriker ist, hat Gedichte an Theodor Storm, an Heinrich von Kleist, an Eduard Möricke, aber es ist immer Liliencron der spricht, der seine besonderen Nöte, oder anders ausgedrückt, seine Liliencron-Probleme ausspricht. Wir haben nicht den einen reinen grossen Eindruck, den die Ueberschrift des Gedichtes verspricht. Das kleine Gedicht an Möricke kann das schlagend beweisen:

Weil du ein wirklicher Dichter warst, so hast du den Vorzug,
Dass dich der Deutsche nicht kennt—grüsse dein Volk aus der Gruft!

Bleibt Liliencron hier in seinem eigenen unvollkommenen Ich stecken, wie ganz ähnlich auch Karl Henckel mit seinem Vierzeiler auf Goethe, so stranden andere Dichter am Konventionellen; der grosse Gegenstand wird ihnen zum blossen Gesprächstoff. Was z.B. Rudolf Herzog in seiner *Bismarcknacht* oder Gustav Falke in *Fritz Stavenhagen zum Gedächtnis* versucht, misslingt aus diesem Grunde, aus Bedeutungslosigkeit. Dem gegenüber liegt das Geheimnis des menschlichen wie dichterischen Erfolgs von Fontanes und Meyers Werken in der inneren Haltung gegenüber dem Leben und Menschentum. Bescheiden, ja demütig geben sich diese beiden Dichter der Menschengrösse hin wie einer Naturerscheinung oder einer göttlichen Offenbarung. Alles zufällige und bloss persönliche zerfliesst in dem einen gewaltigen Eintauchen in das Gemeinbewusstsein, in das Seelenleben des Volkes, dessen Glied sie sind. Und eben weil sie sich dem Erleben und Betrachten des Grossen so selbstvergessen widmen, wird ihnen fast ohne ihr Zutun das Geheimnis der grossen Kunst geschenkt. Da sie so restlos in der geistigen Grösse aufgegangen sind, vermag sich dieselbe Grösse durch sie ebenso restlos auszudrücken.

Meyers Schillergedicht hat nun zu der reindichterischen Wirkung auch noch eine Sonderbedeutung als Zeugnis von Meyers Verhältnis zu Schiller, besonders noch da es sich dabei um eine kühne Ausdeutung bekannter Tatsachen aus Schillers Leben handelt. So wird eine nähere Betrachtung jenes Gedichts uns einen Einblick in die

merkwürdige Legende verschaffen, die sich um Schillers Bestattung gebildet hat. Und endlich ergibt sich zu Meyers poetischem Verhältnis zu Schiller eine höchst bemerkenswerte geschichtliche Parallele, nämlich in Karl Gutzkows Stellungnahme zu der erwähnten Schillerlegende. Ich möchte keinen noch so kleinen Beitrag zur berüchtigten Parallelenjagd liefern, sondern nur im Anschluss an Meyers Schillergedicht und Gutzkows Zeugnis ein paar Betrachtungen anstellen, die uns über beide Persönlichkeiten ein wenig mehr aufklären können.

Es ist mir unerfindlich, dass Julius Sahr Meyers Gedicht *Schillers Bestattung* mit keinem Wörtchen erwähnt, als er 1905 im *Euphorien* Friedrich Schillers Bedeutung für Conrad Ferdinand Meyer untersucht. Aber der Wissenschaftler darf sich noch entschuldigen, wenn selbst ein Dichter wie Theodor Storm unter Meyers schönsten Gedichten die Schillerhuldigung übersieht. Im Briefwechsel mit Gottfried Keller spricht er begeistert von Meyers Liebesgedichten, während er bei seinen anderen Gedichten den Stoff zu sehr fühlt. Andererseits hat Ludwig Martens schon 1905 Meyers Schillergedicht in den *Stunden mit Goethe*¹ liebevoll betrachtet, freilich ohne tief zu schürfen. Martens nimmt als Quelle für Meyer Karl Schwabes Augenzeugen-Bericht über Schillers Beerdigung an, der erst 1852 herausgegeben wurde, und erblickt in der Umwandlung von Schwabes Erlebnis in des Dichters Vision die geniale Leistung Meyers. Das fiel natürlich hin, wenn eine andere Quelle für *Schillers Bestattung* zu finden wäre.

Werfen wir zunächst einen Blick auf die fragliche Schiller-Legende, die mit zu der Trübung der Quellen der Schillerbiographie zu rechnen ist. Die halben Wahrheiten und gänzlichen Erfindungen Grubers und Oemlers, die schon aus dem Jahre 1805 stammen und für die jahrzehntelange Verfälschung des Schillerbildes verantwortlich sind, haben sich mit dem, was man sich sonst in Weimar erzählte, zu einer Legende über Schillers Leichenbegängnis verwoben, die uns hier natürlich nur Meyers und Gutzkows wegen interessiert. Die ganze eigene Literatur über Schillers Begräbnis soll denn auch hier nicht mehr als gestreift werden. Die erste Grundlage für unsere Erörterung vermitteln Julius W. Brauns Buch *Schiller im*

¹ Band I, SS. 231–37.

*Urteile seiner Zeitgenossen*¹ und Julius Petersens Sammlung über *Schillers Persönlichkeit. Urteile der Zeitgenossen und Dokumente*.² Nach Braun führe ich aus einem Briefe aus Weimar vom 11. Mai, 1805, die folgende Stelle an:

In der Nacht vom 11ten zum 12ten wurde er begraben, und zwar in der alleräussersten Stille. Handwerker sollten ihn hintragen, aber seine Freunde und Verehrer traten den Abend in aller Eile zusammen, um sich diese Ehre und diese Pflicht nicht nehmen zu lassen. Es waren einige literarische Männer (Hr. Prof. Voss, Hr. Dokt. Kannegiesser, Hr. Schütze, u.a.), einige Sekretairs und Registrators. Der Zug ging in der Stunde nach Mitternacht durch die ganze Stadt nach dem Jakobskirchhofe—langsam und mühsam (es waren der Träger nicht zu viele) ohne alles Geräusch, ohne alle Zuschauer, ohne alles Gefolge. Ich glaube fast, dass noch kein Mensch auf der Welt so in der Stille begraben worden ist, als hier der berühmte Schiller. Es war eine mondhelle Nacht, alles lag im tiefsten Schlaf, umher kein Ton der Klage, keine Stimme der Trauer—nur der Wind, der an dem Dachwerk der Kirche rasselte, war das einzige schauerliche Geräusch, das bei dem Eingange zu den Todten aus der Ferne sich hören liess. Der Mond war eben hinter ein dunkles Gewölk getreten, als der Sarg seitwärts in einem kleinen überbauten Gewölbe eingesenkt wurde.

Und in einem Briefe an Gruber vom 13. Mai, 1805, lesen wir bei Petersen:

Seiner eignen Anordnung zu Folge sollten ihn Handwerker tragen, allein mehrere junge Gelehrte und Künstler wollten ihrem grossen Mitbruder auch im Tode noch ihre Liebe und Achtung beweisen, und nahmen den Handwerkern den Sarg ab. Ich nenne Ihnen von diesen Freunden des unsterblichen Dichters nur zwey, die Ihnen bekannt seyn werden, den Professor Voss, und den Mahler Jagemann. In feyerlicher tiefer Stille ward der Sarg, zwischen 12 und 1 Uhr zu Mitternacht, auf den Kirchhof getragen. Der ganze Himmel war umwölkt und drohte Regen, schaurig durchzog der Sturm die alten Dächer der Grabgewölbe und die Fahnen ächzten. Als aber eben der Sarg vor der Gruft niedergestellt wurde,—die Leiche Schillers ruht in dem Landschafts-Kassen-Gewölbe—da zerriss der Sturm plötzlich die dunkle Wolkendecke, der Mond trat hervor mit ruhiger Klarheit, und warf seine ersten Strahlen auf den Sarg mit den theuern Ueberresten. Man brachte den Sarg in die Gruft, der Mond trat wieder hinter die Wolke und der Sturmwind brauste heftiger.

¹ Berlin, 1882, Band III, SS. 442 ff.

² Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen, Weimar, 1909, Dritter Teil, SS. 284 ff.

Hierzu gehört sodann, was Heinrich Voss d.J. am 22. Mai, 1805, an Solger schreibt (bei Petersen, S. 296):

Schneider hätten ihn tragen sollen, aber dies zu dulden, ziemte uns nicht. Vierzehn junge Leute, und gewiss lauter solche, die es würdig waren den Verstorbenen zu lieben, haben ihn zu Grabe gebracht. Um 1 Uhr nachts trugen wir die geliebte Last an den Ort hin und nahmen Abschied von ihm.

Von Wetter und Naturstimmung verlaudet hier nichts im Gegensatz zu den beiden ersten Gewährsmännern. Die erste Schilderung ist etwas einfacher als die des Gruberbriefes, die melodramatisch und theatralisch wirkt und schon ahnen lässt, wo die Sentimentalität des Briefschreibers einsetzt. Heinrich Doerings Schillerbiographie, die in Weimar 1822 erschien, verstärkt dann noch jene Melodramatik bei Schillers Bestattung. Auf Seite 189 f. heisst es u. a.:

Der rings umwölkte Himmel drohte Regen. Als aber der Sarg vor der Gruft niedergelegt wurde, da teilten sich plötzlich die Wolken und der Mond, in ruhiger Klarheit hervortretend, warf seine ersten Strahlen auf den Sarg mit den teuren Ueberresten. Man senkte ihn in die Gruft, und der Mond trat wieder hinter die Wolken. Heftig brausend erhob sich ein Sturmwind, *die Umstehenden gleichsam an den grossen, unersetzlichen Verlust mahnend.*

Doering fusst ganz auf Grubers Mitteilungen, die zu seiner Zeit bekannt und in Grubers Schrift über Friedrich Schiller, Leipzig, 1805, leicht zugänglich waren.¹ Er folgt ihnen auch darin, dass er ausdrücklich die stille Beerdigung als Schillers eigene Anordnung bezeichnet und nicht etwa als eine schnöde Gleichgültigkeit des damaligen Weimars auffasst. Spätere haben das übersehen und das deutsche Publikum zu Unrecht angeklagt, woraus denn viel unnötiges Hin- und Hergeschreibe verursacht wurde. Schliesslich gab Karoline von Wolzogen 1830 in ihrem Leben Schillers eine Schilderung, die ebenso klar wie fein stimmungsvoll war. Sie schreibt am Schluss des elften Abschnitts:

Das Leichenbegängnis war dem Range des Verstorbenen gemäss angeordnet; aber zwölf junge Männer höheren Standes nahmen die Leiche den gewöhnlichen Trägern ab, und von liebenden Freundesarmen wurde sie zur

¹ Doerings Darstellung ist im wesentlichen auch in Carlyle's *Life of Friedrich Schiller*, London, 1825, pp. 285 f., wiederzufinden.

Ruhe getragen. Es war eine schöne Mainacht. Nie habe ich einen so anhaltenden und volltönenden Gesang der Nachtigallen gehört, als in ihr. Mein Mann war auf die Unglücksnachricht, die ihn in Naumburg traf, herbeigeeilt; er kam noch an, um sich dem Trauerzuge auf dem Kirchhof anzuschliessen.

Karoline von Wolzogens Hinzufügung des Nachtigallensanges zu der bekannten Stimmung hat in der Literaturgeschichtsschreibung viel Unheil angerichtet. So schildert J. W. Schaefer¹ die Versenkung des Sarges "ohne Rede und Gesang, doch unter volltönenden Nachtigallenliedern." Das wird unzählige Male wiederholt, ob es in den übrigen Ton der Darstellung passt oder nicht. In Kühnemanns Schillerbuch heisst es: "Die Nachtigallen schlugen anhaltend und voll." Und in Schillers Leben von Karl Berger "schlugen die Nachtigallen im Gebüsch."

Wichtiger als der Nachtigallensang für die Schillerbiographien ist nun aber die Feststellung bei Karoline, dass sich ihr Mann, Wilhelm von Wolzogen, dem Trauerzuge auf dem Kirchhof angeschlossen habe. Das wird natürlich auch immer nachgesprochen. Bei Kühnemann² heisst das zuguterletzt: "Auf dem Markt schloss sich Wilhelm von Wolzogen, der von Naumburg eilig heimkehrte, in den Mantel gehüllt, dem Zuge an." Und in Karl Bergers *Schiller*³ lesen wir: "Ohne Gefolge wurde der Sarg durch die Stille der mond hellen Mainacht getragen. Unterwegs schloss sich eine Gestalt, tief in den Reisemantel gehüllt, dem Trauerzuge an: es war Wilhelm von Wolzogen. . . ." Es sei im Anschluss hieran nur eben darauf hingewiesen, dass die Biographen genau wie die Verfasser von Wörterbüchern und Literaturgeschichten ziemlich wahllos nachschreiben, was vor ihnen gesagt worden ist, ohne zu bedenken, wie leicht auf diese Weise die Wissenschaft als solche verbilligt wird, die Phrase sich verbreitet und der Sinn für das Echte und Bedeutende in der Literatur Schaden leidet. In diesem Sinn neige ich mich immer mehr zu der Ansicht des Engländers John G. Robertson in seinem Buch *Schiller after a Century*,⁴ dass Schiller schon 1859 als ein "erziehlicher Faktor" zu Tage gefördert wurde, "vielleicht das

¹ *Literaturgeschichte des XVIII. Jahrhunderts*, Leipzig, 1859, Band III, S. 231.

² *Schiller*, dritte Auflage, S. 599.

³ Zweiter Band, S. 746.

⁴ William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1905, p. 19.

grösste Unglück, das einem Poeten zustossen kann." Das Schicksal, von enggeistigen Schulmeistern auf den pädagogischen Schraubstock gespannt zu werden, ist sicherlich Dichter und Dichtwerk noch verhängnisvoller als von zweitklassigen Dichtern zu Totenfeiern und Verherrlichungen, kurz Festspielen "verwertet" zu werden.

Herrn von Wolzogens Teilnahme an der Beerdigung erscheint in der Literatur nicht als die einfache Tatsache, die sie im Leben und nach dem gesunden Menschenverstand gewesen sein muss. Karoline Wolzogens Zeugnis hätte eigentlich den späteren Biographen und Kritikern genügen sollen. Doch weit gefehlt. Schon in Brauns Sammlung wird aus einem zweiten Weimarer Brief vom Mai, 1805, mitgeteilt: "Niemand ist der Leiche als Trauernder gefolgt als der Schwager des Verstorbenen, Baron Wolzogen." Also muss das auch zusammen mit den übrigen Nachrichten oder Gerüchten über die Bestattung des Dichters in Weimar bekannt gewesen sein, wenigstens in einigen Kreisen. Und gerade an diesem Punkte wurde ein Geheimnis gefunden: "Ein Unbekannter," der an Schillers Bestattung geheimnisvoll teilgenommen haben sollte. Schon 1837 meldete sich der Mediziner Ludwig Friedrich von Froriep¹ als der einzige Begleiter des Unbekannten, mit dem er dem Sarge gefolgt sei. In einer Fussnote erklärte er, dass er "nachher gehört habe," der Unbekannte sei Schillers Schwager gewesen. Der "Unbekannte" spukte aber ruhig weiter. Vielleicht hat später—1852—der Bericht eines anderen Weimarer Augenzeugen, nämlich Karl Schwabes, dessen aktenmässige Darstellung die beste Quelle von Schillers Beerdigung genannt worden ist, seinerseits doch auch zu jener Sage von dem Unbekannten beigetragen. Schwabe berichtet im allgemeinen wie uns schon bekannt ist: die tiefe lautlose Stille in der Stadt, den Mond mit den verhüllenden Wolken, hernach den hörbar rauschenden Wind und schliesst damit, wie "aller Aufmerksamkeit beim Verlassen des Kirchhofs" auf "eine hohe in einen Mantel tief verhüllte Männergestalt" gelenkt worden sei, "welche gespensterartig zwischen den dem Kassengewölbe nahen Grabhügeln herumirrte und durch Gebärden und lautes Schluchzen ihre innige Teilnahme an dem, was soeben vollbracht worden war, zu erkennen gab." Das alles klang sehr romantisch und lud zu allem möglichen

¹ Schillers Album, Stuttgart, 1837, S. 77.

Spintisieren ein. Der poetische Spuk in der Erscheinung des Unbekannten war tatsächlich so verführerisch, dass ihm selbst ein so vernünftiger Schriftsteller wie der Jungdeutsche Karl Gutzkow erlag. Freilich hat er danach seine tiefe poetische Ausdeutung dazu gegeben und ist so in eine nahe geistige Berührung mit C. F. Meyer geraten. In Karl Gutzkows Aphorismen-Sammlung *Vom Baum der Erkenntnis*¹ liest man folgendes:

Es lebe, so sprach ich vor längeren Jahren in einem gesellschaftlichen Kreise am Todestage Schillers, den 9. Mai, es lebe ein Mann, den ich mit Namen nicht zu nennen weiss! Es lebe ein Unbekannter, ein rätselhaft Namenloser, von dem ich, um ihn kenntlich zu machen, nichts zu sagen vermag, als dass er einmal irgendwo aufgetaucht ist an einem bestimmten Ort, bei einem bestimmten Anlass, gehüllt in einen Mantel, den Hut tief in die Augen gedrückt, bei einer Huldigung der Liebe und des Schmerzes anwesend war und dann spurlos wieder verschwand!

Als Friedrich Schiller in die Gruft gesenkt wurde—die näheren Umstände seiner Bestattung sind Gegenstand einer ganzen Literatur geworden—da folgte dem Sarge in nächtlicher Weile nur eine geringe Anzahl von Leidtragenden, deren Namen man verzeichnet hat. Schlichte Bürger sind es gewesen, mittlere Beamte. . . .

Und Gutzkow erklärt die mitternächtliche Beerdigung durch die Feststellung, dass damals in Weimar eine ansteckende Krankheit gewütet hat, anstatt ganz einfach mit einer damaligen Weimarer Sitte. Fortfahrend sagt er:

Zu dem kleinen Gefolge gesellte sich, als der Zug auf den Platz bei der Stiftskirche einbog, ein Unbekannter, folgte dem Sarge tiefverhüllt und verschwand nach Vollzug der feierlichen Beisetzung. Sonst schloss sich niemand an. Alles schlief, als die Fackel dem Zug voranleuchtete. Kein Sängchor, keine Marschallstäbe gingen dem Trauerzuge voran, kein Zudrang des Volkes beschloss ihn; zwanzig Männer, deren Namen man kennt, und—ein einziger Unbekannter!

Nachdem er die Fragen erwogen hat: Wer war das? Goethe? —Herzog Karl August von Weimar?—Wilhelm von Wolzogen? schliesst er:

Lasst uns sagen: es war *der Genius des deutschen Volkes*, der in irdischer Gestalt dem Liebling der Nation die letzte Ehre erwies für uns alle! Es lebe der verhüllte Träger einer Jahrhundertspflicht—der stumme Vollstrecker einer Volkshuldigung—der Vertreter des Genienkultus—der geheime

¹ 2. Auflage, 1869, auf SS. 228 f.

“Wissende” einer anderen Vehme, der Vehme für die Unterlassungssünden, die sich die Menschheit für ihre Priester und Propheten nur zu oft zu schulden kommen lässt, der Unbekannte von Weimars Stiftskirche!

Aus Gutzkows Aeusserungen lässt sich auf seine rege Teilnahme an ebenjener Schillerliteratur schliessen, die sich durch Adolf Stahrs öffentliche Entrüstung, 1851, zu einem Streit um Schillers Bestattung auswuchs. Gutzkow war auch vor dem Erscheinen seiner Aphorismen-Sammlung, deren erste Auflage 1868 herauskam, mehrere Male in Weimar, von 1861–64 sogar ständig als erster Generalsekretär der Schillerstiftung, musste also auch mit allem literarischen Stadtklatsch vertraut sein.¹ Interessant ist nun die Wendung, die er den vorerwähnten Berichten von den Leidtragenden gibt. Braun hatte “einige literarische Männer, einige Sekretairs und Registrators,” der Gruberbrief sprach von “jungen Gelehrten und Künstlern,” bei Voss d.J. waren es einfach nur vierzehn “würdige” junge Leute und bei Karoline von Wolzogen “zwölf junge Männer höheren Standes.” Daraus macht der im allgemein anti-aristokratische Jungdeutsche und der “Plebejer” Gutzkow: “schlichte Bürger, mittlere Beamte.” Eine gewisse tendenziöse Entstellung der Tatsachen ist dabei nicht abzuleugnen. Immerhin ist Gutzkow in diesem Punkte noch massvoll, wenn man ihn z.B. mit einem modernen Schreiber vergleicht, der in seinem “Nachtstück” vom Jahre 1905 ausgerechnet bei Schillers Leidtragenden den sozialen Gegensatz von Handwerkern und Gelehrten behandelt.² Die poetische Ausdeutung der Rolle des Unbekannten spricht für Gutzkows idealen Sinn. Es steckt darin aber auch etwas vom Ton der Festrede, der leider in den allermeisten deutschen Schillerreden zu finden ist und uns bei Gutzkow selbst als Nachklang des Jahres 1859 nicht recht behagen will. Albert Ludwig in seinem Werk über *Schiller und die Nachwelt*³ erwähnt zwei Schillerreden von Gutzkow, die eine von 1851, die andere von 1859, die dem “Schiller-Denkmal” einverleibt ist. Damit darf jedoch keineswegs die Auffassung vertreten werden, als sei im ‘Festspruch’ Gutzkows Verhältnis zu Schiller erschöpft oder

¹ Vgl. “Weimarer Beziehungen” in H. H. Houbens *Jungdeutscher Sturm und Drang*, Leipzig, 1911, SS. 539 ff.

² Vergl. Willy Dähne, *Schiller im Drama und Festspiel*. Dissertation, Rostok, 1908, S. 55; siehe auch Kap. xii und xiii: “Der Dichter im Tode.”

³ Berlin, 1909, S. 401.

erledigt gewesen. Ganz im Gegenteil ist Schillers Bedeutung für Gutzkow viel tiefer und nachhaltiger gewesen, als etwa Albert Ludwigs Darstellung vermuten lässt. Als z.B. Gutzkows Schrift *Ueber Goethe im Wendepunkte zweier Jahrhunderte* besprochen wird,¹ da fällt es dem Besprecher nicht ein, dass der "Polemiker," dessen Mangel an "Reife des Urteils" vermisst wird, erst 25 Jahr alt war. Kein Wunder also, dass in seinen reifen Jahren "nur wenig" an jene ersten Urteile über Schiller "erinnert." Ludwig behauptet zu viel, wenn er sagt, kein Jungdeutscher habe eine Gesamtanschauung des Dichters Schiller gehabt und Schillers Tiefe geahnt. Gutzkow ist ein voller Gegenbeweis. Nach der ersten Primanerbegeisterung machte er Jahre durch, in denen er sich nicht viel um Schiller kümmerte. Es ist die Zeit jenes Goetheaufsatzes. Gegen "die Nebel des Augenblicks" wird darin Goethes Einfluss gewünscht und den Deutschen Goethe vor Schiller empfohlen, und das mit mancher inneren Berechtigung. Aber selbst da erkennt Gutzkow schon "den grossen Schillerschen Horizont" an. Die Schlussabsätze der Schrift von 1835 über "die Philosophie der Tat und des Ereignisses," die es mit dem Idealismus zu tun haben, nennen Schillers Namen überhaupt nicht. Doch wenige Jahre später müssen die zwei Xenien geschrieben worden sein, die bereits im ersten Band der gesammelten Werke² veröffentlicht wurden, betitelt "Schiller-Industrie" und "Vergebliche Kritik." Diese lautet gar nicht krakehlerisch kritisch:

Längst hat ein schärferes Aug' in Schillers Werken gesichtet.
Aber dem kindlichen Traum bleibt er vollendet hehr.

Und zu der Tragödie *Wullenweber* (1849) hat Gutzkow ein beachtenswertes Vorwort geschrieben, in dem Schillers Bedeutung für das historische Drama voll erkannt wird. Wallensteins Einfluss ist bei dieser Tragödie und auch sonst ohne Frage. Gutzkow mag gelegentlich und selbst in reiferen Jahren in Urteilen über Schiller gefehlt haben, unterschätzt, wie später Otto Ludwig, Otto Brahm und Arno Holz, hat er ihn niemals, und ein gut Teil, ja vielleicht alles, wird durch jenes Denkblatt vom "Baum der Erkenntnis" gutgemacht. Insofern lässt sich Gutzkows Äusserung nunmehr mit Meyers Gedicht innerlich vergleichen: beides sind auffallende Zeugnisse eines tieferen Verhältnisses zu Schiller.

¹ A.a.O., SS. 250 ff.

² Frankfurt a.M., 1845.

Ein Wort über Meyers Stellungnahme zu Schiller ist hier am Platze, besonders da Meyers aufschlussreicher Briefwechsel erst einige Jahre nach dem Erscheinen von Sahrs erwähntem Aufsatz über das Verhältnis von Meyer und Schiller zugänglich wurde.

Aus Betsy Meyers Buch¹ erfuhren wir bereits, dass ihr Bruder nicht viel Schiller gelesen hat. Schillers Pathos sei ihm fremd gewesen, wenn er auch Schillers dramatische Wucht allgemein bewundert habe; nur für *Das Ideal und das Leben* habe er eine lebenslange tiefe Vorliebe gezeigt. Herkules darin sei ihm "herrlich" erschienen. Die Vorliebe für Schillers tiefstes philosophisches Gedicht macht dem denkenden Künstler Meyer Ehre, und sein Eintreten für Schillers Genius zur Zeit von Herman Grimms einseitiger Goethebegeisterung zeigt sogar Mut der Ueberzeugung. Wir werden hier deutlich an Gottfried Kellers schönes inneres Verhältnis zu demselben Schiller erinnert. Ob Meister Gottfried unsern Dichter irgendwie beeinflusst hat, bleibe dahingestellt. Das schlechte Beispiel andererseits, etwa von Mauerhof, dem Schützling Meyers und sogenannten Aesthetiker des "jüngsten Deutschland" hat zum Glück Meyer nicht verdorben, obwohl es einen gewissen Eindruck zu machen nicht verfehlt haben wird. Meyer schreibt 1889 an seinen Verleger und Freund H. Haessel² über Mauerhof: "Er soll von Schiller sagen, was er für wahr und heilsam hält (Otto Ludwig hat es auch getan), aber die Mütze in der Hand!" Mauerhof ist diesem Rat nicht gefolgt, sondern hat 1889 in der *Gesellschaft* einen Aufsatz geschrieben, "Die Lüge in der Dichtung," der nach Albert Ludwig "zum Rohesten gehört, was je über einen grossen Dichter von einem kleinen Kritiker gesagt worden ist."³ Leider fehlt uns jedes Urteil Meyers über Mauerhofs Schilleransicht. Oder ist es "mit Rücksicht auf Lebende" in den Briefen unterdrückt worden? Weitere Offenbarungen zu unserem Gegenstand enthält Meyers Briefwechsel leider nicht.⁴ Deshalb wenden wir uns bei Meyer—ganz ähnlich wie bei Gutzkows Ausspruch—dankbar zu dem Schillergedicht als einem neuen wertvollen Zeugnis für seine innere Haltung Schiller gegenüber.

¹ C. F. Meyer in der Erinnerung seiner Schwester Betsy, Berlin, 1904, SS. 186 ff.

² Briefe, 2. Band, S. 169.

³ A.a.O., S. 559.

⁴ Briefe, 2. Band, S. 429, betont Meyer nur in der Besprechung von A. Freys Buch über Albrecht von Haller und seine Bedeutung für die deutsche Literatur (Leipzig, 1879), dass Schiller und Haller "beide einen philosophisch pathetischen Zug" hätten.

In *Schillers Bestattung* kann sich der Dichter gar nicht genug tun, den Gegensatz zwischen der Dürftigkeit der Bestattung und der Bedeutung des Toten herauszustellen. Aermlich ist das Fackelpaar, gemein der Sarg, abwesend selbst der kargste Kranz und kein Geleit. Diese trostlose Niedrigkeit führt zu einer Anklage der hastenden Träger und ihrer Auftraggeber, d.h. der Menschen im allgemeinen, der Deutschen im besonderen. "Als brächte eilig einen Frevel man zu Grab." Die Anklage kann in so kurzer Form kaum schärfer lauten. Das unerwartete Erscheinen des kühnen Unbekannten, des Genius der Menschheit, dient als endgültiges Urteil gegen die Menschen wie zu Gunsten Schillers.

Alles in allem ist das Gedicht ein höchst eindrucksvolles Nachtbild, kühn gesehen und im Stil einer Radierung ausgeführt. Von den gebrauchten Stimmungsmitteln ist kaum mehr als Sturm und Regen der bekannten Ueberlieferung entnommen; das brauchte der Dichter nicht aus Schwabes Bericht zu schöpfen, weil es fast jede Schillerschrift enthielt, und ebenso verhält es sich mit dem Unbekannten, den Schwabe ausserdem gespensterartig umherirrend und schluchzend darstellte, so dass er Meyer nichts bedeuten konnte. Es bleibt deshalb keine innere Notwendigkeit dafür bestehen, dass Schwabes Erzählung die Quelle für Meyers Gedicht abgab. Meyer konnte sogar in Schillers "Ideal und Leben" von des Erden-Jammers "trübem Sturm" lesen. Es dürfte schwer sein angesichts der ganzen Art des Gedichts überhaupt nach etwas wie einer Quelle zu suchen, falls man sich bei einem literarischen Vergleich nicht mit der Aehnlichkeit oder besser der inneren Verwandtschaft der zu vergleichenden Werke begnügt. Und das trifft für Gutzkow und Meyer zu. Ich kann auf Grund der mir zugänglichen Tatsachen nicht beweisen, dass Meyer durch Gutzkows Aeusserungen zu seinem Schillergedicht angeregt worden ist. Meyers Briefe¹ erwähnen Gutzkow nur zweimal. Achtzehnhundertdreiundsiebzig wird ein Schenkexemplar von der ersten Novelle C. F. Meyers, *Das Amulet*, genannt. Gutzkow erscheint danach unserm Dichter von genügender Bedeutung im literarischen Leben. Und 1876 schreibt Meyer in einem Brief an A. Meissner von den *Neuen Serapionsbrüdern* und sagt, er halte sich nun das *Berliner Tageblatt*, weil

¹ A.a.O., Band II, SS. 56, 268.

dieser Roman Gutzkows darin abgedruckt würde. Zeitlich lässt sich nur feststellen, dass Gutzkows Aphorismen-Sammlung in der ersten Auflage 1868 erschien und Meyers Sammlung *Gedichte* 1882. Meyers *Romanzen und Bilder* von 1870 enthalten das Schillergedicht noch nicht; es wird also wohl zwischen 1870 und 1882 entstanden sein. Weiter lässt sich nichts sagen, ausser etwa, dass *Schillers Bestattung* merkwürdig genug im I. Teil der Meyerschen Gedichte, "Vorsaal" genannt, steht, während man es eigentlich unter Kapitel viii, betitelt "Genie," oder ix, betitelt "Männer," also etwa neben Luther sucht. In Gutzkows *Vom Baum der Erkenntnis* findet sich die Stelle über Schiller unter der Kapitelüberschrift "Walten und Schaffen des Genius."

Gutzkow und Meyer stimmen nun nicht nur in der poetischen Ausdeutung des grossen Unbekannten als des Genius überein, wobei die des Dichters allerdings noch weiter gefasst wird als "der Menschheit Genius" anstatt wie beim Prosaiker "der Genius des deutschen Volkes"; auch die Anklage ist bereits in Gutzkows Stelle enthalten: "Es lebe der verhüllte Träger einer Jahrhundertspflicht—der geheime Wissende einer anderen Vehme, der Vehme für die Unterlassungssünden, die sich die Menschheit für ihre Priester und Propheten nur zu oft zu schulden kommen lässt. . . !" Diese Anklage ist von der in Meyers Gedicht nicht wesentlich unterschieden, wenn sie auch etwas anders klingt. Bei dem Wort "Unterlassungssünden" wird der Gedanke an Gutzkows eigene schlechte Erfahrungen mit dem deutschen Publikum nahegelegt; aber der Vorwurf ist immer noch nicht ausgesprochen persönlich, wie z.B. bei Liliencrons u.a. Huldigungsgedichten. Meyers Gedicht andererseits schliesst solche eine persönliche Ausdeutung völlig aus; seine Anklage ist allgemein und umfassend und schwerwiegend, aber, so müssen wir aus Wahrheitsliebe gleich hinzufügen, nicht historisch zutreffend. Das ganze Gedicht ist trotz seiner Schönheit nicht bei der Wahrheit geblieben. Es ist geschichtliche Tatsache, dass Schiller selber eine einfache Bestattung angeordnet hat, dass die Beerdigung so würdig vor sich ging, wie sie es unter den Umständen konnte, dass Weimars und Deutschlands Teilnahme gross und aufrichtig war, wie allein die Zeitungen und Briefwechsel jener Tage bezeugen, und dass sich das deutsche Volk in allen Kreisen seines grossen Verlustes bewusst

war, ja dass es seinen Dank an Schiller durch tatkräftige Unterstützung seiner hinterbliebenen Familie abzustatten versuchte. Selbst ohne Nachtigallensang muss die Beerdigungsnacht nach dem übereinstimmenden Zeugnis der Zeitgenossen viel weniger düster gewesen sein als sie Meyers Gedicht ausmalt. Alles in allem muss deshalb gesagt werden, dass *Schillers Bestattung* weder dem Inhalt, noch der Stimmung, der Auffassung nach mit den Tatsachen des Lebens übereinstimmt. Es gibt nicht nur eine geschichtliche und eine poetische Gerechtigkeit, sondern auch eine Gerechtigkeit der Auffassung und Darstellung in der Literatur. Schönheit auf Kosten der Wahrheit kann nicht bestehen. Da ist auch die Gefahr und Grenze der historischen Kunst, ob sie sich im Drama, im Roman, in der Novelle oder in der Lyrik äussert. Des historischen Dichters "Recht" ist durch das Gesetz der Wahrheit begrenzt. Und irren die Künstler, wie Meyer in seinem Schillergedicht, so haben die Kritiker die Pflicht, die volle Wahrheit zu vertreten. Auf diese Weise dienen sie Dichter und Publikum, Leben und Literatur.

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THE IE. ROOT *QĒU-: 'NUERE, NUTARE, CEVERE;
QUATERE, CUDERE; CUBARE, INCUMBERE.' II

Here also may belong Goth. *haffjan* 'heben,' etc., with IE. dissimilatory loss of *u* on account of the following labial. Compare especially the meanings of OE. *hebban* 'raise, lift up,' with *ūp* 'rise in the air, fly,' NE. *heave* 'raise, lift; lift with effort; weigh, heft; cause to swell or bulge upward; bring up or forth with effort, utter painfully (sigh, groan); throw upward or outward, cast or toss with force, hurl; *intr.* 'rise, swell, bulge out; rise and fall with alternate motions, as the waves of the sea, the lungs in difficult or painful breathing, the earth in an earthquake, etc.; pant, as after severe exertion; make an effort to vomit, retch,' etc., *heave* 'an act of heaving, swell, as of the waves of the sea, of the lungs in difficult breathing, etc.; a rise of land, knoll,' *heaves* 'a disease of horses, characterized by difficult and laborious respiration,' OE. *hefe* 'weight; feeling of oppression (in heart),' *hefig* 'heavy, grievous, unpleasant, difficult,' *hefigian* 'lie heavy on, burden; oppress, afflict,' etc.

Compare the similar loss of *u* in Skt. *kapi* 'incense,' Gr. *καπύω* 'breathe, gasp,' *καπνός* 'smoke, vapor,' Russ. *kópot'* 'feiner Russ, Staub,' *koptit'* 'mit Rauch schwarz machen, räuchern,' dial. *kopotěť* 'dahinstieben, schnell laufen,' etc. (Berneker, 565).

The following are given by Berneker as related: LRuss. *kípno* 'es ist Tauwetter, ist kotig,' *kípńity* 'tauen,' Serb.-Cr. *kòpnjeti* 'tauen, schmelzen; dahinschwinden; in Ohnmacht fallen; vor Sehnsucht vergehen' (so also Lat. *cupidus* 'pining, languishing for'). But if these belong here, why not the following? Russ. dial. *po-kvapit'* 'tröpfeln,' Slov. *kvapati*, *-iti*, Czech, Slovak. *kvapati* idem, *kvapa* 'Tropfen'; and also OBulg. *kapati* 'tröpfeln, triefen,' Russ. *kápat'* 'in Tropfen herabfallen, tröpfeln, triefen,' *kánuť* 'zerrinnen; versinken, verschwinden,' Serb.-Cr. *kāpati* 'tröpfeln; dahinschwinden, schmachten,' Pol. *kapać* 'tröpfeln,' dial. 'sterben, umkommen; verarmen,' *kapić* 'verkommen; abnehmen.'

With *heave* we may certainly compare OE. *hæf* 'sea,' OFris. *hef*, MLG. *haf* 'Meer, See,' *have*, *havene* 'Hafen,' OE. *hæfen* 'haven.' The sea was naturally described as 'that which heaves, rises and falls,' and *haven* as a 'roadstead,' i.e., where ships ride at anchor. For meaning compare Gr. *σάλος* 'any unsteady, tossing motion, esp. the rolling swell of the sea: the open, exposed sea; a roadstead, anchorage.'

Here also may belong OHG. *habaro* (swelling, tuft) 'Hafer, Haber,' OLG. *havaro*, ON. *hafre* idem. Compare OBulg. *koprŭ* 'anethum' (eine Doldenpflanze), Russ. *koprŭ* 'Dill, Anethum graveolens; Seefenchel,' Slov. *kópær* 'Dill; Kamille,' *kóprc* 'Fenchel.' For meaning compare Gr. *οἶδος* 'swelling, tumor,' OHG. *eiz* 'Eiterbeule': OE. *ātan* 'oats,' not as 'corn,' but 'tuft, panicle'; Lat. *pānus* 'tuft,' *pānīcum* 'panic grass.' Cf. No. 14a.

f) Goth. *af/vapjan* 'ersticken, auslöschē,' *af/vapnan* intr. 'ersticken, erlöschē,' MHG. *verwepfen* 'umschlagen, kahmig werden (von Getränken),' Icel. *hvap* 'dropsical flesh' (cf. Walde², 80), Norw. *kvap* 'en blød el. fugtig masse,' 'a soft or wet mass,' *kvapen* 'blød, fugtig, vædskefuld; opsvulmet, aaben, gabende (om saar),' 'soft, wet; swollen, open, gaping (of wounds),' *kvapa* 'hovne; være blød el. vædskefuld, afsondre vædske (om saar, om gummisvedende træer),' 'swell; become soft or water-soaked, exude fluid (of wounds or gum trees).'

Icel. *hvap*, etc., may come from IE. **k_uəb-* rather than **q_uəb-* (author, *Class. Phil.*, VII, 331 f.). But in any case if the above words go together, then the underlying meaning is 'rise, heave, swell,' etc., as in No. 17e. This idea seems to be also in NE. *whopper* 'anything uncommonly large; a monstrous lie,' although here the meaning may have developed from *whop* 'beat,' as in *whacker* 'something large of its kind, whopper' from *whack* 'beat,' *slashing* 'very big, whacking' from *slash*, etc. Compare Goth. *hwōpan* 'sich einer Sache rühmen, sich gegen einen brüsten.' Here the primary meaning may well have been 'swell: talk big, boast.' Here also perhaps MLG. *wappen* (OS. **hwappo*?) pl. 'Fruchtrispen (v. Schilf),' 'tuft, panicle': Norw. dial. *hupp* 'Quaste,' OS. *hiopo* 'Dornstrauch,' Pol. *czub* 'Büschel, Schopf,' etc. These belong to the base **q_uəb-* 'bend, move to and fro, up and down, heave, swell; bend toward,

rush upon; drive,’ etc.: Lat. *cubāre*, *cumbere*, *incumbere* ‘lean toward, overhang: rush upon, fall upon,’ MHG. *wepfen* ‘hüpfen, springen,’ OE. *hwōpan* ‘threaten.’

For Goth. *hwōpan* ‘boast’: OE. *hwōpan* ‘threaten’ compare Lat. *exsultāre* ‘leap, dance: exult, rejoice, vaunt, boast’: *insultāre* ‘spring upon: insult, revile, scoff at.’ So also in the following: MHG. *hæne act.* ‘hochfahrend, übermütig, zornig’: *pass.* ‘verachtet, in Schmach lebend,’ *hænen* ‘schmähen,’ MHG. *hutzen* ‘sich schwingend, schaukelnd bewegen,’ *hiuze* ‘munter, frech,’ Gr. *κῦδιάω* ‘exult, vaunt, pride oneself,’ *κῦδαίνω* ‘exalt, honor, praise,’ etc.: MHG. *hotzen* ‘schütteln, in Bewegung setzen,’ Swab. *hützen* ‘hetzen, treiben,’ OSwed. *hȳta* ‘threaten,’ Gr. *κῦδάζω* ‘revile, abuse,’ etc. Swiss *huderen* ‘in Verwirrung geraten; unordentlich arbeiten; schlemmen, prassen, liederlich leben’: *hudlen* ‘schütteln, rütteln und damit zerstören; hart behandeln, höhnen; zanken, schimpfen.’ Goth. *hūhjan* ‘häufen,’ OBulg. *kyčiti* ‘sich aufblähen, stolz sein,’ Russ. *kicít* ‘stolz machen’: Sorb. *kwačić* ‘krümmen,’ Gr. *κακός* ‘low, base, vile,’ *κακώω* ‘afflict, hurt, maltreat,’ *κακίζω* ‘blame, reproach.’

g) Skt. *kvāthati* ‘kocht, siedet,’ *kvāthá-h* ‘Decoct,’ *kōthayati* ‘lässt verwesen,’ *kōtha-h* ‘Verwesung, Fäulnis, faulendes Geschwür,’ *kuthita-h* ‘stinkend,’ Goth. *hwapjan* ‘schäumen’ (Uhlenbeck, *AI. Wb.*, 57, 66, 69), OE. *hwaþerian* ‘foam or surge (of sea).’ Here also Gr. *κῆτος* (puffing, spouting) ‘a sea-monster: seal; whale, shark, thunny.’ For meaning compare Gr. *φύσαλος* ‘a fish which puffs itself out; a whale,’ *φύσα* ‘a pair of bellows; breath, blast.’ Cf. No. 13.

h) OBulg. *kvasŭ* ‘sauerteig; saueres Getränk,’ Russ. *kvásil* ‘säuern,’ LRuss. *kváséc* ‘Ampfer,’ *kvasnýċa* ‘wilder Apfelbaum,’ *kváša* ‘Brei aus gegorenem Buchweizenmehl,’ Bulg. *kvášŭ* ‘säuere; weiche ein, nasse,’ Czech *kvas* ‘Sauerteig; Schmaus, Fest, Vergnügen,’ *kvásiti* ‘säuern, gären lassen; schmausen,’ Pol. *kwas* ‘Säure, Sauerteig; saurer Trank; üble Laune,’ *kwasić* ‘säuern,’ *-się* ‘zürnen’; Russ. *kisnul* ‘säuern, versäuern,’ *ras-k.*, *-kisať* ‘beim Gären aufgehen; schwach, matt werden,’ LRuss. *kýsnuty* ‘gären, sauer werden; weinen,’ Czech *kysati* ‘gären, sauer werden; auflaufen vom Brot,’ Slovak. ‘faulen, eitern,’ Serb.-Cr. *kišati* ‘nass werden,’ *kišjeti* ‘regnen,’ Lett. *kúsát* ‘wallen, siedend,’ *kúsuls* ‘Sprudel,’ *kust* ‘schmelzen.’

These are supposed to have Slav. *-s-* from *-ts-*, and be derivatives of the base in No. 17g. It is more probable that the *-s-* in some cases is from original *-s-*, in others from *-sk-*. Compare Lith. *kūszlas*, *kūszlūs* 'schwächlich, kümmerlich, von Pflanzen,' Lett. *kūsls* 'schwach, klein und zart von neugeborenen Kindern,' *kust* 'schmelzen tauen; ermüden,' *kāusēt* 'schmelzen; müde machen, die Kräfte aufreiben; viel essen,' *putra kāuse* 'die kochende Grütze steigt empor,' *kausēt* 'alles durcheinander mischen (bes. Flüssiges); schlingend und schluckend essen,' NE. dial. *hush* 'a gush or rush of water; the sound made by water flowing swiftly but smoothly,' *vb.* 'send or let forth water with a rush,' NHG. *husch* 'Frostschauer; vorübergehender Platzregen,' *husche* 'plötzlicher kurzer Regen oder Schneefall,' *huschen*, NE. *hush*, etc., Icel. *hyskinn* 'slothful, lazy,' Lat. *vēscus* (**qūškos*) 'small, little, thin, weak, feeble; dainty (in eating),' *vēsculī* 'male curati et graciles homines,' *vēscor* 'fill one's self with food or drink, feed on, consume; enjoy, make use of, use': Norw. dial. *hosen* 'løs, svampagtig, porøs (om læder, vævet, tøj); vattersottig; ufrisk,' 'of loose texture, porous; dropsical; stale,' *hosna* 'blive svampet, som en vattersottig el. dranker,' 'become spongy or bloated,' *hysja* 'danne en høi opsats af aabne og løst opsatteting,' Gr. *κύστη* · *ἄπρος πογγίτης*, Skt. *cōṣa-h* 'Brennen, Hitze (als krankhaftes Gefühl).'

18. From **qēu-* 'bend, turn,' etc., comes **qēu-* 'look, watch, perceive, see,' etc., 'lauschen; wahrnehmen.' The words that are usually thrown together here do not properly come under one head, for they have not all developed in the same way. In some cases they represent the primary meaning 'bend or turn toward, give attention to,' whence 'look, gaze at; expect, hope, desire.' In other cases the underlying idea is 'lurk, lauern, lauschen.' This primarily had reference to one lying in ambush for an enemy or stalking game (as in Lat. *insidior*, MHG. *lūzen* 'verborgen liegen, lauern, heimlich hervorschauen,' *lūschen* 'lauschen,' and many others), or to the augur who from the security of the inclosure marked out by his mystic rites observed the omens or inspected the sacrificial victim.

These different significations cannot always be distinguished, for the same word may develop in the two ways. In the first group belong in part Nos. 18a, b, g, h, i, and no doubt some of the words

of most of the other groups. Compare also ON., Nlcel. *horfa* ‘turn, be turned: look, watch.’ And yet from the very same base, from the primary meaning ‘turn,’ come *hverfa* ‘turn round; turn away, disappear, vanish, be lost from sight,’ *horfinn* ‘out of sight, lost; abandoned, forsaken,’ *hvarf* ‘disappearance,’ OE. *forhweorfan* ‘come to an end, be destroyed,’ *gehwierfan* ‘overturn, destroy,’ etc. (No. 5).

In the second group plainly belong Lat. *caveo* ‘avoid, guard against, take heed; ward off (a blow); protect; look out for; provide, order,’ *cautus* ‘wary, careful, circumspect; sly, cunning; made safe, secured; safe, secure (ab incursu belli; murorum firmitate).’ Here the idea of security and of looking out from a safe retreat comes from ‘bend down, crouch: lurk, lauern.’ The same idea is in Slovak. *čuhať* ‘lauern, lauschen, aufpassen.’ So also Germ. **hauzian* signifies ‘give way, cease, aufhören,’ as well as ‘turn to, stretch out toward, pertinere, appertinere, gehören,’ and ‘turn toward, listen, hear.’ In the first meaning compare Swiss *hüren* ‘kauern, geduckt sitzen’: *gehür* ‘geheuer, sicher; ruhig, gemütlich; gebührlich, massvoll, mässig,’ MHG. *gehiure* ‘geheuer; sanft, lieblich, angenehm,’ OHG., OS. *unhiuri* ‘grausig, schrecklich,’ OE. *hēore, hýre* ‘safe, cautus; pleasant, good,’ *unhýre* ‘fierce, cruel, grievous,’ etc., though these probably have IE. *r*.

a) O Bulg. *čuti* ‘merken, fühlen,’ Russ. *čujat* ‘empfinden, fühlen, wittern, spüren; wahrnehmen, hören,’ LRuss. *čúty* ‘fühlen, empfinden; hören,’ Slov. *čúti* ‘hören, wachen,’ *čúvati* ‘wachen, hüten,’ Pol. *czuć* ‘fühlen, riechen, wittern,’ OE. *hāwian* ‘gaze on, survey,’ *behāwian* ‘look carefully, take care’; Skt. *ā-kūtam* ‘Absicht,’ ‘intention,’ *ā-kūvatē* ‘beabsichtigt,’ *kavīh* ‘Seher, Weiser, Dichter,’ Lat. *cavēre* (*qəwē-) ‘guard against,’ etc., *cautus* ‘sacerdos,’ Gr. *κοῒω* ‘mark, perceive.’ Cf. Berneker, 162 f. with lit.

The Greek word, which does not have the proper form from a root *qēu-, may belong rather to the root *sqeu- in *θυσκοός* ‘priest,’ OHG. *scouwōn* ‘schauen,’ etc. And yet a number of words that evidently belong to *qēu- have the gradation *qeu-, *qou-, though sometimes regularly shortened.

To these I should add O Bulg. *kovŭ* ‘ένστασις, Aufstand; ἐπιβουλή, Nachstellung; πτερνισμός, Trug,’ *kovīnikŭ* ‘Aufrührer,’ *kovarīstvo* ‘τρόπος, Sinnesart, Character,’ ChSl. *kovarīnŭ* ‘πανούργος, ränkevoll,’

Russ. *kóvy* 'Ränke, Verschwörung,' Serb.-Cr. *kòvaran* 'falsch,' *kovárstvo* 'Schlauheit,' *na-kòvati* 'Lügen schmieden,' Slov. *kovár* 'Anstifter,' *kováriti* 'Ränke schmieden,' *kováren* 'schlau, listig, hämisch' (given by Berneker, 593, under *kovati* 'schmieden'). Compare Lat. *cautus* 'wary, careful; sly, cunning'; Czech *čihati* 'lauern,' Goth. *hugjan* 'denken, meinen,' OE. *hycgan* 'think of, plot,' Skt. *kúhaka-h* 'Schelm, Betrüger, Heuchler.'

b) Russ. dial. *čúchat* 'wahrnehmen, hören,' Slov. *čúhati* 'spüren, ahnen,' Czech *čich* 'Sinn, Witterung, Spur,' *čichati* 'an etwas riechen, schnüffeln,' Upper Sorb. *čuchać* 'schnüffeln,' Gr. *ἀκέβει : ῥηπεῖ* Hes., *ἀκούω* 'hear,' Goth. *hausjan* idem, OE. *hieran* 'listen to, pay attention to, obey, minister; hear; belong, appertain,' OHG. *hōren* 'hören, anhören; einem zuhören, gehorchen; gehören,' MHG. also 'aufhören, endigen,' Lat. *custos* 'guardian' (*idem, ibid.*). Here also probably OE. *hyrian* 'imitate' (follow?), *onhyrian* 'imitate, emulate.'

c) Czech *čihati* 'lauern,' *čihání* 'Vogelstellen,' Slovak. *čuhať* 'lauern, lauschen, aufpassen,' base **qēugh-*: Goth. *hugs* 'Verstand,' *hugjan* 'denken, meinen,' *af-hugjan* 'bezaubern,' ON. *hugr* 'mind, thought; mood, heart, temper, feeling, affection; desire, wish; foreboding,' *hyggia* 'think, mean, believe; imagine, apprehend; (af) turn one's attention away from; (at) attend to, mind, behold; refl. bethink oneself, suppose,' *huga* 'think out; keep in store for one; attend to, look after (at); provide for (*fyrir*),' *hugall* 'mindful, attentive; kind, charitable,' *hugð* 'love, interest, affection,' Goth. *gahugds* 'Verstand, Gesinnung,' OE. *gehygd* 'mind, thought,' *hygdig* 'thoughtful; modest, chaste,' *hyge* 'mind, heart, mood; courage; pride,' *hycgan* 'think of; plot; be intent on, determine, endeavor; hope; (fram) be averse to,' *behycgan* 'consider; trust (on),' *for-hycgan* 'despise; neglect, ignore; reject,' *hyht* 'hope, joy, pleasure,' *behyhtan* (on) 'set hopes on, trust in,' *hogian* 'be intent on, consider; intend, wish,' *hogu* 'solicitude, care,' OHG. *hugu* 'Sinn, Geist; Andenken; Freude,' *hucken*, *hogēn* 'denken, meinen, gedenken, verlangen,' *hugelih* 'froh, freudig, munter,' MDu. *hoge*, *heuge* 'thought, consideration, remembrance, joy,' *hogen*, *heugen* 'think of, remember, desire, rejoice.'

These are from a base **qēugh-*, which probably developed its meanings from those of the enlarged form. That is, strictly it is

not a derivative of *qēu-* in No. 18a, but in No. 1; for the words in this group have a variety of meanings derived from ‘bend’: ‘stoop, crouch, lurk, watch for; incline toward, pay attention to, consider, think; be intent on, endeavor, desire; rely on, trust, hope; be inclined toward, take interest in, be gentle, kind, loving to; bend out, swell, be joyful, courageous, proud,’ etc.

We may therefore compare the Skt. base *kuh-* in *viṣū-kuh-* ‘nach beiden Seiten zerfallend,’ *kúha-ka-h* ‘Schelm, Betrüger, Heuchler,’ *kuhakam* ‘Gaukelei, Betrügerei,’ *a-kuha-h* ‘kein Betrüger,’ *kuharam* ‘Höhle,’ etc., and Gr. *καυχάομαι* (**qəugh-* ‘bend out, swell’) ‘boast, vaunt oneself,’ *καύχη* ‘a boasting, vaunting’: OE. *hyge* ‘courage, pride.’ With Skt. *kúhaka-h*, etc., Uhlenbeck, *PBB.*, 30, 293, compares Czech *kouzlo* ‘Zauber, Zauberei,’ *kouzelný* ‘zauberhaft,’ *kouzlení* ‘zaubern, hexen,’ etc.: compare Goth. *af-huggjan* ‘bezaubern.’

d) White Russ. *s-kumác* ‘verstehen,’ Czech *koumati*, *s-koumati* ‘merken, gewahr werden, inne werden, verstehen,’ *skoumati* ‘forschen, ausforschen, ergründen, untersuchen’ may represent both **qēu-* and **sqeu-* (cf. Berneker, 643).

e) Lith. *kvóčža-s* (*man*) ‘mir dünkt, ich ahne’: Skt. *ā-kūtam* ‘Absicht,’ OBulg. *čuti* ‘merken, fühlen.’ Here also may belong Lat. *vātēs* ‘seer.’ Otherwise Walde², 809.

f) Russ. *čúdit-ša* ‘scheinen, vorkommen,’ *čúdo* ‘Wunder,’ *čudésit* ‘verrückte Streiche machen,’ OBulg. *čudo* ‘Wunder,’ *čuditi se* ‘sich wundern,’ LRuss. *čúdo* ‘Wunder, Seltenheit, Ungetüm,’ Russ. *čudákū* ‘Sonderling,’ *čudóvišče* ‘Ungeheuer,’ etc.; Russ. (old) *kudesy* ‘Zauberei,’ *kudesīnikū* ‘Zauberer,’ *kudesá* ‘Zauberei, Hexerei; Weih-nachten,’ *kudésit* ‘zaubern, gaukeln; Possen treiben’ (Berneker, 161, 637), to which add Russ. *pro-kúdit* ‘schlechte Streiche machen, Schabernack spielen,’ *pro-kúda* ‘dummer Streich; Schelm,’ *kudiš* ‘schwarze Kunst,’ dial. *o-kúdnikū* ‘Hexenmeister; Spassvogel’ (given by Berneker under *kuditi*); Gr. *kūdos* ‘glory, fame, honor,’ *kūdpós* ‘glorious, renowned,’ *kūdiw* ‘more advantageous,’ *kūdiáw* ‘exult, vaunt, pride oneself,’ *kūdaínw* ‘honor, praise; flatter, fawn upon’ (Boisacq, 529 f. with lit.): OE. *hwatan* ‘omens, divination,’ *hwata* ‘augur, diviner,’ *hwatian* ‘practice divination.’

These words are no doubt directly related to those in No. 12, not derived from **qēu-* in No. 18a. The underlying idea is 'unsteady, wavering motion.' This gives the words for 'juggle, juggler, jugglery.' Less directly it gives words for 'appear, apparition, omen, wonder, augur,' etc. It is a group of words that show us prehistoric man hesitating in awe before the unusual sight or sound: the flight or call of a bird, the strange movement in the gloom, the flickering light over the moorland, or the flash of a shooting star.

For meaning compare OE. *wafian* 'wave, brandish,' *wāfian* 'waver, hesitate: gaze in wonder, be astonished, wonder at,' *wāfung* 'amazement; pageantry,' *wāfre* 'restless, flickering,' *wāfer-nes* 'pomp, pageant,' Skt. *vāpati* 'wirft, streut,' *vāpuḥ* 'wundersam, wunderbar schön, Wundererscheinung, Schönheit' (author, *MLN.*, XV, 98); OE. *windan* 'wind, turn; hesitate,' *wandian* 'hesitate: stand in awe of; care for, regard,' *wundor* 'wonder, wonderful thing, miracle,' *wundrian* 'wonder (at), admire.'

So here we may compare Skt. *cōdati* 'treibt an,' NPers. *čust* 'flink, tätig, passend' (: *κῦδος*), MHG. *hiuze* 'munter, frech' (: *κῦδιᾶω* 'stolz sein, sich brüsten'), *hutzen* 'sich schwingend, schaukelnd bewegen' (: OBulg. *čuditi se* 'sich wundern'), etc.

g) Lat. *cubo* 'lie down, recline; incline, slope,' *incubo* 'lie upon, brood upon: brood over, jealously watch a thing, either to keep or get possession of it,' *incubo* 'a spirit that watches over buried treasures,' *incumbo* 'lean or recline upon, incline toward, turn to: bend one's attention to, apply or devote oneself to, pay attention to,' OE. *tō-hopa* 'expectation, hope,' *hopian* 'hope; put trust in' (*tō*), OLFr. *tō-hopa* 'Hoffnung, Zuversicht,' MDu. *hope*, MLG. *hope*, *hopene*, MHG. *hoffe*, *hoffene* idem, *hoffen*, etc. (Franck, *Et. Wb.*², 261). Cf. No. 9. Here, of course, everyone must admit that the meanings 'pay attention to, watch; expect, hope; trust' have arisen in the base **qēub-* 'bend,' not from **qēu-* in No. 18a.

h) Lat. *cupio* 'be inclined to, well-disposed toward, favor, gewogen sein (with dat.); verlangen, long for, desire, wish (acc.),' *cupidus* 'longing for, desiring, wishing; eager, greedy; lustful; avaricious; inclined toward, favoring.' These plainly indicate the primary meaning 'bend, turn toward, be inclined' not 'in Gemütswallung sein,' though *cupio* is undoubtedly related to Skt. *kūpyati*

‘gerät in Wallung, zürnt.’¹ More nearly related in meaning are Skt. *cōpati* ‘bewegt sich, rührt sich,’ Czech *kvapiti* ‘eilen,’ *kvapný* ‘eilig,’ early *kyprý* ‘strebsam, emsig, eifrig, frisch.’

With Czech *kyprý* ‘eifrig, frisch’ (how different this from *kypěti* ‘aufwallen, gären,’ Lat. *vapidus*), Bulg. *kíper*, fem. *kípra* ‘hübsch’ compare Umbr. *Cubrar* ‘Bonae,’ Sabin. *cuprum* ‘bonum,’ not ‘erwünscht, begehrenswert’ (von Planta, I, 122), but ‘inclined toward, kindly disposed, geneigt, hold, gewogen, propitius, favens,’ and Gr. *κύπρις* (swelling, blooming) ‘a name of Aphrodite; love, *ἔρως*; bloom, blossom, esp. of the olive and vine,’ *κυπρίζω* ‘bloom.’ In form these are closely related to Lith. *kuprà* (swelling) ‘Höcker,’ OHG. *hovar* idem, etc. Perhaps *hübsch* belongs semantically here, with later association with *Hof*, with which, however, it is in any case ultimately related. Compare MHG. *hübesch* ‘fein gebildet und gesittet, unterhaltend, schön,’ NHG. *hübsch*, Swiss *hübschelich* ‘sachte, sanft, bedächtig, behutsam, vorsichtig, sorgfältig; bescheiden; langsam, leise.’ This comes very close to the meanings of Lat. *caute*, *cautus*.

i) From the stem-form **q̥uoi-*, **q̥ui-* come OPruss. *quoi* ‘er will,’ *quāits* ‘Wille,’ *quoilit* ‘wollen,’ Lith. *kvėczù*, *kvėsti* ‘einladen,’ Lat. *invītāre* ‘invite, allure, attract, incite; summon, challenge,’ *vīs* ‘thou wilt,’ *invītus* ‘unwilling, reluctant,’ Gr. *κοῖται · γυναικῶν ἐπιθυμῖαι, κίσσα* ‘the longing of pregnant women, craving for strange food,’ *κισσάω* ‘crave, long for, yearn after,’ Skt. *kēta-h* ‘Wille, Begierde, Absicht, Aufforderung, Einladung’ (cf. Walde², 391 with lit.). The primary meaning is ‘bend toward, incline’ as in No. 18h, and ‘wave to, beckon: attract, invite.’ Compare also Lith. *kvitoti* ‘lauschen, wittern’: Gr. *κίνεσθαι · ἰδεῖν, διανοεῖσθαι*, Russ. *cújať*, etc., and LRuss. *kývaty* ‘winken,’ *kyv* ‘Locken’ (No. 1).

Inasmuch as ‘bend’ is the underlying meaning, it is quite possible to compare *vitāre* ‘avoid’ (i.e., ‘bend from, draw back’) with *invītus*, *invitare*, a combination that Walde², 844, declares “unannehmbar.” Compare ON. *hopa* ‘draw back, recoil,’ Lat. *cubāre*, etc.: OE. *hopian* ‘hope,’ Lat. *incumbere* ‘incline toward, pay attention to.’

¹ One might as well refer *wollen* to *wallen*, though here also both may be derived from a root **uel-* ‘turn, roll,’ etc.

19. OBulg. *kovati* 'schmieden,' Russ. *kovát'* 'schmieden, hämmern,' Lith. *káuti* 'schlagen, schmieden; kämpfen,' *kovà* 'Kampf,' Lett. *nā-kaút* 'erschlagen, töten,' *kawa* 'Schicht,' OE. *hēawan*, pret. *hēow* 'hew, cut; cut down, kill,' *gehēaw* 'gnashing (of teeth),' OHG. *houwan* 'hauen, schlagen,' *houwa* 'Haue, Hacke,' etc., Lat. *cūdo* 'beat, pound; forge; stamp, coin,' Ir. *cuad* 'schlagen, kämpfen'; ChSl. *kyjǐ* 'Hammer, Knüttel,' LRuss. *kyj* 'Stock, Prügel,' Lith. *kájis* 'Hammer,' etc. (cf. Berneker, 592 f., 676).

The base **qēu-*, *qōu-*, *qəu-*, *qū-* may be directly derived from **qēu-* in No. 7 in the sense 'set in motion, shake,' whence 'beat,' etc., in the foregoing. This meaning develops again and again in the enlarged bases, either from 'shake, drive, thrust' or 'cause to fall, fell,' or else secondarily from a word meaning 'bunch, club, cudgel.' Compare the following: Czech *kývati* 'bewegen, schütteln,' OE. *hīenan* 'fell, strike down; ill-treat, afflict; insult'; MHG. *hūren* 'kauern,' *behūren* 'knicken, zertreten'; Skt. *códati* 'treibt an, drängt,' MHG. *hotzen* 'schütteln, in Bewegung setzen,' Pruss. *hutzen* 'schlagen, schelten,' ON. *huáta* 'durchbohren'; Lith. *kutėti* 'aufrütteln,' Lat. *quatio* 'shake: beat, strike; break in pieces, shatter,' Gr. *παράσσω* 'beat, knock, strike, smite' (cf. No. 13), Du. dial. *hodderen* 'thump, bang, whack.'

20. A large number of words meaning 'lament, wail, howl, clatter, chatter,' etc., occur as derivatives of a root **qēu-*, *qōu-*, *qəu-*. Many of these no doubt are onomatopoetic. But first there must have been a starting-point to cause association with such a base to express the meaning 'howl' or 'wail.' Now the base **qēu-*, *qōu-* 'shake, beat' could give 'rattle, clatter' or 'slam, bang,' and from these secondary onomatopoetic words might be formed. But to class every group of words meaning 'lament, murmur, weep,' etc., as "lautnachahmend" is overworking the term, especially as such words may arise in a great variety of ways. This variety is illustrated by the following examples.

a) Bulg. *čávka* 'Dohle' (**qēu-*); Skt. *kāuti* 'schreit' (**qōu-*), Russ. *kávat'* 'stark husten,' *kávka* 'Frosch,' dial. 'Dohle'; LRuss. *kováty* 'schreien, vom Kuckuck' (**qəu-*); OHG. *hūwo* 'Eule,' *hūwila* idem, *hiuwilōn* 'jubeln,' MHG. *hiulen* 'heulen,' and many others.

This can very well be the root *qēu- ‘move back and forth, shake, whirl,’ whence ‘whiz, whirl; rattle, clatter,’ etc. Compare especially Czech *kývati* ‘bewegen, schütteln,’ and the following.

b) Whether related or not, the same meaning underlies the following: Dan. *hvirre* ‘(um)drehen,’ NE. *whir* ‘move quickly with a buzzing sound, whiz,’ *whiz, whisk, wish, Dan. hviske* ‘flüstern, zischeln,’ ON. *huískra, huíska* idem, OE. *hwiscettan* ‘squeak,’ *hwistlian* ‘whistle,’ *hwæstriān* ‘whisper, murmur,’ *hwisprian* idem, OHG. *hwispalōn* ‘flüstern, zischeln,’ Norw. *kvispa* ‘swing a thing rapidly around so that it whizzes,’ *kvisma* ‘revolve rapidly, whirl’; ON. *huim* ‘a quick and unsteady movement,’ *huima* ‘look furtively, wander with the eyes,’ Scotch *whimmer* ‘whimper,’ NHG. *wimmern*, Russ. dial. *kuimǎ* ‘Stotternder, Taubstummer’; ON. *huína* ‘whiz, whistle,’ OE. *hwīnan* ‘make a shrill sound,’ NE. *whine*; NE. dial. *whid* ‘whisk, scud,’ *whidder* ‘shake, tremble; whiz’ (No. 17b).

c) MDu. *hotten* ‘shake,’ Swiss *hotzen* ‘sich schaukelnd auf und nieder bewegen; sich zusammenziehen, krümmen vor Lachen,’ NE. dial. *hott* ‘move by jerks; shake with laughter,’ *hotter* ‘move unsteadily or awkwardly; hobble, totter; shudder, shiver; shake with laughter; talk indistinctly, mumble,’ *hutter* ‘stammer, stutter, speak with difficulty,’ Swiss *hotteren* ‘rütteln; wanken, hinken, stolpern; schüttelnd lachen,’ *hutteren* ‘cacabare’; Lith. *kutėti* ‘aufrütteln,’ Lat. *quatio* ‘shake, beat,’ Gr. *πάταγος* ‘clattering, clashing, dashing, plashing, rattling,’ Lith. *kvatėnti* ‘laut lachen,’ Gr. *κωτίλος* ‘chattering, prattling, twittering.’ Cf. Nos. 12, 13.

d) Skt. *cōpati* ‘bewegt sich, rührt sich,’ *kūpyati* ‘gerät in Wallung, zürnt, wird erschüttert,’ Lith. *kūpūti* ‘fortgesetzt schwer atmen, mit Heben der Brust,’ Goth. *hiufan* (pant, sob) ‘lament,’ OE. *hēofan* idem, *hēofian* ‘lament, weep; tr. bewail,’ *hēafian* idem, *hēof*, *hēaf* ‘lamentation, mourning,’ NE. dial. *huff* ‘blow, puff; breathe heavily, pant; swell, puff up; become angry, rage,’ *hubble* ‘stir, bustle, confusion, noise, tumult,’ Du. *hobbelen* ‘schaukeln, stolpern, stottern.’ Cf. No. 17e.

e) LRuss. *kýsnuty* ‘gären: sauer werden; weinen,’ Bulg. *kisati* ‘gären, wallen, siedend,’ *k’isati* ‘sich zum Weinen anschicken,’ Slov. *kísati* ‘säuern,’ -se ‘ein saures Gesicht machen, trotzig weinen.’ Cf. No. 17h.

f) ChSl. *po-kyti* 'den Kopf schütteln,' *po-kymati* 'nuere,' LRuss. *kuńáty* 'nicken; hocken; saumselig sein' (Nos. 1, 2): LRuss. *kujáty* 'säumen, hocken,' *kujá* 'Murrkopf,' Slov. *kújati se* 'sich weigern, schmollen, mucken,' *kújavac* 'Trotzkopf,' OBulg. *kujati* 'murren' (incorrectly referred by Berneker, 638, to LRuss. *kováty* 'schreien, vom Kuckuck,' Skt. *kāúti* 'schreit,' etc.), Norw. dial. *hýma* 'være døsige; være vranten,' 'dumm, duseelig sein; mürrisch sein,' 'be dumpish, doze; be morose.' For meaning compare NHG. *mucken* (Weigand⁵, II, 224); dial. (nösn.) *backn* 'sich verstecken'; (moselfr.) *backen* 'schmollen, mürrisch sein.'

g) MHG. *hüren* 'kauern,' NHG. Swiss *hüren* 'kauern, geduckt sitzen; abgeschwächt, ohne genaue Bezeichnung bestimmter Stellung oder Lage des Körpers, mit dem Nebenbegriff der Müssigkeit, Schwäche, Niedergeschlagenheit, Verstimmung, Schmollen': MLG. *hüren* 'winseln, schreien,' OE. *horian* 'cry out.' Cf. No. 5.

h) Skt. *kucāti*, *kuñcate* 'zieht sich zusammen, krümmt sich,' Slov. *kvěciti* 'krümmen, biegen,' Pol. *kwękać* 'kränkeln: stöhnen, ächzen,' *kwękacz* 'kränkelder, stöhnender Mensch,' NE. dial. *whinge* 'whine' (OE. **hwengan*, or a blend of *whine* and *cringe*?); Serb.-Cr. *čučati* 'kauern,' Slovak. *čučeti* 'sich bergen': Bulg.: *kúkam* (draw back) 'lebe einsam, stehe allein,' *kúkaven* 'traurig,' Slov. *kúkati* 'traurig sein,' *kúkav* 'traurig, elend' (Gr. *kakós* 'low, vile; wretched, sad'), Serb.-Cr. *kūkav* 'unglücklich, traurig,' *kūkati* 'wehklagen,' Russ. *kúkat* 'murren, mucksen,' *s-kuka* 'üble Laune, Missbehagen, Langeweile,' *s-kúčnyj* 'langweilig, traurig' (dial.), *kucno* 'bange,' *s-kucát* 'betrübt sein, sich sehnen wonach,' *s-kúciť* 'fortwährend winseln,' Slov. *s-kúčati* 'ächzen, winseln,' etc.

These with other words which may properly be regarded as secondary onomatopoeitic formations are given by Berneker, I, 639, 644 f. as a "Schallsippe." They are plainly from the primary meaning 'draw back; droop,' as in *trauern*, *traurig*. The following closely related words show the corresponding transitive meanings: 'bend down, press, oppress, afflict.'

Slov. *s-kúčiti* 'beugen,' Pol. *do-kuczyć*, *-kuczać* 'jem. zusetzen, plagen, peinen,' *do-kucźliwy* 'empfindlich, schmerzhaft, lästig,' Serb.-Cr. *s-kučiti* 'zusetzen, in die Enge treiben,' LRuss. *kúcyty*, *do-kučáty* 'jem. mit Zureden belästigen.' Cf. No. 7.

i) LRuss. *kývaty* ‘schütteln, winken,’ *kyv* ‘Locken; Drohen’ (No. 1). Here the idea of threatening as well as of alluring comes directly from ‘shaking (the hand or fist at one); motioning, beckoning.’

j) Goth. *haunjan* ‘ταπεινῶν, niedrig machen,’ OE. *hīenan* ‘fell, strike down; ill-treat, injure, destroy; humble, humiliate; treat with contempt, insult; condemn,’ OHG. *hōnen* ‘schmähen,’ NHG. *höhnēn*. Cf. No. 2.

k) Russ.-ChSl. *po-kyjō* ‘nod,’ LRuss. *kujáty* ‘nicken, schläfrig sein; hocken,’ base **qũjo-*, *qui-* ‘crouch, cower; tr. fell, beat down, oppress, afflict’: OSwed. *hwin* ‘molestia,’ OE. *ā-hwēnan* ‘vex, tease, grieve,’ ‘quälen, betrüben,’ *ā-hwēned* ‘afflicted, sad’; Upper Sorb. *čvilič* ‘quälen,’ LRuss. *čvítjty* ‘geisseln, schlagen,’ Slov. *cvěliti* ‘quälen, betrüben,’ *cviliti* ‘winseln, quieken,’ ChSl. *cviliti* ‘κλαυθμυρίζεσθαι, weinen,’ *cvěliti* ‘weinen machen,’ Russ. dial. *cvělít* ‘quälen, zergen; zum Weinen bringen,’ Bulg. *cvíl’ŭ* ‘klage; wiehere,’ Serb.-Cr. *cviljeti* ‘wehklagen.’

l) OBulg. *po-kyvati* ‘κινεῖν, σαλεύειν,’ Czech *kývati* ‘winken, nicken, wedeln, bewegen, schütteln,’ *o-kouněti se* ‘zaudern, tändeln, zögern’ (Nos. 1, 2): Lett. *kawēt* ‘aufhalten, hindern, (die Zeit) vertreiben; zögern, zaudern,’ Lat. *cavilla* (Zupfen, teasing) ‘raillery, jesting, scoffing; quibbling, sophistry,’ *cavillor* ‘censure, criticize, satirize; quibble,’ Lett. *kaulēt* ‘dingen, feilschen,’ *kauletis* ‘mit einander dingen, feilschen,’ *pa-k.* ‘sich die Zeit vertreiben,’ Lith. *kaūlyti* ‘unaufhörlich bitten; zanken, streiten.’ For meaning compare OE. *tāsan* ‘pull to pieces, tease (wool),’ NE. *tease* ‘vex, annoy, disturb, or irritate by silly trifling, or by jests and raillery; plague with questions, importunity, insinuations, or the like,’ ‘necken, hänseln, quälen; unaufhörlich bitten, belästigen.’

m) Skt. *cōdati* ‘treibt an, drängt,’ ChSl. *kuditi* ‘tadeln, schmähen,’ Gr. *κυδάω* ‘revile, abuse,’ OSwed. *hýta* ‘threaten,’ Goth. *hwōtjan* idem; ON. *huða* ‘durchbohren,’ OS. *farhwātan* ‘verfluchen,’ MHG. *verwāzen* ‘verstossen: verderben; verfluchen’; MDu. *hotten* ‘shake,’ MHG. *hotzen* ‘schütteln, in Bewegung setzen,’ NHG. Pruss. *hutzen* ‘schlagen, schelten,’ Swab. *hützen* ‘hetzen, treiben,’ *hutzlen* ‘auspöten, foppen’; Lith. *kutėti* ‘aufrütteln,’ OE. *hūdenian* ‘shake,’

Swiss *hudlen* 'schütteln, rütteln und damit zerstören; höhnen, hart behandeln; zanken, schimpfen.' Cf. No. 12.

n) Skt. *kuṣāti* 'reisst, zerrt, zwicket, knetet': OE. *hosp* 'insult, contempt,' *hūsc* 'mockery, insult,' etc. Cf. No. 16d.

o) MHG. *wepfen* 'hüpfen, springen,' Gr. *κυβισσάω* 'tumble headlong,' Lat. *incumbo* 'rush upon, fall upon,' OE. *hwōpan* 'threaten.' Cf. No. 9.

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WESEN UND WIRKUNGSMITTEL DES DRAMAS IN DEUTSCHLAND VOR GOTTSCHED

Im vorigen Jahre erschien in dieser Zeitschrift (*Modern Philology*, Bd. XII, February, 1915) ein kleiner Aufsatz von mir, ein Versuch in gedrängtester Form das Ziel des Dramas in Deutschland vor Gottsched darzulegen. Bei all seiner Skizzenhaftigkeit, wohl eben deshalb, berührte dieser Vortrag nicht nur den Begriff Ziel sondern auch die verwandten Begriffe von Wesen und Wirkungsmittel des Dramas. Die Anschauungen vom Zweck des Dramas gedenke ich an einem anderen Orte wieder aufzunehmen und eingehender zu behandeln. Ueber Wesen und Wirkungsmittel des Dramas in den Anschauungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts möchte ich hier jetzt bündig mitteilen, was mir nach längerer Ueberlegung im reicheren Materialvorrat bezeichnend erschien. Wenn dabei gelegentlich Wesen oder Wirkungsmittel anderer Gattungen gestreift werden, dann sei mir dies zu Gute gehalten, denn mit solcher Ausführlichkeit wie für das Drama wird die Frage doch nirgends behandelt.

A. DAS WESEN DES DRAMAS

Aus der lateinischen Auffassung vom Wesen der Komödie war dem ausgehenden Mittelalter und der Renaissance der Gedanke des Dramas als Spiegel des Lebens vertraut. Am wichtigsten erscheint hier was der vielgelesene Evanthius von der Komödie sagt: "*comoe-diam esse Ciceronem ait imitationem uitae, speculum consuetudinis, imaginem ueritatis.*"¹ Bei Cicero finden sich ähnliche Stellen, z.B., "*Etenim haec conficta arbitror esse a poetis, ut effectos nostros mores in alienis personis expressamque imaginem (nostram) vitae cotidianae videremus.*"² Nur selten wird Senekas Hinweis auf das umgekehrte Verhältnis—das Leben ein Drama—hiermit in Verbindung gebracht. Z.B. bei von Knaust: "*Seneca inquit, vitam hominis intuendam*

¹ *Excerpta de Comoedia* v. 1; *Donatus Commentum Terenti*, ed. Wessner, 122; cf. auch *ibid.* v. 5.

² *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino Or.* 16. 30–32, C. F. W. Müllers Ausg. II, 1. S.; auch *De republica* iv. 11.

inspiciendamque velut comoediam quandam, quae in proscenio exhibetur et agitur, in qua praecique consideratur et perpenditur non quam diu, sed quam belle pulchreque acta sit.”¹

Ein Bild des Lebens also soll die Komödie sein, ein Spiegel. Drei Jahrhunderte erheben dieses Bild zur Norm für das Drama, eine Norm, darauf sei beiläufig hingewiesen, die sich unter der Aegide eines Redners die dramatische Welt eroberte. Denn wenn auch die Bezeichnung sehr häufig in Verbindung mit der sog. Ciceronianischen Definition der *Komödie* und anfangs hauptsächlich in Vorreden und Prologen zu *Komödien* erscheint, so wird doch meistens das Drama *im allgemeinen* als eine “imitatio uitae” und als ein Spiegel betrachtet. Und zwar fällt das Hauptgewicht auf die Idee des Spiegels, vielleicht weil die “imitatio uitae” als etwas selbstverständliches in das breitere Prinzip, dass die Poesie vor allem eine “imitatio,” eine *μίμησις* sei, aufging.²

Von der Wende des 15. Jahrhunderts bis in das 18. Jahrhundert hinein erfreut sich der Gedanke des Spiegels einer unverwüstbaren Beliebtheit.³ Für einige Dramatiker mag diese Bezeichnung eine tiefere Bedeutung enthalten haben, von andern, wohl von der Mehrzahl, wurde sie jedoch verständnislos wiederholt. Man darf übrigens nicht ausser Acht lassen dass die Bezeichnung “spiegel” schon im 13. Jahrhundert im Titel historisch-juridischer und überhaupt

¹ *Repetitio de philosophica regula iuris*, ap. H. Michel, Knaust, Berlin, 1903, 210, 310.

² Cf. Aristoteles, *Poetik*, Kap. 4; Borinski, *Poetik der Renaissance*, Berlin, 1886, 68.

³ Zu den früher—*Modern Philology*, XII, 481–82—mitgeteilten Belegen kommen noch: Nythart, *Eunuch* (Uebers.), 1486; Basilius de Wilt, Widmungsbrief vor Reuchlins *Scaenica progymnasmata*, 1503, und in allen Ausgaben dieses Werkchens “cum explan. Jac., Spiegel,” Tübingen, 1512, Lips., 1515 u.ö.; Reuchlin, *Sergius, cum comm. G. Simler*, Phorce, 1507, 1508, Tüb., 1513, Lips., 1517, Heidelb. s.a. u.ö.; Joh. Harmonius, *Comoedia Stephanium*, Viennae, 1515; P. Nausea, *Primordia*, 1521; Gnapheus, *Acolastus*. Antv., 1529 und Jörg Binders Uebers., 1530 verfasst; Corn. Crocus, *Ioseph*, 1536, in *Dramata sacra*, 1541; Macropedius, *Hecastus*, 1539; Hans Ackerman, *Tobias*, 1539; Gnapheus, *Morosopus*, 1540; Willichius, Vorrede zu Stummellius’ *Studentes*, 1549; Val. Boltz, *Weltspiegel*, 1550; Clemens Stephani, *Historia von einer Königin ausz Lamparden*, Nürnberg, 1551; Schulordnung von Gustrow, 1552; Joh. Bischoff, *Terenz* (Uebers.), 1568; Cl. Stephani, *Satyra/oder Bauwenspiß/. . . von einer Mülnerin und iren Pfarherr*, 1568; Conr. Lautenbach, vor Aeg. Hunnius’ *Libellus Comoediarum*, Francof., 1586; Dan. Cramerus, *Plagium*, Witeb., 1593; Lud. Hollonius, *Somnium vitae humanae*, Alten Stettin, 1605; Joh. Rhenanus, *Speculum aestheticum*, HS., 1613, ap. Höpfner, *Reformbestrebungen*, 40; Casp. Brulovius, *Charidlia*, Argent., 1614, übers. von A. Bertram, Strassb. o. J.; Chr. Weise, *Lust und Nutz der spielenden Jugend*, 1690; Dan Hartnaccus, *Erläuterter Terencius*, Hamb., 1700; Barthold Feind, *Die Römische Unruhe. Oder: Die Edelmüthige Octavia*, Hamb., 1705; Matth. Kramer, *Der wiederlebende und auf die Italiänische Schaubühne aufgetretene Molière*, 1723; letzteres Drama citirt von Gottsched, Nöth. Vorrath, 297 f.

didaktischer Werke sehr geläufig war. Eike von Repchowes *Sachsenspiegel* erfreute sich einer beispiellosen Verbreitung. An lateinischen *specula* "-ecclesiae, -historiale, -salvationis, -naturale, -regale, -virginum," mit Vincenz von Beauvais in der Titelrolle, war kein Mangel; ebensowenig an Spiegeln der Tugend, der deutschen Leute, des Regimentes, der Sitten u. dgl.¹ In wiefern die Popularität solcher Bezeichnungen auf Rechnung des Cicero oder des Vincentius zu stellen, bleibe dahingestellt. Nur kann bemerkt werden dass wahrscheinlich die Verbreitung jener Bezeichnung zugleich zur Verbreitung der Idee in Verband mit dem Drama beigetragen, jedoch auch ihre Verflachung bis zur Inhaltlosigkeit in die Hand gewirkt hat.

Jedenfalls lag es bei der Beliebtheit der mittelalterlichen *specula* vor der Hand die Idee des Spiegels aus der pseudo-Ciceronianischen Formel herauszuheben.

Zuförderst erscheint der Spiegel als ein Mittel der Erkenntnis und, wie wir sehen werden, war Selbstkenntnis eine der Hauptziele des Dramas:

Dann wie in einem spiegelglas
Der mensch mag sehen all glidmasz,
Wo er hübsch oder häszlich sy
So mag ers ouch hie finden fry.²

Jedoch gewinnt der heute für uns nachdruckslose Begriff "wie in einem Spiegel" an Bedeutung wenn wir ihn in das Altertum oder nur in das 16. Jahrhundert hineindenken. Selbst dem Patricier Cicero war ein Spiegel gewiss kein alltäglicher Gegenstand. Und einem Bürgersmann aus dem 15. oder 16. Jahrhundert, einem Nythart oder einem Culman, einem Boltz oder einem Crüginger, oder wie die biedereren Literatoren sonst heissen mochten, ihnen war ein Venetianischer Spiegel oder selbst ein Nürnberger "Ochsen-Auge" ein wunderbarer Gegenstand. Und so bis am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts, wenn ein grosser Spiegel oft mehr galt als ein Meistergemälde. Einigen mag der Begriff geläufiger gewesen sein. Ihnen möchte ein blosses Bild als nicht künstlerisch genug erscheinen und ihre

¹ S. das Register zu Pauls *Grundriss* 2, unter *speculum*, *spiegel*, *spiegel*.

² Hans-Rudolf Manuel, *Weinspiel*, 1548.

Ansprüche mögen sich gesteigert haben. Für Hamlet soll der Schauspieler "den Spiegel und die *abgekürzte* Kronik des Zeitalters"¹ darstellen Auswahl also, Konzentration. Die deutschen Ansprüche sind anders: es soll das Leben hell beleuchtet werden, scharf und deutlich soll jeder Zug im Spiegel des Dramas sich hervortun. Die Tendenz erscheint also eher analytisch als wie bei den Engländern, synthetisch.

Besonders sei dies in der Komödie der Fall: "Non enim tam in speculo hominum obuersancium facies *reluet*, quam in Comoedia tota humane uite imbecillitas"² Macropedius fordert von der Komödie sie solle:

totius uitae hominis & *clarissimum*
Speculum, & figura *amplissima*.

[Andrisca, 1537.]

dem Zuschauer vorhalten. Kann es uns wunder nehmen wenn, bei solchen mittelalterlich-epischen Tendenzen, die ersten Prinzipien der dramatischen Konzentration von den Englischen Komödianten gelernt werden mussten? Ackermans *Tobias*

soll uns ein Spiegel sein
klar vor augen glegt.

[1539.]

Die Lebensregeln werden dem Volke "in den Comoediis, so *fein hell vnnnd klar*, gleich wie in einem spigel" deutlich gemacht.³ Es ist etwas wie ein belebtes Gemälde, ein Spiegel den man "klärlich vor Augen sicht handeln . . . gleich wie ein hübsch Gemälde mit allen seinen Farben angestrichen."⁴

Man merkte sich, was Evanthius des weiteren von der Komödie sagte: "nam ut intenti speculo ueritatis liniamenta facile per imaginem colligimus, ita lectione comoediae imitationem uitae consuetudinisque non aegerrime animaduertimus."⁵ Im Spiegel unterscheide man also leichter als in der Wirklichkeit:

¹ *Hamlet*, II, 2.

² Chph. Hegendorf, *Comoedia nova*, Lips., 1520.

³ Stephani, *Eunuch* (Uebers.), 1554; cf. auch die Frankfurter Nachdrucke (B und C) des *Düdeschen Schlömers*, 1591, Boltes Ausg. 228; Zyr, *Urteil Salomonis*, 1592.

⁴ Joh. Crüginger, *Lazarus*, 1543.

⁵ Lc. *Excerpta de Comoedia* v. 5; wiederholt z.B. in Lilius Giraldis' vielverbreitete Abhandlung *De poetis nostrorum*, aus welcher die auf die Komödie bezügliche Stellen öfters abgedruckt wurden, z.B. in *Eruditorum aliquot virorum de Comedia & Comicijs uersibus commentationes*. Basil., 1568.

Dieweill Schawspill als spiegel seint
Da in man sein gebrechen findt.
Unnd kan clärlich da in ersehen
Was man sall schewen oder flehen.¹

Was im Lebem dunkel und schwer begreiflich erscheint, kommt hier zur Klarheit:

Vt velut in speculo minus intellecta patescant²

Also, es soll nicht bloss eine getreue Abbildung des Lebens sein, sonst wäre die Wirkung auf uns dieselbe. In der Komödie sehen wir uns "als in einem *künstlichen* Spiegel,"³ wo alles nicht nur klarer sondern auch mit hellern Farben erscheint "vivis quasi Coloribus."⁴ Unsere Gestalten erscheinen verherrlicht in einem "Sonnenklahren Welt- und Hoffspiegel,"⁵ in einem "hellen und mit vielen herrlichen Lehrsätzen poliert- und geschliffenen Spiegel."⁶

Die Bedeutung welche der jetzt abgedroschenen Metapher beigemessen werden muss ist also nicht die vor der Hand liegende. Das Drama ist zwar ein Bild des Lebens, aber ein deutlicheres, helleres, kurz ein verherrlichtes Bild. *Es wäre deshalb ein grober Fehler in das Prinzip des Spiegels etwa realistische Tendenzen hineinzuendenken.*

B. DIE WIRKUNGSMITTEL DES DRAMAS

1. *Utile dulci*.—Wenn auch das Publikum, namentlich des 16. Jahrhunderts, nicht als ästhetisch verwöhnt bezeichnet werden kann, an Belustigung scheint ihm jedoch ein Bedürfnis gewesen zu sein. Zwar in, nach unseren Begriffen, durchaus bescheidenem Masse.

Wie oben gezeigt wurde, die lehrhafte Tendenz beherrschte das Drama vollständig. Es dauerte jedoch nicht lange bis man erkannte, dass der didaktische Zweck ebenso gut oder besser erreicht werden konnte durch einmischung belustigender Zutaten. Hierzu fand sich bei Horaz die Formel, zwar mit Bezug auf die Literatur im

¹ Martin Schmidder, *Das New Morgens Fell*, Berlin, 1585 (1582 verfasst).

² Conr. Lautenbach, *ad Momum* in Aeg. Hunnius' *Libellus Comoediarum*, Francof., 1586.

³ Jos. Goezius, *Joseph*, Magdeb., 1612.

⁴ Casp. Brulovius, *Nebucadnezar*, Argent., 1615.

⁵ Joh. Rist, *Perseus*, Hamb., 1634.

⁶ C. v. Gletelberg (pseud.), *Eryfila*, Nürnberg, 1680.

allgemeinen, jedoch sogleich mit besonderer Hinsicht auf die Bühne angewandt:

Aut prodesse volunt aut delectare poetae
Aut simul et jucunda et idonea dicere vitae

und

Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci.
Lectorem delectando partiterque monendo.¹

Während Horaz das Anmutige als die Grundlage zu betrachten scheint, hat das 16. Jahrhundert das Verhältnis umgekehrt und die Wortfolge "utili dulce" wäre vielleicht angemessener. Denn im 16. Jahrhundert hat das "prodesse" fast immer die Oberhand.

Johannes Kolros giebt zu dass "die Poeten oft ethwan hinein setzen [müssen] damit sie die zuhören mit lust erhalten."² Warum denn auch nicht?

Ridendo, verum quid vetat dicere?
Cur melle veri absynthium non dulcores
Cur non sui lusus, sui ioci sales,
Lubentioeque identidem sint literis?
Si corrigendis moribus studebitur?³

Zwar sind nicht alle Kritiker hiemit einverstanden. Da sagen sie z.B. Kirchmeiers Tragödien seien keine. Warum denn? fragt der Verfasser und antwortet gleich:

Sed pene quid quorant velintque sentio.
Ridicula nostris insero Tragoediis,
Sales iocosque data opera miscens metu.
Ratus seuera ita temperare commode.

Freilich ist dieses eine Neuerung:

Hoc non apud uideas poetas coeteros
Feci nouum.⁴

Jakob Ruff citiert Horaz. Die Einmischung lustiger Elemente erinnert ihn an die Art

wie man den kranken brechen thut/
Dem man die nützlich gesund artzney
mit hung ald zucker ynschwätzt fry. . . .⁵

¹ *Ep. ad Pisones*, 333f., 343f.

² *Von Fünfferlay betrachtnussen*, 1535.

³ Gnapheus, *Morosophus*, Nürnberg, 1599, Widmung um 1540.

⁴ *Hamanus*, 1543; cf. auch Gnapheus, *Hypocrisis*, Basil, 1544.

⁵ *Joseph*, Zürich, 1549. Ein selt Lucrez (wie schon Creizenach bemerkt, 1. 495) häufig wiederholtes Gleichnis.

Wenn nicht tiefer, jedoch interessanter in dramaturgischer Hinsicht ist die Bemerkung des Clemens Stephani. Die "iocos" in seiner *Historia von einer Königin aus Lamparden* erlaubt er sich nur "darumb/das diese Tragedia durch und durch gar trawrig kleglich/ auch erschrecklich ist—das sich die Spectatores ein wenig widerumb ergetzen." Also die fruchtbare Idee abwechselnder Spannung und Entspannung.

So allgemein verbreitete sich die Horazianische Formel¹ dass die Giessener Professoren am Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts das Hinzufügen von Witzen "ubi commodum fieri potest"² förmlich vorschrieben. Als 1629 das Auditorium der Senatsschule zu Grossen-Stettin eingeweiht wurde trug die Poetica, im Aufzug der verschiedenen Wissenschaften, auf ihrem Band die Worte, "Prodesse delectare."³ Dieser symbolischen Figur folgten in der deutschen Literatur eine lange Reihe von Schriftstellern, die sich durch das 17. und 18. Jahrhundert bis Gottsched und noch später hindurchschlängelt: Rist, der beiläufig das "dulce" als die nötige Erquickung für ermüdete Amtspersonen bezeichnet (*Perseus*, 1634. Auch A. Bloemenhagen, vor Rists *Irenaromachia*, 1630); Harsdörfer (Brief an Klaj, *Herodes der Kindermörder*, 1645); Nic. Avancinus (*Poesis Dramatica*, I, Colon, 1675 [1655]); Sacer (in der Poesie im allgemeinen, *Nützliche Erinnerung*, 1661); Kindermann (*Der Deutsche Poet*, 1664, 240f.); Buchner (*Der Poet*, Ausg. von Praetorius, 1668, 32); Rotth (*L.c.* 1688, 3, 10, 15, 82); Wokenius (besonders mit Hinsicht auf die Oper, *Anleitung*, 1715, 30); und Picander-Henrici ("Gleichwie aber nicht alle Patienten geneigt, die bitteren Tropfen ohne Vermischung eines süssen Safts zu verschlucken; also musz auch ein Moralist der mit krancken Gemüthern zuthun hat, seine beizenden Pillen mit lachendem Munde vorhalten, und mit angenehmen Scherze einreden" [*Teutsche Schauspiele*, 1726]. Ähnliches bei Weise, wie

¹ Man findet sie angeführt, meistens jedoch nur die zwei letzten Verse, bei Willichius, Terenz, Ausg., 1550; Knaust, *Agapetus*, 1570 (Colon, 1700); Mart. Balticus, *Josephus*, Ulm, 1579; N. Frischlin, *Hildegardis Magna*, Tüb., 1579; M. Balricus, *Senacheribus*, Ulm, 1590; H. Kirchner, Bearb. v. Bircks, *Sapientia Salomonie*, 1591; Balth. Crusius, *Exodus*, 1605; Stymmelius, *Studentes*, 1549; Aeg. Hunnius, *Josephus*, Halle, 1614 (1586), u.ä.

² Poetica, 1614, 363.

³ Joh. Micraelius, 'Eykaiua Seu Dedicatio auditorij in Schola Senatoria Stetinensi majoris, Stetini, 1629.

bei Moscherosch und Schupp), der hierin die Berechtigung der lustigen Person sieht.

Im Gegensatz zum 16. Jahrhundert hat im ausgehenden 17. Jahrhundert das "delectare" den Sieg davongetragen. Der Operndichter, meint Barthold Feind, soll versuchen "das Volck auf eine angenehme Art zu unterrichten und zu belehren/anbey hauptsächlich den Nutzen mit/durch und in der Belustigung zu verknüpfen."¹ Den Grund soll also die Belustigung bilden. Dabei blieb es nicht. Wenn Gottsched auch verordnete, "Die gantze Fabel hat nur eine Haupt-Absicht, nemlich einen moralischen Satz," dann war deises keine Bestätigung einer herrschenden Tendenz, sondern eine Reaktion. Der deutschen Dramaturgie seiner Zeit war dies ein schon längst überwundener Standpunkt. Weise hatte schon gesagt: "Alles musz auff einen sonderlichen *Affect/oder* auf ein wichtiges *Morale* hinauslaufen. Durch den *Affect* wird die Belustigung der Zuschauer; durch das *Morale* seine Besserung beobachtet."² Die "affecte" hatten das "utile" aus seiner Herrschersstelle verdrungen. Es wird sogar ausdrücklich gegen die Schulfüchserie gewarnt: "Man musz nicht allezeit lehren; denn dieses kommet einem Schulmanne und keinem Poeten zu . . . ; nicht weitläufige Lehren geben . . . auch nicht allenthalben einstreuen denn alle Materien vertragen sie nicht."³ Und hatte sich Caspar von Stieler nicht schon genötigt gesehen den Nutzen gegen die Lust im Schutz zu nehmen?

Man schilt am Stagyrit, dasz er des Kommus Boszen
nicht enger hat umschränkt, den Nutzen ausgeschlossen,
und nur auf Lust gezielt: Doch ticht man ihm zu Weh',
als wenn Ergetzlichkeit und sonder Nutz besteh'
Ohn Beszrung, Lehr und Raht. Vor Kinder ist das lachen,
Unweyse pflogen sich darmit vergnügt zumachen:
Ein ernster Tugendsinn, ein graues Ehren Haar
trägt Abscheu an dem Spiel, ist nichts erbaulichs dar
und eilt mit Kato fort. . . .⁴

Gottscheds Regel war also reaktionär, aber wie häufig bei ihm, findet sich auch hier eine Spur der freieren Tendenzen seiner Zeit, wo er

¹ *Gedanken von der Opera*, 1708.

² *Ebenbild*, 1682.

³ *Ibid.*, 99.

⁴ *Dichtkunst*, 1669 (85?); HS. in Kopenhagen, fol. 26, vss. 901 ff.

von dem klassischen Trauerspiele behauptet dass es "an lehrreichen Sprüchen eher einen Ueberflusz als Mangel"¹ hatte.

2. *Die Anschaulichkeit der Darstellung.*—Wie auch die Auffassungen vom Ziel des Dramas gewechselt haben mögen, wie verschiedenen das Verhältniß zwischen Lust und Nutz sich auch gestaltet habe, einen Grund hat man immer als fundamental anerkannt: die Freude an der konkreten Darstellung, eine Freude von deren Tiefe und Stärke man sich nur bei volkstümlichen Festen eine richtige Vorstellung machen kann, die aber bei Beginn der Neuzeit als eine der auffallendsten Züge des deutschen Volkes erscheint.²

Aristoteles hatte schon gelehrt dass Poesie überhaupt eine *μίμησις*, eine Nachahmende Darstellung sei und dass ihr Ursprung der angeborenen Freude des Menschen an die Nachahmung zu verdanken sei.³ Das Drama ist aber die vollständigste, der Wirklichkeit anscheinend am nächsten tretende Art der Nachahmung. Ihm stehen Zeit und Raum, Farbe und Ton zu Gebote und seine Reizmittel wirken auf Gesicht und Gehör.

Es wird schon im Prolog zur *Sterzinger Passion* bemerkt, man solle bedenken

Dasz durch soliches Spiel
Der es sunst betrachten wil
Vielmehr zu andacht wird bewegt,
Wann so man es mit worten redt.⁴

Spannung war noch nicht beabsichtigt: man hatte seine Freude dran wenn zunächst biblische Geschichten durch körperliche Darstellung dem Zuschauer menschlich näher gebracht wurden.⁵ Diese Auffassung ging jedoch schon über die oben besprochene des Dramas als eines Spiegelbildes hinaus, selbst eines verherrlichten Spiegelbildes. Ein Spiegelbild war nach Luthers Ansicht ja auch die Wohlredenheit.⁶ Ein Drama stellte jedoch ein konkretes Bild dar, etwas unmittelbares,

¹ *Critische Dichtkunst*, 1730, 573, 543.

² Cf. H. Ullmann, *Das Leben des deutschen Volkes bei Beginn der Neuzeit*, Halle, 1893, 89. Hier besonders mit Hinsicht auf die bildenden Künste gesagt.

³ *Poetik*, Kap. 1; 4.

⁴ Zweites Spiel, aufgef. 1496, 1503; cf. Fichler, *Ueber das Drama des Mittelalters in Tirol*, Innsbruck, 1850, 16.

⁵ Cf. Froning, *L.c.*

⁶ *Tischreden*, 4. 562.

was schon nach Horaz einen viel tieferen Eindruck hervorbringen könne als das blossе Wort:

. . . . Doch was das Ohr nur höret
reitzt unsrer Sinnen Macht noch lange nicht so sehr/
als wens für Augen uns trewlich gemahlet wehr'/
und ihm viel besser der Zuseher kan einbilden
was fürgelauffen ist.¹

Dieses hatte zwar bei Horaz eine besondere Beziehung zum Verhältnis zwischen Erzählung und Handlung innerhalb des Dramas. Dieses wurde jedoch übersehen und das bekannte "Segnius irritant demissa per aures" wurde zur populären Formel für die Wirkung des Dramas überhaupt, ohne dass man jedoch nachliess, es gelegentlich als Argument für die beschränkere Frage zu benutzen.

Ein ding welches do sehen wir
Pfleget uns tieffer ins hertz zu ghen
Und darum werden auch nur allein
Solche Historien agirt(;)
Was wir sehen besser mouirt
Dann was wir nie gesehen han. . . .²

So sprach Greff. Crüginger meinte: "Wenn man nu dergleichen Christlich Spiel dem gemeynen man exhibirt so denckt er viel lenger daran/und es bleibt stercker in seinem hertzen/denn wenn es ihm sonst gesagt oder vorgelesen wer."³ Ihm stimmte Chph. Lasius bei:

Dann ein ding mehr bewegen thut
In vnsern hertzen Sin vnd muth,
Wann wir, wie es pffeget zu gehn,
Die personen für augen sehn,
Als wenn wir es nur hören schlecht,
Vnd können nichts verstehen recht.⁴

Die dramatische Form ist die fassbarste für unentwickelte Geister und Kinder. *Das lyden unsers Herren Jesu Christi* wurde zu Zürich von Bürgern aufgeführt:

¹ A. H. Bucholtz, *Poetereykunst*, verdeutscht. Rinteln, 1639. *Epist. ad. Pis.*, 180 ff.

² Greff, *Osterspiel*, 1541-42; cf. auch *Zacheus*.

³ *Lazarus*, 1543.

⁴ *Spandauer Weihnachtsspiel*, hrsg. v. Bolte, *Märkische Forschungen*, 18. 109 ff.; cf. auch schwächere Anklänge bei B. Crusius, *Exodus*, 1605; H. Zenckfey, *Euclio*, Fr. a. O., 1607; Andr. Rivetus, *Unterricht von Comoedien*, Cölln a.d. Spree, 1674.

Der jugend hand sys zlieb gethon
 Die im verstand sind also ring
 Dasz vil mee fröwt schlecht kinder ding
 Dann dasz jr heil nach köndend trachten
 Fromm/grecht und ander erber sachen
 Wiewol der gloub die heilsam leer
 Allein uns kumpt durch das gehör
 So ists der juget noch so schwer
 Das allweg ist jr bitt und bger
 Dasz durch die gsicht mee bgird hand zleeren
 Verstan/zbgyffen dann durchs hören
 Dann vsz jr ard/complex/natur
 Ein ding sy schwer ankumpt und sur (sic)
 Dann jr vernunft hat mit dem gwalt
 Den aber hat der btagt und alt. . . .¹

Die Wirkung der Predigten liess oft bedeutend zu wünschen übrig.
 Dann wurde die Bühne zur Hilfe gerufen:

Das dusz must freylich wol verstan,
 Mit deinen augen mustus sehen,
 Ja greyffen, mercken, gantz erspehen.²

“Es wird auch solches tieffer und stercker in die gedechtnisz gedruckt,” versichert Cyr. Spangenberg, “hafftet auch lenger/und fellet einem eher und öffter ein zubedencken/und sonderlich bey jungen Leuten/welche/was sie also selbst lernen/reden und spielen/oder hören und sehen/die zeit jres lebens nicht vergessen.”³

Joh. Neudorf bittet den Leser zu bedenken dass er sein Drama nicht für Gelehrte, sondern für solche geschrieben habe “qui malunt totum negotium oculis quam auribus haurire.”⁴ Was solche interessieren konnte nannte Cyr. Spangenberg “thätliche fürbildung,”⁵ und Samuel Apiarius etwas “dermassen gestaltet/das es nit allein mit worten redt/sonder auch die sach an jhr selb garnoch eygentlich allen zusehenden für die ougen stellet und anbildet.”⁶

¹ Jak. Ruff, 1545.

² Birck, *Beel*, 1535.

³ *Ein geistlich Spiel vom Euangelio am Sontage Judica*, 1590.

⁴ *Asotus*, 1608, ap. Holstein, *Das Drama vom Verlorenen Sohn*, Halle, 1880, 37.

⁵ Vorrede zu Andr. Hoppenrodts *Das Galden Kalb*, 1563; cf. auch Chph. Murer, *Scipio Africanus*, 1569.

⁶ Der Verleger vor Math. Holtzwarts *Saul*, 1571.

Es wäre leicht weitere Stellen anzuführen in denen die Ueberlegenheit der Bühne über die Predigt dargetan wurde.¹ Nur sei zuletzt das begeisterte Lob angeführt, das der Bühne von dem zur Zeit in Hall in Tyrol tätigen Artzt Guarinoni gespendet wurde. Namentlich die Anschaulichkeit des Dramas hat ihn getroffen:

Es ist wohl zu dieser Zeit in der ganzen weiten und breiten Welt keine Ergötzlichkeit über diese, in welcher mancher gottloser, verkehrter und verführter Mensch allein durch ein solches Schauspiel, darin man entweder die Belohnung, so Gott den Frommen oder die erschreckliche Strafe, so der Teufel den Gottlosen geben wird, meistens für die Augen stellt, ehist bewegt und in ein besseres und gottseligeres Leben zu treten entzündet wird, welcher sonst durch sein ganzes Leben durch kein Predig noch ander Mittel hätte mögen erweicht werden: Ursach, die Predig allein das Gehör erfüllt; wann aber auch die Augen bewegt werden, sonderlich da man die Sachen so herrlich, so löblich fürhält; als wan dieselben allda zugegen wären, so hat Solches den allergewaltigsten Nachdruck.²

Nach einem Rückblick auf unsere Belege sind wir jetzt im Stande die Wirkungsmittel des Dramas in den Anschauungen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts etwas genauer zu bestimmen.

Im Vordergrund steht das Prinzip der Mischung von Lust und Nutz. Für die meisten bildet das Lustige aber bloss die Versüssung der herben Didaktik, und nur selten wird der psychologische Grund, nämlich das Bedürfnis an Abwechslung und Entspannung deutlich erkannt.

Was nun die Erkenntnis der Anschaulichkeit als Wirkungsmittel des Dramas betrifft, so wären in unseren Belegen drei Stufen zu bezeichnen: das Bild, das redende Bild, das handelnde Bild. Erstere erkennt bloss die Tatsache dass ein nachahmendes Bild der Wirklichkeit geliefert wird. Hier muss natürlich auch die Auffassung vom Drama als Spiegel des Lebens eingereiht werden. Zunächst erkennt man die Wichtigkeit der menschlichen Stimme und endlich die Handlung, wodurch die Darstellung dem Leben am nächsten tritt und ihre höchste Ueberzeugungskraft gewinnt.

Dass die Theoretiker des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts, in ihrer Gesamtheit betrachtet, sich der Anschaulichkeit des Dramas so

¹ Z. B. Schoneaus, *Nehemias*, im *Terentius Christianus*, Antv., 1598, zuerst Colon, 1591.

² Hipp. Guarinoni, 1610, ap. Janssen-Pastor, *Gesch. des deutschen Volkes*, 7, 124.

deutlich bewusst waren und dieses Wirkungsmittel so richtig zu schätzen wussten, verdanken sie wohl gewissermassen ihrer Bekanntschaft mit der Horazianischen Formel *Ut pictura poesis*.

Es erscheint also jetzt für unsere Zwecke notwendig kurz auf den Parallelismus zwischen Poesie und Malerei einzugehen. Für uns hat der Hinweis auf diesen Parallelismus kaum noch Bedeutung. Es muss daher zuerst auf den Wert dieser Auffassung für die Deutschen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts aufmerksam gemacht werden. So wie das abgedroschene Bild, *das Drama ein Spiegel des Lebens* für jene Zeiten eine tiefere Bedeutung hatte, so auch die Metapher, *Ein Gedicht ist ein Gemälde*. In der Tat stand jenes Zeitalter der bildenden Kunst noch wie ein erstauntes Kind gegenüber. Es sei hier nur eine Stelle aus Schottel, über Dürer, angezogen.¹ Man freue sich der frischen Empfindungskraft: "Was man jimmer mag erdenken/es sey Licht/Tag/Finster/Schatten/die Verkürzung der Ferne und Weite und dergleichen/hat dieser Dürer gantz natürlich mit schwarzen Strichlein oder Lineamenten vor Augen gestellet/als ob es da wehre/da stünde und lebte."² Nun hat der Gedanke einer Uebereinstimmung zwischen Poesie und Malerei in Hauptsache zwei Abarten erzeugt, die resp. das Gepräge des Aristoteles und des Horaz-Simonides tragen.

Am wenigsten wurde Aristoteles grundlegende Erklärung beachtet, sofern sie nicht in die Tändelei des Horaz übergegangen war. Nach Aristoteles bildet die Freude an der Nachahmung den Grund unseres Vergnügens an der Poesie überhaupt. "Einen Beweis für das letztere giebt der Eindruck ab, den wir von Kunstwerken empfangen. Denn Dinge, deren Anblick uns in der Natur peinlich berührt, betrachten wir in ihren allergetreuesten Nachbildungen mit Vergnügen."³ Nur selten finden wir diesen Grund mit Bezug auf das Drama im allgemeinen erwähnt, nur etwa bei Schottel⁴ oder bei Kindermann.⁵

¹ Die Zeit interessierte sich für Maler: In Birkens Singspiel *Sophia* (1662), 1112 tritt Dürer auf.

² Ausführliche Arbeit von der Teutschen Hauptsprache, Braunschweig, 1663, S. 1195. Etwas ähnliches bei Rist, *Aller-Edelste Belustigung*, 1665, 248.

³ *Poetik*, übers. v. Gomperz, Leipzig, 1897, Kap. 4.

⁴ *Friedens-Sieg*, 1648.

⁵ Der nach Plutarch citiert, *Der Deutsche Poet*, 1664, 240 f.

Ein zweiter, tieferer Grund ist dieser: der Mensch freue sich an Nachbildungen "weil sich daraus ein Lernen ergibt und ein combinierendes Erschliessen dessen, was jegliches bedeutet (z.B. beim Porträt, dasz dieser da eben Jener ist)," also das Element der Spannung und Lösung, das allem Dasein zugrunde liegt. Es blieb aber völlig unbeachtet. Erst bei Bodmer finde ich es wieder, wo jener schreibt über die "Annehmlichkeit der Aehnlichkeit/welche zwischen einer Schilderey und der Sache waltet."¹

Die Ansichten des Horaz verbreiteten die vielen Ausgaben, Kommentare wie der des Willichius (1545), Poetiken wie die der Giessenses (1614), Uebersetzungen wie jene des Bucholtz (1639). Jedoch wurden die Verse *Ut pictura poesis*, etc.,² wahrscheinlich unter Einfluss des die ganze Epistel beherrschenden Gedankens von Verwandtschaft zwischen Malerei und Poesie, fast immer missverstanden. Man passte die Formel nicht bloss auf das *Beurteilen* von Poesie, sondern hauptsächlich auf das Verfassen, auf das Wesen des Gedichtes zu.³ Als Opitz über Bartholomaeus Strobels Kunstbuch schrieb:

. . . . Es weis fast auch ein Kind,
Dass Dein'und meine Kunst Geschwisterkinder sind,

ging er eigentlich schon weiter als Horaz, und noch weiter als er behauptete:

. . . . der Pinsel macht der Feder,
Die Feder wiederum der Pinsel alles nach.

Aber er fügte der allzu freien Interpretation des Horaz die bekannte, angeblich aus Plutarch, jedoch von Simonides herrührende Schlagformel hinzu, als er endete mit der Versicherung:

. . . . dasz (Strobels) edles mahlen
Poeterey die schweig' / und die Poeterey
*Ein redendes gemähd und bild des lebens sey.*⁴

¹ *Discourse der Mahlern*, 1721, Ith. Disc. XX.

² *Epist. ad Pis.* 361 ff.

³ Ueber die Entwicklung der Idee *Ut pictura poesis* in neuerer Zeit, besonders über den Anteil den Maler daran genommen; cf. W. G. Howard, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, Bd. XXIV, 40-123.

⁴ Cf. Borinski, *Poetik der Renaissance*, 104 f.—Die Formel wird citiert u.a. bei Tscherning, *Schatzkammer*, *Unvorgreifliches Bedencken*, 1659, 260; Kempe, *Neugrünender Palmzweig*, 1664, 11.

Und von Opitz bis Lessing hat sich diese Formel lebendig erhalten, nicht am mindesten wegen ihrer epigrammatischen Symmetrie und immer (wie selbst auch bei den Malern, in Frankreich bei Du Fresnoy und de Piles [cf. Howard, 103] und in Deutschland z.B. in Harsdörfers interessantem Gesprächspiel *Der Mahler, Gesprächspiele*, I, 1644, 110 ff., meist von Französischer Seite beeinflusst) mehr besonders auf das Drama als auf die Poesie im allgemeinen hinzielend. Wo sie einschlug wüteten "Schilderungssucht" und "Allegoristerei" bis Lessing die Notwendigkeit einsah nunmehr "die Verschiedenheit zu erwägen, die sich zwischen der Dichtkunst und der Mahlerey findet" [*Laocoon*].

Der Gedanke *Ut pictura poesis* unterliegt nicht selten der Auffassung des Dramas als Spiegelbild des Lebens. Deutlicher jedoch kommt die Idee zu Vorschein wo ein Drama als "*contrafetisch* gespielt" bezeichnet wird,¹ oder als "ein augenscheinliche Predigt und *Conterfeht*."² Mesitens wird jedoch nicht nur das Anschauliche, sondern auch das konkrete an der Darstellung gerühmt.³

Im folgenden Jahrhundert bricht die Formel allenthalben durch; bei den "Fruchtbringenden" Harsdörfer (*Trichter*, 1650, 2. 72 f., 3. 105; *Gesprächspiele*, 1645, 5. 26; *Gesprächspiele*, 6, S. 55 der Zugabe. Auch ein ungenannter Jesuit in *Nabuchodonosor*, München 1635); Birken (*Androfilo*, 1656) und Stieler (*Dichtkunst*, 1669 [85?], Fol. 27, 953 ff. Cf. auch Filidors *Trauer-Lust-und Misch Spiele*, Jena 1665; *Die Wittekinden*, 1666), deren "Allegoristerei" in der Blütezeit der Sinnbilder bis ins acute steig; bei Theoretikern wie Bergmann und Buchner (*Aerarium Poeticum*, 1662; *Wegweiser*, ed. Götze, 1663), beim Holsteiner Rist wie beim Berliner Frisch (*Aller-Edelste Belustigung*, 1665; L. Frisch, *Die . . . Unsauberkeit der falschen Dicht-und Reim-Kunst*, in einem einfältigen Schul-Spiel vorgestellt, 1700, S. 36. Neu hrsg. v. L. H. Fischer, Berlin 1890).

Zwar bemerkt man schon leise Zeichen davon dass der Parallelismus allmählich der Verödung der Zeit anheimfällt, bis ihn Lessing völlig zerstört. Schon bei Birken liest man vom Dichter: "Er musz

¹ Hans v. Rüte, *Joseph*, 1538.

² Joh. Schlaysz Bearbeitung v. Zyrils *Joseph*, 1593.

³ Cf. Hans Tirolf, *David*, 1541; Naogeorg, *Iudas Iscariotes*, 1552; P. Leiser, Widm. v. Fr. Dedekinds *Der Christliche Ritter*, neue Ausg. 1590; H. Kirchners Bearb. v. Bircks *Sapientia Salomonis*, Marp. 1591.

aber ein weit mehrers/als der Mahler/thun können/und auch die innerliche Sachen/die Gemüthsregungen/Tugenden und Lastere/also beschreiben/dasz man sie gleichsam vor Augen sehe,¹ und Gottsched definiert die Poesie als "eine weit vollkommere Mahlerey."²

Es war Lessings Aufgabe den Unterschied, den schon manche bemerkt hatten, mit einen erlösenden Wort deutlich darzulegen.

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¹ *Dichtkunst*, 1679, 185 f.

L.c., 1730, Vorrede.

THE AHASVER-VOLKSBUCH OF 1602

Several very interesting questions, which have, in the past, been only partially, or not at all, answered by scholars, arise in connection with the first appearance of Ahasuerus, "the wandering Jew," in German literature. This occurred in the now celebrated 1602 pamphlet: *Kurtze Beschreibung und Erzehlung von einem Juden mit Namen Ahasverus, welcher bey der Creutzigung Christi selbst Persönlich gewesen : auch das "Crucifige" uber Christum hab helfen schreyen*, etc., which is now regularly counted among the German *Volksbücher*. For the very fullest information on the subject of this four-page *Flugblatt* we are indebted to the excellent and thorough study of Dr. L. Neubaur, *Die Sage vom ewigen Juden*, Leipzig, 1893. Inasmuch as nothing is known of the ostensible Leyden printer of the pamphlet, Christoff Creutzer, Neubaur ingeniously, and, perhaps, correctly, suggests that this name is only a wordplay on some such expression as *Das Leiden des gekreuzigten Christus*, and gives as the likely publisher of the pamphlet the Basel printer, Johannes Schröter. Be that as it may, the pamphlet, immediately upon its appearance, became exceedingly popular. Neubaur gives the titles and the variants on the title-pages of no less than twelve editions published at various places in 1602, of thirty-three editions altogether in the seventeenth century, and of forty editions before the end of the eighteenth century. The title-page, in every instance, bears a quotation from the Gospel of Matthew, 16:28, and it is evident that the Ahasuerus theme is a development of the two medieval traditions that the apostle John had been rewarded for his faithfulness by Jesus with immortality, and that Malehus, the servant of the high priest Caiaphas, had been doomed by Jesus to eternal wandering for having struck him while in the synagogue. The first nine editions of the pamphlet are anonymous; the tenth and most of those which follow give the name of an author, Chrysostomus Dudulaeus Westphalus, which is undoubtedly a pseudonym.

The successive editions of the pamphlet are interesting because of the individual touches each adds to the original account. The tenth edition, for example, besides being the first to give an ostensible authorship, is noteworthy because of a poem of sixteen verses which is printed on the reverse side of the title-page. This is perhaps the earliest poem in German, if not in all literature, on the subject of the "Wandering Jew," whose name here appears as Aschverus. The poem is in the regular octosyllabic short-rhymed couplets characteristic of sixteenth-century German verse. The fifteenth edition tells us that the "ewiger Jude" had been seen, in addition to the places previously mentioned, in Lübeck in 1601; the sixteenth (dated Refel, 1614) adds Reval, Cracow, and Königsberg. Not until the thirty-first impression, published in 1694, is Ahasuerus referred to as the "ewiger Jude" (the title begins: *Neue Zeitung von dem so genennten ewigen Jud*). Very worthy of note is the fact that the original pamphlet bears two names and places of publication: toward the end of the text we read: *Datum Schleswig den 9. Junii Anno 1564*, whilst the title-page, as we have seen, gives the date as Leyden 1602. The question propounded by Simrock, *Deutsche Volksbücher*, Vol. II, as to whether the pamphlet may not have originally appeared in 1564, must, it seems to me, be answered in the negative, inasmuch as the closest search has apparently revealed no traces of any Ahasuerus pamphlet older than 1602. The fact that the pamphlet went through so many editions in the year 1602, which may seem to be a point in favor of Simrock's theory, can, in my opinion, be explained in some such manner as the following: The legend of the "wandering Jew," growing up out of the Christian oral traditions about John and Malchus, and crystallizing in such stories as that of Cartaphilus Joseph related by Roger of Wendover, in his *Flores Historiarum*, and incorporated by Matthew Paris in his *Chronica Majora*, gained impetus throughout the Middle Ages, until some ingenious ecclesiastic, realizing its value as a weapon for the Protestant church, wrote the pamphlet in 1602, which, because of the inflammable state of mind of the Germany of that time, spread like wildfire through the land, experiencing edition after edition.

A comparison of the early editions of the pamphlet, which has been made possible by Neubaur, who prints the first and tenth editions in full and gives the title-pages and variants of all the others, reveals interesting results. We find that the first six editions, the first published ostensibly in Leyden bey Christoff Creutzer, the others in Bautzen bey Wolfgang Suchnach, are, with the exception of occasional orthographical variants, practically identical from the point of view of the text. The seventh edition, published *erstlich zu Bautzen, zum Anderen zu Schlesswig bey Nicolaus Wegener*, shows an interesting misprint on the title-page, where the date appears as 1502 instead of 1602. With the exception of a rather lengthy interpolation toward the end and of orthographical differences, the text is precisely that of I and II. The same holds true of VIII and IX, except that the former evidently had IV as its *Vorlage*, as they are identical in make-up, woodcut, and orthography, and different from the others in these details. It is quite apparent, however, that the authors and printers of the second to the ninth editions (inclusive) had I as their direct *Vorlage*.

When we examine the tenth edition, however, we encounter an entirely different set of conditions. Aside from the title, which bears only a slight resemblance to that of I, and begins: *Wunderbarlicher Bericht von einem Juden aus Jerusalem bürtig und Ahasverus genennet*, etc., the text shows numerous variations. The introductory paragraph of I tells us that, inasmuch as the author had nothing new to relate, he was going to recount something old which was so surprising that it would be considered by many as new; the tenth edition begins with a bare announcement that what follows is a piece of news written to a friend in Danzig. The successive episodes of the story which Paulus von Eitzen, later bishop of Schleswig, is made to relate to his pupils, follow in precisely the same order and, very frequently, in identical phraseology. However, in addition to the interpolations and omissions in X, its style is generally so different from I that the careful reader is compelled to pause and take notice. A close comparison of the two editions yields the following result: The account in I is told in a simple, straightforward manner, with few stylistic adornments; that in X is, as far as can be expected,

elaborate, drawn out, and adorned with frequent epithets and allusions. A few examples will serve to corroborate this statement. Two parallel passages showing the stylistic contrast in the two editions are given:

I: Als nun Paulus von Eitzen solches gehoret, hat er sich noch mehr darab verwundert, und gelegenheit gesucht / selbstn mit im zu reden.

X: Als nun der Doctor Paulus von Eitzen von ihme nach notturfft und lust / ja mit grosser verwunderung wegen der nie vorhin erhöreten und auch ungleublichen Zeitungen alles gehöret / hat er in ferner gebeten / domit er besser und gründlicher wissenschaft dieser dinge uberkmmen möchte / das er in solches nach allen umbstenden fleissiger erzehlen wolte.

And again, an instance in which the author of X elaborates on I:

I: Was nun Gott mit ime für habe / das er ihm so lang in disem elenden Leben herumb führe / ob er in vielleicht biss am Jüngsten Tag / als ein lebendiger zeugen des Leyden Christi zu mehrer uberzeugung der Gottlosen und ungleubigen also erhalten wolle / sey im unwissent.

X: Was nun Gott mit im vorhabe / das er in diesem elenden Leben so herumb gewandert / und so elendiglichen ihn ausschawen lesset / könne er nicht anders gedencken Gott wolle an im vielleicht biss an den jüngsten Tag wieder die Juden [this is a significant interpolation] einen lebendigen Zeugen haben / dadurch die ungleubigen und Gottlosen des sterbens Christi erinnert und zur Busse bekehret werden sollen.

One example will suffice to show how close the parallelism in phraseology often is:

I: Als bald hab er sein Kind niedergesetzt uund im Hauss nicht bleiben können: Sondern mit nach gefolget und zugesehen / wie er ist hingerichtet worden.

X: Hierauff habe er als bald sein Kind niedergesetzt / und gar nit lenger daselbst bleiben konnen / sonder Christo immer nachgefolget / und also gesehe / wie er elendiglichen gecreutziget / gemartert / und getödtet wurden.

A few of the more interesting variants are: the date of Eitzen's encounter with Ahasuerus in Hamburg is given in I as 1542, in X as 1547; the former date conforms more closely to the facts of Eitzen's career. Again, almost every time that Hamburg is mentioned in I, it is coupled with Danzig in X. Furthermore, the crucial sentence of the *Flugblatt*, the curse inflicted by Christ upon Ahasuerus, reads in I: *Ich will sitzen und ruhen / du aber solt gehen*; in X: *Ich will alhie stehen und ruhen / aber du solt gehen biss an den Jüngsten Tag*,

which is in entire agreement with the trait of elaboration peculiar to X already noted above. The Spanish city in which the two German ecclesiastical secretaries claimed to have met Ahasuerus is given in I as "Malduit," in X as "Madriel," which latter form makes it clear that the city of Madrid is meant. The name of the first of the two secretaries occurs in I as Christoph Ehringer, in X as Christoph Krause. The date, *Schlesswig den 9. Junii Anno 1564*, found in I, is lacking in X. I closes with the statement that the soles of the Jew were said to have been two fingers' breadth in thickness and to have been as hard as horn, because of his ceaseless wanderings. X omits this entirely, and concludes with an enlargement of the bare assertion in I that Ahasuerus was said to have been seen in Danzig in 1599 into a statement that the *Wundermann* had been seen in Vienna, whence he intended to journey to Poland, and farther on from Poland to Moscow.

These numerous differences and the fact that X is written in a much more polished and rounded style than is I have led me to a conclusion which seems to have been generally overlooked. I cannot help feeling that the author of X, the self-styled Chrisostomus Dudulaeus Westphalus, had nothing at all to do with the composition of the anonymous first edition; what he did was, by recasting phrases, reversing the order of words, elaborations, interpolations, and omissions, to attempt, as far as possible, to conceal the fact that he was using I directly as a *Vorlage*. Apparently, he succeeded in his attempt, for practically all the later editions of the seventeenth century are ascribed to him. Moreover, it is this tenth edition which seems to be in the minds of most modern writers who refer to the *Ahasver-Volksbuch*. It seems clear, however, that X is but a plagiarized version of I, the plagiarization being but crudely disguised.

Lack of time prevents my devoting any attention here to such questions as the actual relationship of Paulus von Eitzen to the *Volksbuch*, and the connection of the *Volksbuch* with earlier versions of the story such as that of Roger of Wendover and Matthew Paris. A far more important question, one that arises immediately in the mind of the reader of the 1602 *Volksbuch* is: How does the name of

the Jew of Jerusalem happen to be Ahasuerus? Does it not seem to be a trick of fate to give to the Jewish shoemaker the name of that Persian king who was willing to see all the Jews in his mighty empire annihilated? Students of the phenomenon of the "wandering Jew" have maintained an almost unanimous silence on this point. The sole explanation I have seen offered, and one which I have not the slightest doubt is correct, is given by König, in his brief essay, "The Wandering Jew," Gütersloh, 1907, a translation of which appeared in *The Nineteenth Century and After*, Vol. LXI (1907), 969 ff. He believes that the author of the *Volksbuch*, when casting about for a name to give to his central figure, conceived the idea of using a name which was very prominent in a whole group of productions common at the time—the so-called "Purim-Spiele." The facts about these Purim-plays, which König only barely touches upon, and for which I am indebted to Israel Abrahams' chapter on the subject in his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, pp. 260-72, are very instructive. The biblical festival of Purim, which celebrates the deliverance of the Jewish nation by Esther and Mordecai from the machinations of Haman, has, since as far back as the Talmudic period, been a season of great joy and merrymaking. Crude dramatizations of the story are as old as Gaonic times (i.e., the ninth and tenth centuries). In medieval and early modern Germany, inasmuch as the festival of Purim occurs during the period of Lent, it came to be celebrated, in accordance with the Christian fashion, by a sort of *Fastnachtspiele*, the Purim-plays. The exact date of the oldest of these plays cannot be ascertained; the earliest extant instance is that known as the *Ahaschwerosch-Spiel*, which dates from 1708. It is written in the Judeo-German jargon, and abounds in the crude slapstick which marks all the Purim-plays of the period. There can be no doubt that numerous Purim-plays were produced in Germany before the year 1708. Henry Malter, writing on the subject in the *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, X, 279, informs us that, from a satirical Judeo-German poem of the year 1598, we learn that a play, entitled *Das Spiel von Tab Jäklein mit seim Weib*, was enacted every Purim, during the sixteenth century, at the town of Tannhausen. There is no trace of this play to be found, and it may

never even have been published. It is quite probable, however, that the German Purim-plays date from the early sixteenth century, so that the author of the *Volksbuch* might very well have had considerable opportunity to see or hear of such a play.

Whether the author of the *Volksbuch* intentionally gave his hero the name not, as might have been expected, of Mordecai, but of Ahasuerus, because of the polemical value the name of such a royal personage might carry with it, is problematical. König's assertion that the author of the 1602 pamphlet wrote in good faith may, or may not, hold water; but his labored attempt to prove that, in the sixteenth century, there may have been many Jews who were weary of their century-old dispersion (this much is, of course, perfectly true) and who felt somewhat conscience-stricken because of the attitude of their people toward Christ, falls, in my opinion, entirely flat. In the first place, it overlooks the fact that this is no reason why the *Volksbuch* author should not have chosen Mordecai or even Haman as the name of his hero; and, in the second place, it ignores, and, indeed, König scoffs at, what seems to me to be the very correct assumption of Joseph Jacobs, *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, XII, 462, that the discovery of a living eyewitness of the life and crucifixion of Jesus was believed by devout Protestants to be an incontrovertible proof of the reliability of the New Testament accounts and of the truth of the doctrines of Christianity.

My own explanation of the choice of the name of Ahasuerus by the author of the *Volksbuch*, a pure conjecture, of course, would be somewhat as follows: The *Volksbuch* author was, undoubtedly, familiar with the Purim-plays. In them he had seen Mordecai praised to the skies, Haman reviled and hissed, and Ahasuerus, the vacillating monarch, first cursed and then lauded. In preparing to make a polemical use of the joint New Testament traditions of John and Malchus, which were already current among the people, *zu mehrer Ueberzeugung der Gottlosen und ungleubigen*, as he himself tells us, he conceived the notion of making his hero a Jew who was willing to defend Christ and Christianity and thus prove a powerful missionary agent. Having the choice of hundreds of biblical names before him, he went to the already popularized Book of Esther.

Haman, a personage actually loathed by the Jews, was out of the question; to give the hero the name of so faithful a Jew as Mordecai would raise the story above the bounds of the probable. Ahasuerus, however, who, as a powerful Persian potentate and, in the end, the friend of the Jewish people, was a name to conjure with, and had the added advantage of being exceedingly unusual. That the pamphlet was understood to be a polemical instrument, even in the year of its publication, is evident from the above-cited interpolation in X, *wieder die Juden*, and from the fact that all the editions, including and following the twenty-second (Refel, 1634), contain, as a sort of appendix or commentary to the *Volksbuch*, a *Bericht von den zwölf Jüdischen Stämmen*, in which the Jews are taken to account for the sufferings they had supposedly brought upon Jesus by their false and malicious testimony.

I cannot bring this brief study to a close without hinting that, although much has been written regarding the "wandering Jew," there still remain a number of questions in this connection to be answered. One of these, particularly, and one which I should have liked to take up here, involves the study and comparison of all the legends centering about an "eternal wanderer" for the purpose of ascertaining which one possesses the priority in point of time. Among these wanderers are the "Fliegender Holländer," to whom Heine, in his *Aus den Memorien des Herrn von Schnabelewopski*, refers as the "ewiger Jude des Ozeans"; the "wilder Jäger," and perhaps even Tannhäuser and Faust. This phase of the subject has not, to my knowledge, been probed at all; moreover, Goethe's fragmentary *Der ewige Jude* has by no means been exhausted in the researches of such scholars as Minor,¹ Hoffman,² and Düntzer.³ The theme of the "wandering Jew" is well-nigh inexhaustible, and offers the student rich as well as fascinating material.

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¹ Jakob Minor, *Goethes Fragmente vom ewigen Juden und vom wiederkehrenden Heiland*, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1904.

² Paul Hoffman, "Untersuchungen über Goethes ewigen Juden," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Literaturgeschichte*, IV, 116 ff.

³ Heinrich Düntzer, "Ueber Goethes Bruchstück des Gedichtes, *Der ewige Jude*," *ZfdPh*, XXV, 289 ff.

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ON THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE GRAIL ROMANCES. I

THE DATE OF THE *PERLESVAUS*—Concluded

2. MS B AND THE *terminus ad quem*

MS B evidently represents a copy of a poor text: instances of this have been given above. A striking example is folio 74c, which reads: *que nos mestre de nos metriez nostre chief en autretel abon bandonne*.¹ This would explain the statement: *à grant poine an peüst l'an choisir la lestre*, and also account for the claim that the text is a second translation from the Latin,² for, as I have shown in my Dissertation (p. 14), the original of the B text was defective, and it may well be that the scribe of this original encountered the difficulty in question.

But who were the Jean de Nesle and the Seigneur de Cambrein mentioned at the close of B? On the false assumption that the

¹ Potvin omits the italicized words without indicating the omission.

² In my first article, p. 163, I overlooked the fact that Bruce in the second edition (1913) of the *Historia Meriadoci* and the *De Ortu Waluuani*, pp. x ff., contests the attribution of these works to Robert de Torigni and hence to the twelfth century. Bruce's argument is plausible, though not wholly convincing. His statement, for example, that the *Meriadoc* follows the *Prose Tristan* in the trick of drawing names from early French history, is in part invalidated by the use of this device as early as the *Partonopeus*, composed before 1188. But Bruce does establish the fact that the *Perlesvaus* derived its account of Gawain's youth from a metrical romance, probably the *Enfances Gauvain*, attributed to the beginning of the thirteenth century (see P. Meyer, *Romania*, XXXIX [1910], 1 ff.). Thus Bruce's revision of Miss Morris's, if correct, would lend strength to our argument that the supposed Latin original of the *Perlesvaus* is a fiction.

romance antedates the *Perceval*, Potvin identified the former with Jean de Nesle I, castellan of Bruges, whose tenure of office he gives as 1170–1212; he identified the latter with Roger de Wavrin, bishop of Cambrai, who went to the Holy Land with Jean I, in 1187, and died before St. John of Acre, in 1191. The bishop, he believed, presented the copy of the *Perlesvaus* to Jean de Nesle before the crusade as an incentive to take part in it.

We realize at once that one feature of this identification is gratuitous, although other scholars (including myself) have repeated Potvin's error. *Cambrein* cannot be Cambrai (Lat. *Cameracum*), but is the modern Cambrin (cf. De Loisne, *Dict. topogr. du Pas-de-Calais*), arr. de Béthune, as Evans and Paris¹ correctly state. Now, it is true, according to Harbaville (*Mémorial hist. et archéol. du départ. du Pas-de-Calais*, pp. 300 ff.) that this village belonged, as early as the eleventh century, to the *comtes*, later the *marquis de Wavrin*; so that Roger de Wavrin, bishop of Cambrai, may possibly have been a seigneur of Cambrin. But would he, a bishop, have signed himself with the latter simpler title in dedicating a work to Jean de Nesle? Such a supposition is altogether improbable. Moreover, 1187 is too early a date for any form of the *Perlesvaus*. Giraldus Cambrensis dates the finding of Arthur's tomb in 1191; in the same year there occurred also the death of Philip of Flanders, to whom Crestien owed the source of the *Perceval*, and while the last-named work was probably written sometime before this, we have every reason to think that the *Perceval* or *Conte del Graal* was a source of our romance. Thus, it seems to me, we must reject the identification of the Seigneur of Cambrein with Roger of Wavrin; and with it, the hypothesis that B was taken from a text written before the Third Crusade.

As for Jean de Nesle, the reference in B is obviously to Jean II and not to Jean I. Potvin's second mistake is in believing that Jean I was still living in 1212, whereas by that date he had been succeeded by his son. Here the source of Potvin's error is apparently Du Chesne, *Histoire de la maison de Béthune* (Paris, 1639). Du Chesne, p. 273, states:

¹ Evans, *High History*, II, 285; Paris, *Journal des Savants*, 1901, p. 708, whence the correction has passed into Suchier, *Französische Literaturgeschichte*, 2d ed., p. 169.

Quant à Jean de Neele troisieme fils de Raoul chastelain de Bruges, et frere puisnay de Raoul Comte de Soissons, il obtient de la succession de son pere la chastellenie de Bruges, & celle de son oncle Yues Comte de Soissons les Seigneuries de Neele, de Falvy, & de la Herelle. Iaques Meier en ses Annales luy donne le titre de tres-eminent Seigneur de la Cour de Flandres, & remarque qu'estant sorty l'an 1212 pour quelque mecontentement (Iac. Meierus, *Lib. 8 Annal. Fland.*) il se retira dans ses Terres de Picardie où deux ans apres il mourut, & fut inhumé en l'église d'Orcamp pres de Noyon: laissant d'Elisabeth de Lambersat son epouse deux fils, Jean et Raoul de Nesle, une fille, Gertrude.¹

There exists, however, a charter, published in *Gallia Christiana*, VII (instrumenta, col. 81), which makes it perfectly certain that Jean I had died before 1202; so that 1212 is clearly a slip. This charter reads:

1202. In Nomine sancte & individue Trinitatis. Ego Johannes dominus Nigelle castellanus Brugensis, tam praesentibus quam futuris in perpetuum, Noverint universi, quibus praesens scriptum videre contigerit quod ego intuito pietatis pro remedio animarum bone memorie Johannis patris mei & Elisabete matris mee, & pro remedio anime mee, & Eustachie uxoris mee, quam successorum meorum, ad fundationem cujusdam abbacie sanctimonialium dedi & concessi in perpetuum viginti buverios terre ad virgam Nigelle, & nemus quod super ipsam terram est, in loco qui vulgo Batiz appellatur, ita etiam quod poterunt eam sartare si voluerint.

Under the heading: *Abbatia seu Libera abbatia in Bosco* (col. 906) we find a corroboration of this gift:

Cistericus ordinis sub Claravalle parthenon beatae Mariae in Bosco fundatur a Johanne domino de Nesle Brugensi castellano & Eustachia de St Paul uxore anno 1202. 20 Aprile, in finibus Picardiae, inter urbem Hamum (Ham), Nigellam (Nesle), Novionum (Noyon) & Roiam (Roye) in loco apellato Batiz diocesis Noviom. ut patet ex charta fundationis quam eodem anno Stephanus episcopus Noviom. confirmavit. Edita est ex authentico in historia novissima urbis Paris. tomo 4. p. 183 & inde recusa in appendice nostra.

Thus, if the reference to Orcamp près de Noyon given by Du Chesne be correct, the burial-place of Jean I was probably the modern Ourscamp-le-château, to the southwest of Noyon; and it follows that after his burial there his son founded, in 1202, the Abbaye au bois, in a place to the north of Noyon, for the welfare of his father's soul.

¹ See also Anselme, *Hist. génel. de la maison royale de France*, 1726, II, 506.

Jean de Nesle II seems to have been a worthy successor of his father and a patron of the church and of literature. The following facts about him are of interest:

(1) He was in charge of the Flemish fleet that took part in the Fourth Crusade. See Villehardouin, *La conquête de Constantinople*, §§ 8, 47, 48, 103:

A l'entrée de la quaresme après, le jor que om prent cendres (Feb. 23, 1200), se croisa li quens Baudoins de Flandres et de Henaut à Bruges, et la comtesse Marie sa feme, qui ere suer le conte Tiebaut de Champagne. Après se croisa Henris ses freres, Thieris ses nies, qui fu filz le conte Phelippe de Flandres, Guilermes l'avoez de Bethune, Coenes ses freres, Johans de Neele chatelains de Bruges Oedes de Ham et maint plusor prodome dont li livres ne parole mie.

Après la Pasque, entor la Pentecoste (June 2, 1202) encomencierent à movoir li pelerin de lor país.

En cel termine mut uns estoires de Flandres par mer ù ot mult grant plenté de bone gent armée. De cele estoire si fu chevetaignes Johans de Neele chastelains de Bruges, et Tyerris qui fu filz le conte Phelippe de Flandres, et Nicholes de Mailli.

Lors revint une novele en l'ost qui fu mult volentiers oïe: que li estoires de Flandres, dont vos avez oï arrieres, ere arivez à Marseilles. Et Johans de Neele chastelains de Bruges qui ere chevetaignes de cel ost, et Tierris qui fu filz le conte de Flandres, et Nicholes de Mailli, manderent le conte de Flandres lor seignor que il ivernoient à Marseille, et que lor mandast sa volenté; que il feroient ce que il lor manderoit.

Compare, also, Miraeus, *Diplomatum Belgicorum Nova Collectio*, III (Brussels, 1734), p. 72, caput lxxxiii:

Balduines, Flandriae & Hannoniae Comes, Jerosolymam pro expugnatione Terrae Sanctae profecturus, variis simul Monasteriis benefacit anno 1201; Testes adducens plerique primariae Nobilitatis Belgicae Viros, cum Principe suo Cruce Signatos. Among these are: Willelmi Bethuniae Advocati, Cononis ejus Fratri, Johannis de Neele Castellani Brugensis and Hellini de Wavrin.

In other words, Jean took the cross in 1200, along with other Flemish knights, among whom were Thierry, son of Philip of Flanders, Conon de Béthune, the well-known lyric poet, and Hellin de Wavrin, who held the seneschalship of Flanders—see L. Delisle, *Catalogue des actes de Philippe-Auguste* (Paris, 1856), no. 1536—and who was

presumably a *seigneur de Cambrin*. But the party under Jean's leadership did not set sail until June, 1202; that is, over two years after taking the cross and two months after Jean de Nesle made the pious donation in honor of his father and mother.

(2) We again hear of Jean de Nesle in 1209, when he is mentioned among those taking part in the campaign against the Albigensians; see Petit-Dutaillis, *Etude sur la vie et le règne de Louis VIII* (Paris, 1894), p. 295. But more important for our discussion is the fact that in January, 1212, he made a promise of service to Philip Augustus of France; see Delisle, *Catalogue*, no. 1326. And, accordingly, we find him among Philip's supporters at the famous battle of Bouvines, July 27, 1214; compare Du Chesne, *Hist. franc. scriptores*, V, p. 264, where the name of *Ioannes de Nigella* figures among the *milites Flandriae* in Philip's army. Obviously, he had undergone a change of heart, and having been an ardent Fleming had now become a staunch supporter of the French cause. In October of the same year—see Delisle, *Catalogue*, no. 1509—Philip, who severely penalizes Joanna, countess of Flanders, for siding against him, agrees that "Jean de Nesle, châtelain de Bruges, Sehier, châtelain de Gand, les autres hommes du roi et tous ceux qui voudront jurer ce traité de paix seront remis en possession de leurs terres." So, too, in 1214–15 (no. 1515) the king confirms "les conventions arrêtées: entre Jean, sire de Nesle, châtelain de Bruges, et Raoul, son frère," and in April, 1223 (no. 2212), he authorizes "Jean de Nesle à prendre des droits de péage à Vréli prex Caix, de la même manière qu'il en prenait à Hallu."

(3) As for Jean's conduct at Bouvines, Rigord, in his *Chroniques*, ed. Delaborde, p. 288, directly attacks it: *Johannes de Nigella . . . miles quidem procerus corpore et forme venustissimæ, sed virtus animi venustati corporis in eo minime respondebat, unde et in proelio illo nondum cum aliquo confixerat die tota*. This statement is, however, flatly contradicted by Guillaume le Breton, *Phillipide*, XI, 547, who lauds his bravery, and affirms that it was he who captured William Long-Sword, whom King John had sent to France to fight against Philip.

(4) Besides his acquaintance with Conon de Béthune and the reference in MS B, Jean's connection with literature is attested,

probably at least, by the following dedication in a lyric of Audefroï le Bastart (*Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, XCIV, 93):

Mon seignor
 Qui de Niele est sire,
 Le cortois et le sage.

Since Audefroï's lyrics are quoted in the *Roman de la Violette*, of about 1225, it is clear that the poem in question was written sometime during the first quarter of the thirteenth century.

(5) Lastly, toward 1224, Jean became engaged in a lawsuit with his former sovereign, Joanna of Flanders, over his possessions in Flanders (see Petit-Dutaillis, p. 349). The matter was finally arranged by the sale to her of the Castellany of Bruges, Jean's most important Flemish possession. Miraeus, p. 85, caput xcix, publishes Jean's confirmation of the sale:

Joannes Dominus Nigellae; Notum facio universis pariter & futuris, quod ego vendidi & cessi hereditarie Joanni Comitissae Flandriae & Hannoniae Castellaniam Brugensem, & quicquid tenebam de ea in Feodum & Homagium; & fateor mihi satisfactum esse de tota summa pecuniae, quam habere debere pro hac venditione. In cuius rei testimonium Chartam Sigili mei munime confirmavi. Actum Meloduni, anno Domini, MCC.XXIV. mense Februario.

The act is further confirmed by Louis VIII of France; see Petit-Dutaillis, *Documents*, 210 and 218.

In summarizing these facts, we see that Jean de Nesle II was actively engaged, first in the service of Flanders, and then in that of France. Like his father, he took part in a crusade, in fact, as a military or rather as a naval leader. On this expedition his intimate companions were Thierry, the son of Philip of Alsace, Conon of Béthune, the Flemish poet, and Hellin of Wavrin, the seneschal of Flanders. In all probability he is identical with the sire de Niele to whom Audefroï le Bastart addressed an impassioned lyric. For some unknown reason, but probably because he saw the clouds gathering on the political horizon and felt the cause of the French to be just, he pledged his service to Philip Augustus in 1212, and, according to one authority at least, distinguished himself on the field of battle in 1214. In 1225 he definitely parted with his Flemish possessions, including the Castellany of Bruges.

If then we ask ourselves at what period in his career the *Perlesvaus* could have been most fittingly presented to him, the answer undoubtedly is before he began to sever his Flemish connections in 1212. Indeed, in view of the call to religious service voiced in the *Perlesvaus* (see the initial episode and the religious tenor of the work), we might be more precise and say between 1200 and 1212, which covers the period of Jean de Nesle's crusading activities and of his Flemish connections.

The objections to such a view disappear as soon as we examine them closely. Birch-Hirschfeld's argument (*Sage vom Gral*, p. 143), that since our romance fails to give Jean the title of *châtelain de Bruges*, therefore it was written after he had sold the castellany (1225), would be tenable only if we could assume that the name had never been used earlier than 1225 without the title. Such, however, is not the case (see above). Besides, let us not forget that even if we accepted Birch-Hirschfeld's date we should be doing so only for the text of MS B and not for the *Perlesvaus* itself, which is certainly earlier. Compare Paris, *loc. cit.*, who confirms our view: "il s'agit, dans le seul manuscrit qui contienne cette notice, d'un seigneur de Cambrin (Pas de Calais), et la notice se rapporte visiblement *non au roman, mais au manuscrit*."¹ As for the war between Lancelot and Claudas, on which Bruce, *Modern Philology*, XVI (1918), 118, bases his belief that our romance drew on the *Prose Lancelot*, passage (b) reads to be sure: "Après iceste estoire, commence li contes si conme Briens des Illes guerpi le roi Artus por Lancelot que il n'amoit mie et conme il aséura le roi Claudas, qui le roi Ban de Bénoic toli sa terre." But the question is which "form" of the *Prose Lancelot*?² And what is the date of the *Prose Lancelot* before

¹ The italics are mine.

² The *Prose Lancelot* has recently been the subject of independent investigations by Bruce, *Romanic Review*, IX, 241, and X, 41 ff., and by Lot, *Etude sur le Lancelot en prose* ("Bibl. de l'école des hautes études"), Paris, 1918. Neither of these studies reached me until the foregoing pages were written. I shall, however, have occasion to refer to them later in the present series. For the present I wish to say only that Bruce's study is by far the sounder and more useful of the two. The *esprit simpliste* with which Lot seeks to shoulder one single author with the composition of almost the entire Vulgate Cycle is an interesting reaction against the complexities of Brugger and Sommer, but will not assist us materially in the solution of the Grail-Lancelot problem. So far as I can see, Lot does not adduce a single valid reason for rejecting Bruce's contention (*Romanic Review*, IV, 465) that "the *Lancelot* in its original form" existed as a separate work before being brought into the cycle. Moreover, it is worth repeating (see my *Study*, 17, n. 2) that a war between Arthur and Claudas is recorded in Wauchier 33615 (B. N. f. 12576, folio 146 e).

the Grail story was incorporated with it (Heinzel 189)? Gaston Paris, *op. cit.*, 708, expresses the opinion that the primitive *Prose Lancelot* was the "premier roman en prose qui ait été écrit," but adds "le *Perlesvaus* seul pourrait lui disputer ce rang." In his *Manuel*, 4th ed. 1909, the former work is assigned "au début du XIII siècle," and this seems to be the consensus of scholarly opinion.¹ Moreover, it is to be noted (1) that the Brians des Illes of passage (b) does not appear in the Vulgate form of the *Prose Lancelot*,² and (2) that there are several passages in the Vulgate form which ostensibly refer to the *Perlesvaus* and which Bruce considers later interpolations or, at least, scribal blunders. For the sake of completeness I shall quote these here:

Lancelot, III, 28-29—B. N. f. 768:

Et l'autre fu fille au roi mehaignié, ce fu li rois Pellès, qui fu peres Perlesvax, a celui qui vit apertement les granz merveilles del graal et acompli lo siège perilleus de la Table Reonde et mena a fin les aventures del reiaume perilleus, aventureus, ce fu li regnes de Logres.³

429—B. N. f. 751 and Brit. Mus. 757:

Et lo grant conte de lancelot couient repairier en la fin a perceval qui est chies et la fin de toz les contes as autres cheualiers. Et tuit sont branches de lui por ce quil acheua le grant queste. Et li contes de perceual meismes est une branche del haut conte del graal qui est chiez de tout les contes. Car por le graal se traueillent tuit li bon cheualier dont lan parole de celui tans.

¹ With the exception of Lot, *op. cit.*, p. 135, who rejects the theory of interpolation and places the composition of the work after 1214, but on insufficient grounds.

² Brians des Illes is, however, mentioned in the *Dutch Lancelot* 23129. The name occurs as early as the *Erec* 6730. In the *Chevalier as Deus Espees*, which we saw is later than the *Perlesvaus*, he is the enemy of Gauvain (3890 ff.). Is there some connection between Brians and Rion (nom. Ris) des Illes, who is Arthur's enemy in Geoffrey of Monmouth X, iii? On the latter see Miss Hopkins, *The Influence of Wace on Crestien de Troyes* (Chicago Dissertation), p. 67 ff. In the *Conte del Graal*, 828, Arthur is happy because Rion des Illes has been conquered. Brians des Illes occurs also in Wauchier 29516, the *Bel Inconnu* 5454, and *Escanor* 15033. The Bruiant d'Arondel mentioned in *Durmart le Gallois* 6703 and 7745 should be compared to the *Brientio filio comitis* of Robert of Torigni (1370), where he is named in connection with Arundel in Sussex.

³ As Bruce observes, *Romanic Review*, IV, 470, "the Seat Perilous does not figure in the *Perlesvaus*—it belongs to the *Galahad-Queste*—but all the rest applies equally to the two versions." Of course, the Seat Perilous occurs as early as Robert de Boron's *Joseph*, and it is thence that it worked its way into the Vulgate Cycle. I do not understand, however, how Bruce (p. 468) can say that the *Perlesvaus* could never have had a Mort Arthur section, since obviously the Glastonbury references make clear that the romance was looking forward to the death of Arthur and his burial in the Lady Chapel. What Bruce should have said is "a Mort Arthur in which Guenevere plays an active part," for Lancelot's sin, unexpiated in the *Perlesvaus*, could easily have been made the motive of such a section, had it ever been written.

21—found only in B. N. f. 754 in connection with the *Enserrement Merlin*:

Tant que Perlevax l'an traïst hors, qui vit la grant merveille del graal après la mort de Lancelot, si com li contes vos devisera ça avant.

Lancelot, IV, 26 ff.:

Elle aura teste de lyon et cors d'olyfant et autres membres et si aura cuer d'acier dur et serré qui nauera garde de flescir ne d'amolier

(this, according to Bruce, *Romanic Review*, IX, 267, is a borrowing from *Perlesvaus*, 37 or 197:

Il a chief d'or, et regart de lion, et nombril de virge pucele, et cuer d'acier, et cors d'olifant, et tesches sans vileinnie).

Now, granting that Bruce and Lot are right in rejecting the elaborate reconstructions of Brugger, Weston, and Sommer based on these passages, it is yet manifest that at some particular time a scribe of the *Prose Lancelot* was in contact with the *Perlesvaus*—a fact that explains G. Paris' statement (*Manuel* § 62): "Le *Lancelot* en prose primitif se référait en ce qui concerne le graal au *Perlesvaus*." On the other hand, passage (b) would show that the author of the B text was planning to enlarge his romance according to one of the *données* of the *Prose Lancelot*; namely, the wars of Claudas already embodied in his work. Thus, whatever inference we may draw from these facts as to the original form of the cycle, the natural conclusion is that the *Perlesvaus* references in the *Prose Lancelot* were made at a time when the Vulgate or Galahad-*Queste* was not yet firmly established, else the scribe would not have made the curious confusion found in *Lancelot*, III, 28–29. Indeed, Bruce himself (*Romanic Review*, IV, 470) admits: "The passage, after all, may have stood in the *Lancelot* before that romance was combined with the cycle and been left there through inadvertence after the combination, though it did not harmonize with the Galahad-*Queste*." I need not go into the question further here;¹ but I do wish to state emphatically that should the genealogy of the *Lancelot* MSS, when

¹ On p. 121 Lot, unwilling to admit the influence of the *Perlesvaus*, propounds the singular idea: "pour piquer la curiosité du lecteur, pour le dérouter, l'auteur cache son jeu; il feint au début de croire que Perceval est le héros du *Graal*: plus tard il démasquera ses batteries." This is of course pure assumption. Lot fails to note that *Lancelot*, IV, 26, is proof that the author used the *Perlesvaus*.

properly established, show that *Lancelot*, III, 28-29 is not the correct text but a scribal slip, this would not yet indicate that the Vulgate Cycle influenced our romance—in view of *Lancelot*, IV, 26, the reverse would still be the case. In no event, then, is it necessary to suppose that our author drew on the *Galahad-Queste*. If he borrowed from the *Prose Lancelot* at all, his source was the early, non-cyclic form.¹

Our authorities fail us, however, as to the Seigneur de Cambrein, who presented the work to Jean de Nesle. Possibly he was a friend of Conon's, since Cambrin is but a few miles from Béthune. In fact, we might infer that he was Hellin de Wavrin, seneschal of Flanders, a participant with Jean de Nesle in the Fourth Crusade—provided always the Wavrans were lords of Cambrein. But these are only guesses, and guessing does not solve Arthurian riddles. As we have seen, the statement that one can no longer *choisir la lestre* can hardly

¹ As for Pelles, Bruce holds (*Modern Philology*, XVI, 4, 12) that he is the creation either of the author of the *Queste* or of one of the authors of the *Prose Lancelot*. To this view he is forced by his assumption of the priority of these versions. Brugger, *Zeitschrift f. franz. Spr.*, XL², p. 48, note, thinks Pelles came into the cycle from the hypothetical *Perlesvaus* to which he believes the *Prose Lancelot* is referring. I have given my own views on Pelles in *Modern Philology*, I, 6 ff., and *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XXIV, 379, note. Let me add here that had the author of the *Perlesvaus* known Pelles as the Fisher King from the *Queste* or the *Prose Lancelot*, I see no reason why he should not have followed these romances. But, as is to be expected, he was acquainted with the Welsh tradition about Pwyll, and thus he made Pelles King of the Low Folk (*la basse gens*) and identified him with Crestien's *hermit* uncle. I still hold this explanation as the most probable.

Bruce's other arguments against the early dating of the *Perlesvaus* are extremely tenuous—indeed very hastily thrown together for one so careful in other respects. Potvin, p. 198 (the olive-tree incident), which he compares to Wauchier vv. 17595 etc., is in complete accord with my hypothesis that the *Perlesvaus* drew on Wauchier (!). An instance that Bruce did not read my *Study* with care is his mention of Jeanroy's hasty review in the *Revue critique*, Oct. 10, 1904. Both of these scholars fail to see that on p. 48, note, I refer to the episode of the *Vengeance Raguidel*. Lot (*op. cit.*, p. 287) again overlooks my note. Rohde's dissertation (Göttingen, 1904) dates the *Vengeance* as about 1200, and Friedwagner's edition attributes it definitely to Raoul de Houdenc. Thus our author might have drawn on the work. But this assumption is not necessary. Other versions of the same episode are extant (see Friedwagner clxxxv for discussion), and a comparison of these with the *Perlesvaus* form shows that the latter may well have been derived from the common source of the other forms. As for the Castle of Copper in our romance, except for the common trait of the automata, it has no special similarity to *Lancelot*, III, 144, 151, 191; see Crestien's *Charrete*, vss. 1105 ff., for his own knowledge of automata. The fact that Loholt (Potvin, p. 222) has a scar on his forehead does not prove that our author was imitating Gerbert, where Perceval has such a scar (Potvin, VI, p. 200); on Gerbert and the *Perlesvaus* see my *Study*, pp. 87 ff., and Heinzl's concluding statement: "Der Perlesvaus setzt Crestien und wahrscheinlich Pseudo-Gautier voraus (to these I should add Wauchier)." It would be absurd to assume with Bruce that our author derived his precise description of St. Mary's from the vague description of the *Queste*, VI, 106-11. If there is any connection—and I doubt that there is—the relationship is the other way around.

be gratuitous. Since MS B actually represents a defective text (see my *Study*, especially pp. 9 ff.), the answer is that the original from which the Seigneur de Cambrein had his copy made was no better. But B itself belongs approximately to the middle of the thirteenth century and Jean de Nesle II died about 1232,¹ leaving no offspring. Thus MS B had at least two antecedent stages: (1) the original work still represented in large measure by MSS O and P; (2) the defective text from which Jean de Nesle's copy was taken.

Finally, how did a work written under the aegis of Glastonbury come into the hands of the Seigneur de Cambrein? Here again a positive answer is impossible. If I may venture a suggestion, I should say in the same way that the monastery of Bec came to have a copy of Geoffrey of Monmouth (Migne, *Patr. lat.*, CL, 770-82). Béthune (Cambrin) is only fifty miles from Calais and Calais is the nearest port to England. Possibilities are abundant. More important than all others is that suggested by the connection of Jean de Nesle with Flanders.² For not only did Philip of Flanders give Crestien de Troyes the *livre* from which the latter composed the *Perceval*, not only does Giraldus Cambrensis (*De princ. instruct.*, III, 25) exalt Philip as the beau ideal of chivalry and the emulator of Charlemagne, but Wauchier de Denain continued Crestien's poem for Joanna of Flanders, and, probably sometime between 1212 and 1225, Manecier completed it for her. So that the interchange may well have been between England and Flanders on the one hand, and Flanders and France on the other—at least as regards the Grail.³ All these are questions that still await a definite answer.

What is reasonably certain, however, is that about the beginning of the thirteenth century the romance *Perlesvaus* was composed in the interests of Glastonbury Abbey, and that at a date not later than 1212 a copy of this work, containing a special dedication, was presented to Jean de Nesle II, castellan of Bruges. This conclusion

¹ See Anselme, *loc. cit.* No scholar has thought of identifying our Jean de Nesle with the Count of Soissons (1237-70), by that name, mentioned by Joinville (§237). This Count seems to have been the nephew of Jean II. In view of the material printed above, the possibility of such an identification is extremely remote.

² MS B is in the Brussels Library: number 11.145.

³ Whatever may be our opinion as to Robert de Boron, it is interesting to note that his patron Gautier de Montbéliard was also a participant in the Fourth Crusade. On this, see my succeeding articles.

seems to me justified by the facts I have presented and by the passages from MS B quoted at the beginning of this study.¹

I add here the passage in which John of Glastonbury (p. 55) relates Arthur's visit to the chapel (= Potvin, pp. 4 ff.):

Erat ea tempestate intra insulam Avalloniae in Wirale² monasterium sanctarum virginum, Petri apostoli nomine dedicatum, in quo rex Arthurus saepius quievit & mansit, loci amoenitate illectus. Contigit autem quodam tempore, ut idem rex, in suo toreumate dormiens, ibidem pausaret, & affuit ei Angelus Domini dicens, *Arthure, Arthure*. At ille evigilans ait, *Quis es?* Respondit angelus, *Ego sum, qui tibi loquor. Illucescente die, surge & ambula ad heremitorium Sancta Maria Magdalena de Beker³ in ista insula, vide & intellige qua ibi fient*. Rex mane consurgens, indicavit cuidam militi suo, nomine Gawayn, visionem eandem. At ille Domino suo regi, frivola fuisse, suggessit. Nocte vero sequente eidem regi, sopori dedito, loco, quo prius, angelus Domini secundo apparuit, praemonita admonens. Rex expergefactus, vocem ascultans, quid hoc portenderet apud se tractavit, nec adhuc voci adquiescens, set cogitans, si ei vox tercio veniret, tercio die se velle mandatis coelicis obedire. Crepusculo noctis adveniente, rex praecepit simmistam suum mane esse paratum proficisci secum ad heremitorium praelibatum. Qui ingrediens capellam, vidensque ibi corpus mortuum feretratum & quatuor cereos hinc inde, more monachorum, stantes, & super altare duo candelabra aurea, ipse, avariciae stimulo ductus, alterum rapuit, & in birro suo illud execrabiliter occultavit, quod postea perperam factum probavit exitus. At ille volens egredi capellam, affuit quidam, illum simmistam increpans, quare tanti facinoris & sacrilegii actor esset, feriens eum in inquine. Laesus vero terribiliter, ad modum furientis alta voce clamavit. Rex autem evigilans, & ultra modum expavescens, quid hoc esset scicitabatur, & surgens, continuo abiit ad lectum sui simmistae, quid sibi contigit, exploravit. Ille rei gestae veritatem per ordinem referebat regi, & candelabrum in birro, ac ferrum in inguine astendens, brevi momento expiravit, & sepultus est inter monachas in Wirale. In cuius facti testimonium, ut dicitur, candelabrum cum cultro remanent in thesauraria regis Angliae apud Westmonasterium, usque in praesentem diem. Rex igitur animadvertens, Deum nolle, capellam antedictam quemquam intrare, nisi pro animae suae salute, statim in aurora illuo solus graditur. Et approximans capellae, ecce duae manus, tenentes gladios ex utroque latere hostii ad invicem re-verberantes, ex quorum conflictu ignis, tamquam fulgur visui regis eminebat. Rex timore magno perteritus, deliveravit penes se quid faceret, quod tam

¹ For a corroboration of my views on the early dating of the romance, see Paris, *loc. cit.*; Suchier, *op. cit.*, 2d ed., p. 169; Brugger, *Zeitsch. f. franz. Spr.*, XXIX, 81, and Golther, *ibid.*, XXVI², 12-13.

² Weary-All-Hill at Glastonbury.

³ Island of Beckery at Glastonbury.

sanctum locum ingredi non potuisset. Mox provolutus genibus, Dominum deprecabatur, ut secum misericorditer dispensaret, & se dignum redderet, ut in talem ac tantum locum ingredi posset. Completa oracione, & venia pro commissis humiliter postulata, surrexit ab oracione. Et videns, quod gladii disparuerunt, intravit sanctum locum, incomperabiliter decoratum. Cui occurrit venerandus senex, vestibus nigris indutus, barbam habens prolixam, longos capillos & canos, & salutavit regem. Ipse autem, eo humiliter resalutato, locavit se juxta unum latus capellae, ut videret finem. Vidit eciam omnia, quae suus vernaculus recitaverat. Senex jam dictus incepit se vestibus sacerdotalibus induere, & statim affuit beata Domini mater gloriosa, filium suum in ulnis bajulans, & coepit ministrare praedicto seni. At ubi incepit dictus senex Missam, & venit usque ad offertorium, statim benigna Domina filium sacerdoti obtulit. Sacerdos vero eum collocavit super corporale, juxta calicem. Cum autem pervenisset ad immolationem hostiae, id est, ad verba Dominica, *Hoc est enim corpus meum*, elevavit eundem puerum in manibus suis. Rex vero Arthurus stans ad sacramentum illud Dominicum, immo vere ipsum Dominum, suppliciter adorabat. Senex, immolato puero, posuit eum loco, quo prius. Cum enim pervenisset ad hostiae perceptionem, eundem puerum, Dei filium, assumpsit, percepit, masticavit, secundum ejusdem Domini institutionem, dicentis, *accipite & manducate*. Ipso percepto, et communione facta, apparuit loco, quo prius, sedens illaesus & integer ille agnus paschalis absque omni macula. Expleto omni officio divino, domina & gloriosa mater, in signum praedictorum, dicto regi crucem contulit crystallinam, quae usque in hunc diem, de dono ejusdem regis, in thesauraria Glastoniae honorifice collocatur & custoditur, ac annuatim, tempore quadragesimali, in processionibus, feriis quartis & sextis, per conventum institutis, defertur, quia feria quarta hoc miraculum factum, scilicet die cinerum. Quae post haec filium suum recepit, & ab oculis assistencium disparuerunt. Rex inclitus, cuncta sedule prospiciens, gavisus est gaudio magno, peccitque a sene, de muliere & eius prole, qui fuissent. Senex cuncta edisserens, quod fuit domina mundi, regina coeli, & filius suus, quem gessit, Dominus noster Ihesus Christus, Deus et homo verus, qui cotidie, in ministerio altaris, in sua ecclesia militante, in sacramento missae offertur; de corpore mortuo, ibidem pausante inhumato, dicebat, ipsum heremitam esse apud Andredesey¹ confratrem suum, causa eum visendi venisse, et eodem loco aegritudine correptum a seculo migrasse, pro quo Missas & oraciones Domino Deo die & nocte faciebat. Repente rex compunctus, & de delictis suis contritus, se firmiter velle credere in sanctum sacramentum vovit, & quod, quicquid ab eo peteretur, propter amorem dominae & gloriosae virginis Mariae, & filii

¹ See *De Antiquitate*, ed. Hearne, 109: Post haec insula de Andrewesye, ceteras situ & loci amoenitate antecellens, cum terris, boscis, pratis, & moris largissimis. Haec sic cognominatur à Sancto Andrea, cujus ibidem habetur capella, sicut & Godenie propter capellam Sanctae Trinitatis, & Martenesie à Sancto Martino, cujus ibidem est capella.

sui Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, benigniter annueret. Arma quoque sua in eorum mutavit honorem. Nam quae prius erant argentea, cum tribus leonibus rubeis, capita ad terga vertentibus, a tempore adventus Bruti usque ad jam dictam mutacionem regis Arthuri, ob memoriam crucis cristallinae, sibi per beatam Mariam collatae, fecit esse viridia, cum cruce argentea, & super dextrum brachium crucis, ob memoriam praediti miraculi, collocavit imaginem beatae Mariae semper virginis, filium suum in ulnis tenentis. Rex autem valefaciens seni, in fide Domini est solidatus, & de virtute in virtutem proficiens, multipliciter est exhilaratus.

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LA VITA NUOVA, SONETTO XI

Negli occhi porta la mia donna Amore,
per che si fa gentil ciò ch'ella mira;
ov'ella passa, ogn'uom vèr lei si gira,
e cui saluta fa tremar lo core,

sí che, bassando il viso, tutto ismore,
e d'ogni su' difetto allor sospira:
fugge dinanzi a lei superbia ed ira;
aiutatemi, donne, farle onore.

Ogne dolcezza e ogne pensiero umile
nasce nel core a chi parlar la sente;
ond'è laudato chi prima la vide.

Quel ch'ella par quand'un poco sorride,
non si può dire, né tenere a mente,
sí è novo miracolo e gentile.

Line eleven of this sonnet,

ond'è laudato chi prima la vide,

has been variously interpreted. The majority of commentators, following Todeschini and D'Ancona, take *prima* as meaning "first," i.e., "before others." *Chi* would refer to Dante himself, who saw Beatrice as a child. Morandi,¹ stressing the sense of "first," would rather have *chi* refer to Beatrice's father and mother, praised for having brought her up so well (*d'aver saputo così mirabilmente educarla*). Scherillo expands *prima* into *subito sulla sua via*, that is, "early on his [Dante's] way." Thus Dante, thanks to a longer subjection to her benign influence, would have become more worthy of praise.² Melodia makes *prima* equivalent to *per la prima volta*. The meaning of the line would then be: He is rendered worthy of praise who has seen Beatrice for the first time, or only once.³

An objection common to all of these interpretations is that no one of them seems to fit into the logic of the whole sonnet. The theme

¹ *Antologia di prose*, Città di Castello (1900), p. 802, n. 3. Cited by Melodia.

² *La Vita Nuova* (Milano, 1911), p. 135, n. 1.

³ *Id.* (Milano, 1905), p. 155, n. 17.

of the sonnet is the universality of Beatrice's salutary influence. Indeed, that influence is so universal that "miraculously," in contravention of the creed of the *dolce stil* just professed by Dante in Sonnet X, the virtue of Love in her eyes

fa gentile *tutto* ciò che vede; e questo è tanto a dire, quanto inducere Amore in potenza *la ove non è*.¹

A sudden claim within the sonnet for exceptional advantage on grounds of priority of acquaintance or otherwise seems beside the point. Melodia's rendering, apart from the strained sense attributed to *prima*, seems at once banal and supererogatory. The whole point of the sonnet is, as just said, to declare the miracle-working power of Beatrice. Dante knew well enough that no man can do miracles, "except God be with him."² And God does not have to try, try again.

The octave of the sonnet declares a twofold effect of Beatrice upon the heart of the passer-by, through his highest senses, sight and hearing. First, Love in her eyes, having as a magnet drawn his eyes, so irradiates his heart that, however base it may have been, it is made *gentil*, susceptible of love. This is a "miracle," because it transcends the natural law of Love, as laid down by "the Sage,"³

Fere lo sole il fango tutto 'l giorno,
vile riman⁴

Secondly, Beatrice's spoken salutation then moves the now susceptible heart to active love, the first effect of which is contrition. In the contrite heart may not abide "pride and wrath."

So far the octave. The heart is purged and receptive. The sestet begins by reciting the positive complement to this negative effect of her spoken word. In principle, Eunoë is tasted after Lethe.

Ogne dolcezza e ogni pensiero umile
nasce nel core a chi parlar la sente

By grace infused by her, the heart has now achieved merit. Recognition and reward of this merit is her smile, the effect of which upon the loving and humble heart is beyond words. The heart is as if in

¹ *La Vita Nuova*, ed. Moore, 2da. ed., cap. xxi, ll. 36-38.

² John 3:2.

³ Guinicelli. Cf. Son. X, l. 2.

⁴ *Al cor gentil*, ll. 31-32.

Paradise. The sonnet closes in a mood anticipatory of that of the last sonnet of the *Vita Nuova*.

Thus the sonnet presents three stages of beneficent effect: first, susceptibility of love; secondly, activity of love, driving out pride and wrath, and receiving sweetness and humility; thirdly, rewarding bliss. The first effect, a "miracle," is analogous to the gift of grace of God. But one is not praised for receiving a boon. The second effect, on the other hand, is an activity by which merit is acquired, no less because the activity is in response to a divine call. Therefore, after declaring the good deeds of the heart which has cast out pride and wrath and taken on sweetness and humility, it is fitting to say that the heart that had before received grace without merit of its own is *now* praised, or praiseworthy. This is just what Dante does say, only, substituting cause for effect,

Ond'è laudato chi prima la vide,

"Wherefore he is praised who *before* saw her," that is, through sight received that grace of potential love without which his meritorious actual loving-service would have been impossible.¹

Again, the first and third effects are logically bound together by two common elements. Both are "miraculous," the third also ineffable; both are achieved through the highest sense, sight. Therefore, line 11 links the three effects. He is praised who before saw her, because, further inspired by her spoken salutation, he is able to achieve merit. When he then sees her miraculous smile, he is rewarded by more than praise, by ineffable bliss.

Thus the heart of the recipient is acted upon, twice through his eyes, once through his ears. The effects are achieved, on the other hand, once by the act of Beatrice's eyes, twice by the acts of her mouth, to wit, "her sweetest speaking," and "her marvelous smile."²

It may be observed, in conclusion, that chapter xi of the *Vita Nuova* presents an analogous threefold sequence of effects of Beatrice on Dante. First, her appearance, arousing hope of her salutation, kindles the flame of love in his heart; and love induces humility. Secondly, when she has drawn near enough to bestow her salutation,

¹ *Prima* is used in the same sense in *Vita Nuova*, Son. XIV, ll. 42-44: *avvegna ch'io fossi altro che prima*. For the significance of *laudato*, cf. *Conv.*, IV, xviii, 22-25.

² Cf. "division" of Son. XI, cap. xxi, ll. 23-55.

a spirit of love takes possession of his eyes, commanding them to honor her. Thirdly, at her salutation itself, love in him has such excess of sweetness (*dolcezza*) that his body moves like a heavy, inanimate thing. Here are implied the three stages of Sonnet XI: the grace of the disposition to love conferred; the meritorious lovin-service of praise inspired; the reward of almost overwhelming bliss given. The three effects are represented as proceeding from the salutation alone, as that is successively anticipated, imminent, and realized; whereas in the sonnet they are related each to its separate cause—Beatrice's gaze, her salutation, her smile. The introspective analysis of chapter xi foreshadows dimly the exact doctrine, symbolically expressed, of the sonnet. Dante has progressed farther in that "intelligence of love" which is the goal of his "new life," as intelligence of the "Love which moves the sun and other stars" is the goal of his supramundane pilgrimage.

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AN INTRODUCTORY DANTE BIBLIOGRAPHY

It is hoped that this bibliography may prove helpful both to students who are beginning work in the field of Dante scholarship and to scholars in other fields who may desire guidance in consulting editions and translations of Dante and in controlling the immense mass of Dante criticism and research.

If one desires to ascertain the usual opinion or opinions on a given Dante subject of a general nature, he should examine the works here numbered **48-50**. If the subject relates to a particular passage, he should consult these works, in case the subject is such as to be treated in them, and the appropriate edition or translation as indicated in Part A of this bibliography; also, if the passage is in the *Commedia*, the discussion or discussions of the canto in question in the series here numbered **57**.

If he then desires to investigate thoroughly the treatment of a given subject, he should examine all works referred to under headings corresponding to that subject in the subject indices of the bibliographies here numbered **41-43** and **45-47**. If the subject relates to a particular passage, he should, in his consultation of the indices of these bibliographies, utilize also the special indices or entries for individual passages referred to in the notes under **41-43** and **45-47**; and should also examine all scholarly annotated editions and translations of the work in question and all other scholarly commentaries on that work. For the *Commedia* a list of such editions, translations, and commentaries is afforded by the *Tavola delle abbreviature* in the edition here numbered **12**. For the other works similar lists, if not afforded by the editions or translations here named as the best, may be constructed by consultation of the bibliographies already referred to.

In Part A my aim has been to list for each of the several works (or groups or portions of works) only the one best text, the one best English translation, and the one edition or translation that is best in notes. For the *Commedia*, however, I have listed, as of virtually
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equal excellence, two texts and several annotated editions; and for the *Vita nuova* I have likewise listed two translations and two annotated editions. The criteria governing the construction of Parts B-G have been varied, but I have had in mind throughout the desire to afford practical introductory guidance to the two classes of persons for whom the bibliography is particularly intended.

Reprints of this bibliography may be obtained at cost on application to me. Suggestions for the correction or improvement of the work will be gratefully received.

Similar introductory bibliographies for Petrarch and Boccaccio are soon to be published.

A. THE BEST TEXTS, ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS, AND ANNOTATED EDITIONS OR TRANSLATIONS OF THE WORKS OF DANTE

I. THE COMPLETE WORKS:

- Text: 1. *Tutte le opere di Dante Alighieri*, ed. by E. Moore, 3d ed., Oxford, University Press, 1904.

Contains some material which is certainly or probably not genuine: some lyrics, *I sette salmi penitenziali*, and *La professione di fede*. Lacks some material which is certainly or probably genuine: some lyrics and the letters here entered under the numbers 33 and 34. With regard to the lyrics, see the note under the heading X. RIME.

- Translation
and notes: 2-7. *The Temple classics Dante*, London, Dent.

Six volumes in the *Temple classics* series. Each volume contains a prose translation and notes. The volumes here numbered 2, 3, 4, and 7 contain also the Italian text. The several volumes are:

2. *The Inferno*, tr. by J. A. Carlyle, ed. by H. Oelsner, 1900.
3. *The Purgatorio*, tr. by T. Okey, ed. by Oelsner, 1901.
4. *The Paradiso*, tr. by P. H. Wicksteed, ed. by Wicksteed and Oelsner, 1899.

5. *The Convivio*, tr. and ed. by Wicksteed, 1903.

6. *A translation of the Latin works*, tr. and ed. by A. G. Ferrers Howell and Wicksteed, 1904.

The translation and editing of the *De vulgari eloquentia* are by Ferrers Howell; the rest of the work is by Wicksteed.

7. *The Vita nuova and Canzoniere*, tr. and ed. by Okey and Wicksteed, 1906.

The translation of the *canzoni* is by Wicksteed; the rest of the translation is by Okey.

II. COMMEDIA:

Text:

8. *La Divina commedia novamente illustrata da artisti italiani*, ed. by V. Alinari [and G. Vandelli], 3 vols., Florence, Alinari, 1902-3.

The text of this edition was prepared by Vandelli, and anticipates some features of the critical text which Vandelli is preparing for the Società dantesca italiana. Vandelli's main variants from the text of Witte (which is the basis of the texts in 1 and in 9) are listed in 60, XI (1904), 127-34.

9. Ed. by C. H. Grandgent, Boston, Heath, [1911].

Translation: 10. Tr. by C. E. Norton, rev. ed., 3 vols., Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1902.

Notes:

9.

11. Ed. by T. Casini, 5th ed., Florence, Sansoni, 1903.

12. Ed. by G. A. Scartazzini and G. Vandelli, 7th ed., Milan, Hoepli, 1914.

13. Ed. by F. Torraca, 3d ed., Rome, Albrighi Segati, 1915.

14-16. W. W. Vernon, *Readings on the Inferno of Dante*, 2d ed., 2 vols., 1906; *Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante*, 3d ed., 2 vols., 1907; *Readings on the Paradiso of Dante*, 2d ed., 2 vols., 1909; all London, Methuen.

III. THE MINOR WORKS AS A WHOLE:

Complete (or to be complete):

Text: 17-18. *Opere minori di Dante Alighieri*, Milan, Hoepli.

A series of critical editions, published for the Società dantesca italiana. Only two volumes have as yet appeared. They are:

17. *De vulgari eloquentia*, ed. by P. Rajna, 1896.

Now superseded, but to be reissued in definitive form: see 60, XXV (1918), 136.

18. *Vita nuova*, ed. by M. Barbi, 1907.

Translation

and notes: 5-7.

Extensive selections:

Notes: 19. *Le opere minori di Dante Alighieri*, ed. by F. Flamini, Leghorn, Giusti, Vol. I, 1910.

Contains the *Vita nuova* entire, and extensive selections from the *Convivio*. For these selections from the *Convivio* this edition, as is indicated below, offers also the best text. Vol. II has not yet appeared.

IV-XI. THE INDIVIDUAL MINOR WORKS:

The several works are here arranged in alphabetical order. For the lyrics not contained in the *Convivio* or the *Vita nuova*, see X. RIME.

IV. CONVIVIO:

Complete:

Text: 1.

Translation: 20. Tr. by W. W. Jackson, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909.

Notes: 5.

Extensive selections:

Text

and notes: 19.

V. DE MONARCHIA:

Text: 21. Ed. by L. Bertalot, Friedrichsdorf, 1918.
Published by the editor.

Translation

and notes: 6.

VI. DE VULGARI ELOQUENTIA:

- Text: **22.** Ed. by L. Bertalot, Friedrichsdorf, 1917.
 Published by the editor. Will be superseded, presumably within 1920, by a text prepared by Rajna: see **60**, XXV (1918), 136.
- Translation and notes: **6.**

VII. ECLOGAE:

- Text and notes: **23.** Ed. by G. Albin, Florence, Sansoni, 1903.
- Translation: **6.**

VIII. EPISTOLAE:

As a whole:

- Text: **1.**
 A critical edition of the *Epistolae*, edited by P. Toynbee, is shortly to be issued by the Oxford University Press.

Translation and notes: **6.**

Better texts and translations of letters printed in **1**:

Epistola I:

- Text: **24.** Ed. by O. Zenatti, in his *Dante e Firenze*, Florence, Sansoni, [1900], pp. 359-60.

Epistola III:

- Text: **25.** Ed. by F. Novati, in his "L'epistola di Dante a Moroello Malaspina," in the co-operative volume *Dante e la Lunigiana*, Milan, Hoepli, 1909.

Epistolae IV-X:

Text and (in some cases) translation:

- 26-32:** Ed. and tr. by P. Toynbee, in *The modern language review*, X-XIV (1915-19).

Ep. IV: XII, 41-44. *Ep. V* (ed. only): X, 151-56. *Ep. VI*: XII, 182-91. *Ep. VII* (ed. only): X, 65-71. *Ep. VIII*: XIII, 219-27. *Ep. IX*: XI, 66-68. *Ep. X* (ed. only): XIV, 281-97.

Letters probably genuine, but not printed in 1:

Three letters from the Countess of Battifolle to Margaret of Brabant:

Text and

translation: 33. Ed. and tr. by Toynbee, in *The modern language review*, XII (1917), 303-9.

Fragment quoted in Italian in the Life of Dante by Leonardo Bruni:

Text: 34. Ed. by A. Solerti, in his *Le vite di Dante Petrarca e Boccaccio scritte fino al secolo decimosesto*, Milan, Vallardi, [1904], p. 100.

A volume in the co-operative *Storia letteraria d'Italia scritta da una società di professori*.

Translation: 35. Tr. by Wicksteed, in his *The Early lives of Dante*, London, Moring, 1904, pp. 121-22.

In the *King's classics* series.

IX. QUAESTIO DE AQUA ET TERRA:

Text and

translation: 36. Ed. and tr. by C. L. Shadwell, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909.

Notes: 37. V. Biagi, *La Quaestio de aqua et terra di Dante: biobibliografia, dissertazione critica sull'autenticità, testo e commento, lessigrafia, facsimili*, Modena, Vincenzi, 1907.

X. RIME:

Text,
translation,
and notes: 7.

There is as yet no authoritative canon of the *Rime*. Barbi is preparing, for the series here numbered 17-18, a critical edition, which will serve to establish the canon with a high degree of accuracy. For current opinion as the genuineness of individual lyrics, and for the best texts of individual lyrics, see the indices of 60, *s.v. Rime*.

XI. VITA NUOVA:

Text: 18.

Translation: 38. Tr. by C. E. Norton, rev. ed., Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1892.

39. Tr. by D. G. Rossetti, in his *The early Italian poets*, ed. by E. G. Gardner, London, Dent, 1904.

In the *Temple classics* series, but not included in the *Temple classics Dante*. The same material appears in Rossetti's *Poems and translations*, ed. by Gardner, London, Dent, and New York, Dutton, [n.d.], a volume in *Everyman's library*.

Notes: 19.

40. Ed. by G. Melodia, Milan, Vallardi, 1905.

B. DANTE BIBLIOGRAPHIES

I. FOR THE PERIOD ENDING WITH 1900:

41. Cornell University, Library, *Catalogue of the Dante collection presented by Willard Fiske, compiled by T. W. Koch*, 2 vols., Ithaca, [no publ.], 1898-1900.

Part I lists editions and translations of Dante's works. Part II lists works on Dante, the arrangement following the alphabetical order of the authors' names. The first index is an alphabetical index of subjects. Within this index, references to studies of individual passages in works of Dante other than the *Commedia* are grouped, according to the textual order of the passages, under the general entries for the works in question. The second index consists of references to studies of individual passages in the *Commedia*, arranged in textual order. This *Catalogue* is more complete, as a Dante bibliography, than any other single work. This and the works here numbered 42-44 constitute together a virtually complete bibliography for the period in question.

42. Koch, "A list of Danteiana in American libraries, supplementing the catalogue of the Cornell collection," in 59, *Eighteenth and nineteenth Annual reports* (for 1899-1900), 1901.

The plan of this work is exactly the same as that of 41, except that there is but one index, in which, under the general entry for the *Commedia*, are grouped the entries for individual passages in that work.

43. G. L. Passerini and C. Mazzi, *Un decennio di bibliografia dantesca, 1891-1900*, Milan, Hoepli, 1905.

The plan of this work is similar to that of 41 and 42. There are, however, three indices: the first for names of persons (other than authors), the second for subjects, the third for individual passages in the works of Dante.

44. The bibliographies referred to in 41, Vol. II, p. 525.

II. FOR THE PERIOD BEGINNING WITH 1901:

45. Reviews and notices in **60**, VIII (1901)—.

For indices, see the note under **60**.

46. Passerini, "Bullettino bibliografico," in **61**, IX-XXIII (1901-15).

For indices, see the note under **61**.

47. Passerini, "Bibliografia dantesca," in **62**, I (1917)—.

C. GENERAL WORKS OF REFERENCE ON DANTE

I. ENCYCLOPEDIAS:

48. G. A. Scartazzini, *Enciclopedia dantesca*, 3 vols., Milan, Hoepli, 1896-1905.

49. P. Toynbee, *A concise dictionary of proper names and notable matters in the works of Dante*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1914.

A revised and condensed edition of Toynbee's *A dictionary of proper names and notable matters in the works of Dante*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1898.

II. COMPREHENSIVE STUDY OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF DANTE:

50. N. Zingarelli, *Dante*, Milan, Vallardi, [1900].

A volume in the co-operative history called *Storia letteraria d'Italia scritta da una società di professori*.

III. CONCORDANCES:

51. E. A. Fay, *Concordance of the Divina commedia*, Boston, Little Brown, and London, Trübner, 1888.

52. E. K. Rand and E. H. Wilkins, *Dantis Alagherii operum latinorum concordantiae*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912.

53. E. S. Sheldon and A. C. White, *Concordanza delle opere italiane in prosa e del Canzoniere di Dante Alighieri*, Oxford, University Press, 1905.

D. SERIES OF WORKS ON DANTE

54. *Biblioteca storico-critica della letteratura dantesca*, Bologna, Zanichelli. First series, 12 numbers, ed. G. L. Passerini and P. Papa, 1899; 2d series, 4 numbers, ed. Papa, 1902-7.

55. *Collezione dantesca*, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1913—.

56. *Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari*, ed. Passerini, Città di Castello, Lapi, 1893—.

Over 100 numbers have been issued in this series.

57. *Lectura Dantis*, Florence, Sansoni, 1901—.

In 1899 the Società dantesca italiana began giving in Florence a course of occasional readings of selected cantos of the *Commedia*, different cantos being read by different scholars. Two courses of such readings have been completed, and a third is in progress. Each reading is virtually a lecture on the canto in question. Some lectures on other Dante subjects have been given under the same conditions, and similar courses are given in other Italian cities. The series of pamphlets called *Lectura Dantis* includes most of the Florentine readings, and a few of those given elsewhere. Many of the readings, in the printed form, are supplied with careful notes.

E. DANTE PERIODICALS

58. *L'Alighieri*, ed. by F. Pasqualigo, Verona, then Venice, Olschki, 1889–93.

See the note under 61.

59. Dante Society (Cambridge, Mass.), *Annual reports*, Cambridge, Wilson, then Boston, Ginn, 1882—.

60. Società dantesca italiana, *Bullettino*. First series, Florence, Landi, 1890–92; 2d series, monthly, then quarterly, ed. by M. Barbi, then by E. G. Parodi, Florence, Società dantesca italiana, 1893—.

For Vols. I–X (1893–1903) of the second series there is a general index: *Indice decennale*, ed. by F. Pintor, Florence, Società dantesca italiana, 1912. Vol. XI and the later volumes have each an index. In all these indices entries for individual passages are grouped under entries for the works in question.

61. *Il giornale dantesco*, ed. by G. L. Passerini, Venice, then Florence, Olschki, 1894–1915.

A continuation of 58. For 58 and for Vols. I–XVIII (1894–1910) of 61 there is a general index: *Indici ventiduennali delle riviste L'Alighieri e Il giornale dantesco* (1889–1910), ed. by G. Boffito, Florence, Olschki, 1916. Vol. XIX and the later volumes have each an index. In all these indices entries for individual passages are grouped under entries for the works in question.

See the note under 62.

62. *Il nuovo giornale dantesco*, every four months, ed. by Passerini, Florence, Mozzon, 1917—.

A continuation of 61.

F. DANTE MANUALS: SYSTEMATIC INFORMATIONAL
SURVEYS SUITABLE FOR CLASS USE

63. N. Busetto, *La vita e le opere di Dante Alighieri*, Leghorn, Giusti, 1916 (= *Biblioteca degli studenti*, No. 334).
64. F. Flamini, *Introduction to the study of the Divine comedy*, tr. by F. M. Josselyn, Boston, Ginn, 1910.
Contains some material not in the Italian original.
65. E. G. Gardner, *Dante*, London, Dent, 1900.
In the *Temple primers* series.
66. H. Hauvette, *Dante: introduction à l'étude de la Divine comédie*, Paris, Hachette, 1911.
67. P. Toynbee, *Dante Alighieri, his life and works*, 4th ed., London, Methuen, 1910.
68. N. Zingarelli, *La vita di Dante, con un' analisi della Divina commedia*, 2d ed., Milan, Vallardi, 1914.

G. TEN NOTABLE WORKS ON DANTE PUBLISHED
SINCE 1910

(Good selective lists of earlier notable works appear in 9, pp. xxxvii-xxxviii, and 64, pp. 135-46.)

69. G. Busnelli, *Il concetto e l'ordine del Paradiso dantesco*, 1911-12, = 56, Nos. 105-13.
70. T. Casini, *Scritti danteschi*, 1913, = 55, No. 1.
71. A. d'Ancona, *Scritti danteschi*, Florence, Sansoni, 1913.
72. C. A. Dinsmore, *Life of Dante Alighieri*, Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1919.
73. E. G. Gardner, *Dante and the Mystics*, London, Dent, and New York, Dutton, 1913.
74. C. H. Grandgent, *Dante*, New York, Duffield, 1916.
75. R. T. Holbrook, *Portraits of Dante*, London, Warner, and Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1911.
76. E. Moore, *Studies in Dante*, 4th series, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1917.
77. F. Torraca, *Studi danteschi*, Naples, Perrella, 1912.
78. P. H. Wicksteed, *Dante and Aquinas*, London, Dent, and New York, Dutton, 1913.

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ON THE CONCESSIVE CLAUSE IN EARLY ITALIAN¹

Italian syntax is a subject almost wholly unstudied, at least since the Renaissance, except in so far as the modern usage, and a few archaic forms, are mentioned or described in the grammars.² Only of late have the first efforts been made systematically to collect and study the material contained in works representative of the successive periods of the language.³ The fact that the changes which have occurred are not so conspicuous as those which one finds in French and English doubtless explains in part the undeservedly slight interest which they have aroused. But the great deterrent from such study has been that until recently critical texts of works of the early period, with which one would naturally wish to begin, have been extremely few. In the decade preceding the outbreak of the war they increased appreciably in number, so that there is now available for study a body of material, which, although still strictly limited, is probably sufficient, both in amount and in variety, to be fairly representative.

I shall treat in this study the concessive clause in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and consider a few questions which arise first with regard to the use of moods. In brief, general terms Meyer-Lübke says of the mood of the verb in the Italian concessive clause that the subjunctive predominates, even in clauses of fact, and that the indicative appears only when the fact is absolutely certain.⁴

¹ I am indebted to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University for kind permission to use material of an unpublished dissertation, and to Professors K. Pietsch and E. H. Wilkins, of the University of Chicago, for some bibliographical details.

² The work of R. Fornaciari, *Sintassi italiana dell'uso moderno*, Florence, Sansoni, 1887, is very useful, but limited in scope. R. David, *Über die Syntax des Italienischen im Trecento*, Geneva, Pfeffer, 1887, a Strassburg dissertation, has some classified material and makes some suggestions.

³ There are now two studies by pupils of Meyer-Lübke, S. Wedkiewicz, *Materialen zu einer Syntax der italienischen Bedingungssätze*, *Zeits. für roman. Phil.*, Beiheft 31 (1911), and M. Miltschinsky, *Der Ausdruck des konzessiven Gedankens in den altnorditalienischen Mundarten, nebst einem Anhang, das Provenzalische betreffend*, *Zeits. für roman. Phil.*, Beiheft 62 (1917). The latter study I know only from the review of L. Spitzer in the *Literaturblatt*, 1918, pp. 321-25, and from that of B. Wiese, *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 1919, pp. 136-40.

⁴ *Grammaire des langues romanes*, Paris, 1900, III, § 673.

This statement does not describe with entire accuracy either the practice of the early writers here studied, or that of the modern language. In the latter the subjunctive is, to be sure, always used in conditional concessive clauses, and in a large proportion of the clauses of fact. But the use of the indicative is not due to the degree of certainty which one may feel as to the truth of one's statement. It is used in a clause, always one of fact, which follows the primary clause and states an afterthought, a correction of something affirmed or implied in the preceding statement. It is separated from what precedes by a definite pause. The same type of clause, and with the verb in the indicative, is found in the early period.¹ The modern use of the indicative is apparently limited to this supplementary type of clause. Such was not the case in the early period, or in the Renaissance, and Italian is, in the main, so remarkably conservative that one would expect to find the older unrestricted use of the indicative preserved, at least to a certain extent. The impression of several Tuscans of whom I inquired in regard to the Florentine practice of today was that no use of the indicative, except in a supplementary clause, can be very widespread, if, indeed, it exists at all.

For the study of the concessive clause in the early period I have collected material from the following texts: (1) *I Sonetti di Cecco Angiolieri*, ed. A. F. Massera, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1906. (2) Dante, *La Vita Nuova*, ed. M. Barbi, Milan, Hoepli, 1907. (3) Francesco da Barberino, *I Documenti d'Amore*, ed. F. Egidi, Rome, Società filologica romana, Vol. I, 1905, Vol. II, 1912. (4) Boccaccio, *Il Decameron*, ed. P. Fanfani, 2 vols., Florence, Successori Le Monnier, 1904 (compared with the version of the Mannelli MS given in the Lucca edition of 1761, and with the Berlin MS as the variants from the Mannelli are given by O. Hecker, *Die Berliner Decameron-Handschrift*, etc., Berlin, Vogt, 1892). (5) Boccaccio, *Il Ninfale fiesolano*, ed. B. Wiese, Heidelberg, Winter, 1913. (6) *F. Petrarche laureati poete rerum vulgarium fragmenta*, ed. E. Modigliani, Rome, Società filologica romana, 1904. (7) *Die Triumphe F. Petrarca's*, ed. C. Appel, Halle, Niemeyer, 1901. (8) *Le liriche edite e inedite di Fazio degli Uberti*,

¹ Two typical modern examples occur in *I Promessi Sposi*, chap. vi, ed. Bellezza, Milan, Cogliati, 1908, p. 108, and chap. xxxviii, p. 713. The supplementary character of the clause is most obvious when in conversation a concessive statement is added to what a previous speaker has said.

ed. R. Renier, Florence, Sansoni, 1883. (9) *Le Croniche di Giovanni Sercambi*, ed. S. Bongi, Lucca, Giusti, 1892.

In these works the use of moods is for the most part identical with the modern practice as just defined. There is the same unvarying use of the subjunctive in conditional concessive clauses. I shall therefore not concern myself with them at this time. In supplementary clauses of fact, which I shall consider in detail, there is the same use of the indicative, with, however, a certain amount of deviation, if my interpretation of the problems presented by this type of clause is correct. But in clauses of fact of the ordinary kind there is certainly a marked difference from the modern practice. The subjunctive is, to be sure, the mood usually employed; but there is also a not inconsiderable number of examples with the indicative.¹ This use of the mood appears unmistakably in the following examples, where the concessive clause precedes the primary clause. I give all the examples which the texts here studied contain, in order to show that the use of the indicative is, or at any rate appears to be, normal in every way. Among the examples in which it is used are some from the prose of Boccaccio and Sercambi and from the poetry of the *popolano* Angiolieri and the more formal Francesco da Barberino. And it is used, in poetry, by Uberti, in situations where neither rhyme nor rhythm influenced the choice of the mood. The evidence of this material, which is, to be sure, not extensive, but is from authors of importance, is, then, that the indicative and the subjunctive were identical in value and effect, except in so far as the relative infrequency of use of the indicative may have made a slight difference in the impression produced.

E tutto chonesta tanto comprende
 Che già vertu non ene
 se di quella non tene
 porai udire
 donesta dire
 coma da noi volgarmente si prende.²

¹ Except in Diez (French ed. III, p. 332) and Meyer-Lübke (III, § 673), I have found no mention of this use of the indicative, outside of G. G. Fortunio, *Regole grammaticali della volgar lingua*, Ancona, Bernardin Vercellese, 1516, Book I, xviii, Eli, who mentions it and gives some examples, but makes no comment.

² *Doc. d'am.*, II, 47.

. . . . i' posso dir che per la mia follia
 i'ò perduto assai buon sollazzare.
 Anche che troppo tardi mi n'aveggio,
 non lascerò ch'i'non prenda conforto,
 ca far d'un danno due sarebbe peggio.¹

di gioi'mi vesto, di noia mi spoglio,
 e ciò bench'è'n l'amor, a mme'l'arreo;²

Come che doglia grande e smisurata
 Mensola avea sentita, come quella
 ch'a tal partito mai non era stata,
 veggendo aversi fatto una sì bella
 criatura, ogni altra pena fu alleggiata.³

And so, in the *Decameron*, when, at the Mugnone, Bruno asks Buffalmacco where Calandrino is, and Buffalmacco replies: Io non so, ma egli era pur poco fa qui dinanzi da noi. Disse Bruno: Ben che fa poco, a me par egli esser certo che egli è ora a casa a desinare,⁴ Bruno is pretending to mock Buffalmacco, and keeps his words, including the indicative "fa," unchanged on that account. The example just preceding, from the *Ninfale fiesolano*, shows that Boccaccio is not thus forcing his own syntactical practice, which was that of his age.

E bene ch'io dimostro nel principio
 un dolce ed un contento desiderio,
 pur la mia fine è danno e vituperio.⁵

Poi volsi gli occhi verso il bel volume
 d'o(n)gni virtù e bellezza,
 e benchè con pienezza
 ritrar non posso sua sovrana forma,
 i' pur seguirò l'orma
 distinguendo a mia possa sua persona,
 qual A(p)polledio di Si(c)cheo ragiona.⁶

¹ Cecco, XLIV, 7-11.

² Cecco, LIV, 5-6.

³ *Ninf. fies.*, 404, 1-5; cf. variant indicative, 211.6.

⁴ *Decam.*, II, 206.

⁵ Uberti, p. 152.

⁶ Bruzio Visconti, in Uberti, p. 228.

The next example shows an indicative in the statement of a general truth, as distinct from the absolutely certain fact of Meyer-Lübke's phrase: *Et bene che la cosa quando si fa presta alcuna volta non si fa tucto quello è utile, nondimeno pur si fa . . .*¹ *posto che vigorosamente dalla tua parte facesti, nondimeno ti dei ricordare che molto danpno ricevesti. . . .*²

The indicative seems to be very infrequent in a clause preceding the primary. At least in the texts here considered there are only the 9 cases given as against 477 preceding clauses of fact, with the verb in the subjunctive. Without wishing to attach any great importance to my statistical data I will here add that there is a larger proportion of examples with the indicative in the concessive clauses which follow the primary clause. The disproportion which appears in these works is presumably accidental.

The concessive clauses which follow the primary clause and the verb of which is in the indicative are of two types. One is the ordinary type, similar, except for its position, to that just illustrated. The other is supplementary, and is like that which is found in the modern language. One would, of course, definitely expect to find the first, and the existence of the second is natural, both inherently, and as the background of the modern form. To give definite proof that they both existed in the early period is certainly not at all difficult, although it requires rather more attention to detail than might at first be supposed. I will take up the ordinary type last, after considering the character of the supplementary type and eliminating the examples in which it occurs.

The supplementary type may be distinguished in the modern language, not only by the mood of the verb, but also by the punctuation, by the presence of a period, interrogation point, colon, or semicolon before the clause.³ But in only two cases in our texts can one be sure that either a period or an interrogation point before a concessive clause was put there by the author. These two cases occur in examples from Petrarch and Sercambi, whose works have been

¹ Sercambi, I, 210.

² Sercambi, II, 259.

³ One would need to make sure that the colon or semicolon is not merely a substitute for a comma in a long sentence, were it not for the mood of the verb.

preserved in carefully revised autograph MSS.¹ Only autographs can be counted upon to give the authors' punctuation, since the copyists were often extremely careless and inexact in this matter,² although such a MS as that of Mannelli may prove useful.³ And even an autograph does not solve the problems which arise in this study in connection with the colon and semicolon, for although all but one of the early systems of punctuation had what purport to be equivalents of these modern marks,⁴ editors often have great difficulty in interpreting their meaning in modern terms. Even in the autograph of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch, the punctuation, which was evidently done with great care, is not always consistent,⁵ and is most perplexing to the specialists,⁶ presumably for the reason suggested by Ewald, who finds that Petrarch did not keep to a logical point of view, but seems rather to have aimed to give hints for reading the poems.⁷

These difficulties, however, do not always occur in connection with the full stop, and the following passage from Sercambi shows the existence of the supplementary type of concessive clause after a period: E i Lucchesi, che non puonno alla forza mectere riparo, stanno cheti. Benchè si sapea che al dicto messer Mastino non era gusto Luccha la valuta di fiorini .xl.^m⁸ It will be noted

¹ For the facts concerning the MS of Sercambi, cf. I, Pref., p. xxviii; of the *Canzoniere* of Petrarch there is no need to speak. In the *Documenti d'Amore*, the MS of which is found to be an autograph (cf. F. Egidì, *Bull. d. Soc. fil. rom.*, No. 1, 1901, p. 35), there are no examples of the supplementary type of clause, so that the almost complete lack of punctuation in the text is here of no consequence.

² F. Novati, "Di un' Ars Punctandi erroneamente attribuita a Francesco Petrarca," *Rendiconti del R. Istituto Lombardo*, 2d Series, Vol. XLII (1909), Milan, Hoepli, pp. 83 and 84, n. 1.

³ The value of the Berlin MS is doubtless much greater, but I find no record of a publication which gives the punctuation.

⁴ The systems are described in some detail by Novati, pp. 84-96.

⁵ Novati, pp. 100-101.

⁶ M. Scherillo, *Il Canzoniere di F.P.*, etc., Milan, Hoepli, 1908, Pref., p. xiv.

⁷ Fr. Ewald, *Die Schreibweise in der autographischen Handschrift des "Canzoniere" Petrarca's*, etc., *Anhang, Die Interpunktion des Codex, Zeits. für roman. Phil., Beiheft* 13, p. 61. I take Ewald's meaning, in the passage quoted, to be that Petrarch had in mind certain special effects to be produced by pauses and inflections of the voice.

⁸ Serc., I, 88. The example seems to me to have the positive value which I give to it because of the character of the edition. The Istituto storico decided to reproduce "tutto fino ad un' apice, ciò ch'è nel codice, tanto del testo quanto della figure" (I, Pref., p. xliii). The result of its work is excellent, cf. *Giorn. stor. della lett. ital.*, XXI, 157-60. There is, and for the obvious reasons, a modernized system of punctuation, as is clear in general, as well as from the reproduction of the facsimile in the text (II, 376), where the early form of the comma (/) is replaced by the modern. But surely no such change was made as to insert a full stop and capitalize benchè.

that the concessive clause is logically adversative to the preceding statement exactly as the last mentioned is formulated. This is the simple and obvious type of the supplementary clause, that in which the concessive statement, which might be uttered after no more than a normal pause, indicated by a comma or not indicated at all, is presented as an afterthought. All following clauses, except in cases where the primary clause has an adversative adverb to show that the concessive statement is anticipated, may, at least theoretically, be interpreted as of this type, although it is most unlikely that more than a few really are so. The following examples are similar, as regards the logical relation in thought to the literal statement preceding. They show the function of the supplementary clause, which is to correct an impression which the preceding statement may seem to create:

. . . . i ò 'n tal donna lo mi' cor assiso,
 che chi dicesse: - ti fo 'nperadore,
 e sta che non la veggi pur du' ore -,
 sì lli dire': - va; che sii ucciso! - ;
 et vedendo lei, sì son diviso
 da tutto quel che ssi chiama dolore.
 Avegna ch' i' di ciò non ò mistiere,
 di veder cosa che dolor mi tolla.¹

The joyful, even exultant tone of the sonnet may seem to be marred by the turn of phrase in lines 5 and 6, so the poet corrects the possible inference that the phrase accurately reflects his mood. In the next example the speaker, Monna Ermellina, has been severely reprimanded by a priest for encouraging a lover: Di che sì fatta paura m'entrò, che io del tutto mi disposi a non voler più la dimestichezza di lui; e per non averne cagione, sua lettera nè sua ambasciata più volli ricevere: come che io credo, se più fosse perseverato, come (per quello che io presuma) egli se n'andò disperato, veggendolo io consumare come si fa la neve al sole, il mio duro proponimento si sarebbe piegato, per ciò che niun disidero al mondo maggiore avea.² The speaker realizes that her statement about her aloofness toward her lover, after the priest's reprimand, may seem to imply more strength of character than she has, and in the concessive clause she corrects a possible overestimate.

¹ Cecco, XXXVI, 3-10.

² Decam., I, 260.

In the next example the correction is of the possible suggestion that the poet is justified in complaining:

Così m'avess'ella fatt'afogone
o mi si fosse nella gola posta,
ch'i'non avesse gollato'l boccone:
Ché già non sare'a così mala posta;
avegna certo ch'egli è gran ragione
che chi ssi nuoce su, pur a llu'costa.¹

Besides this obvious type of the clause there is another, in which the concessive clause is not adversative to the literal statement preceding, but serves to correct an impression which the tone or the choice of words or some other formal detail of what precedes may seem to create. In some cases the difference between the actual statement and one which gives the exact thought to which the concessive clause is logically adversative is slight, but in others the general corrective function of the clause is seen to have led to great looseness of use. It may even cease to be concessive at all, and correct the first statement in its entirety, so that the two are mutually exclusive. And there is a variety of relations intermediate between those two extremes.

In the following sonnet of Petrarch the concessive clause is clearly an afterthought:

In qual parte del ciel / in quale ydea
Era lexempio / onde natura tolfe
Quel bel uifo leggiadro / ichella uolfe
Mostrar quagiu quanto laffu potea.²
Qual nimpha ī fonti. in felue mai qual dea.
Chiome doro fi fino a laura sciolfe.²
Quādo un cor tante ī fe uertuti accolfe.²
Ben che la fōma e di mia morte rea.²

The concessive clause is logically adversative in a literal sense rather to a declarative than to the exclamatory form of expression preceding. The difference, although apparently slight, is sufficient to add emphasis to the concessive clause, which serves to correct the general tone of unqualified admiration and praise. It has the same general

¹ Cecco, XLV, 9-14.

² Petr., *Canz.*, 159, 1-8. The interrogation mark, unmistakably called for by the thought, is quite clear in the facsimile of the MS.

corrective function in the following passage from the *Decameron*: Chi ha a dir paternostri o a fare il migliaccio o la torta al suo divoto, lascile stare: elle non correranno di dietro a niuna a farsi leggere. Benchè e le pinzochere altressì dicono, et anche fanno delle cosette otta per vicenda!¹ The concessive clause obviously corrects the possible inference that bigots are necessarily to be regarded as better than other people.

The use of the supplementary clause to correct a general impression is shown most clearly in the following example, also from the *Decameron*. Meuccio, after questioning the spirit of the dead Tingoccio, who has returned to visit him on earth, about the punishment for sin in the future life, promises to have masses said for his soul: e partendosi Tingoccio da lui, Meuccio si ricordò della comare, e sollevato alquanto il capo disse: Ben che mi ricorda, o Tingoccio: della comare, con la quale tu giacevi quando eri di qua, che pena t'è di là data?² The example is significant in this, that the previous words of Meuccio to which "Ben che," etc., are supplementary are not given at all. When Tingoccio starts to leave and Meuccio wishes to detain him, he has only to use the supplementary clause primary in form to correct the impression that he has nothing more to say.

To return to the examples more regular in form, the concessive clause may be, not adversative to the literal statement preceding, but corrective of the tone, as when there is a suggestion of complaint:

e or senza 'l su' amor mi pare stare
come colu' c'alla morte s'avvia.
Avegna ched e' m'è bene' nvestito,
ché io medesmo la colpa me n'abbo
po' ch'i' non fo vendetta del marito. . . .³

The concessive clause when thus used in a supplementary way is no longer purely subordinate, since the statement, to which the conjunction gives at first the appearance of normal subordination, serves in effect to restate the position previously taken. It is felt practically as a co-ordinate clause, and may thus serve as a fresh

¹ *Decam.*, II, 432. I reproduce the punctuation of the Lucca edition. Fanfani changed the period to a colon.

² *Ibid.*, II, 185.

³ Cecco, LVII, 7-11.

start, and be followed by its own subordinates as any co-ordinate statement is.

In the following examples the Lucca edition, which claims to reproduce exactly the punctuation of the Mannelli MS,¹ has periods before the concessive clauses, the first word of which is in each case printed with a small letter. The fact that there are many cases of a similar inconsistency in the edition, aside from these cases of the concessive clause, suggests that the editors may have mistaken for a period an early mark equivalent to the colon, perhaps that of the particular system, widely used in the fourteenth century and formulated by an unknown grammarian of Bologna, which is described by Novati.² In any case, the concessive clauses correct possible inferences: Egli mi giova molto quando un savio uomo è da una donna semplice menato come si mena un montone per le corna in beccheria. benchè tu non se'savio nè fosti da quella ora in qua che tu ti lasciasti nel petto entrare il maligno spirito della gelosia. . . .³ The speaker is admitting that she has deceived the man. The concessive clause is not adversative to the exact statement preceding, since if it were, she would be excluding him from her statement. She wishes to include him, and does so by correcting her own use of the word "savio," as not being applicable. In the next example the inference to be corrected is again rather general: E parendogli che di quindi venisse il suono dello starnuto, aperse un uscuiolo il qual v'era, e come aperto l'ebbe, subitamenta n'uscì fuori il maggior puzzo di solfo del mondo. benchè davanti, essendocene venuto puzzo e ramaricaticene, aveva detto la donna: Egli è che dianzi io imbiancai miei veli col solfo. . . .⁴ Fanfani has a comma before the concessive clause. This seems quite out of place, since the adversative force of the concessive clause does not appear at all unless one takes the preceding statement to imply that the odor was surprising. There should then be a pause to represent a moment in which the writer and his reader may get that impression, before proceeding to the correction.

There are eight examples in the works here studied, including two already given, in which a concessive clause with a verb in the indicative follows a colon or semicolon. In all these examples the

¹ Pref., p. v.

² P. 94.

³ *Decam.*, II, 151.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 73.

clauses have the same function as that which we have seen in the case of the clause which follows a full stop; so that the punctuation, whether it was an interpretation by the editors of early marks found in the MSS, or was supplied because needed, is clearly correct. In the passage from which the first example is taken Sercambi is reproaching the Florentines for entering into a secret alliance in a spirit unfriendly to Lucca: *Ma tu non volesti che il tuo secreto altri sapesse. Et pertanto ti dico che non è da esser biazmato se altri non vuole che tu sappi i loro secreti; posto che per me alcuno secreto non si fa, che sia nè debbia esser danpno d'alcuno vicino, chome si trovano di molti che sono in questa nostra Ytalia; e questo vasti al presente.*¹ In the concessive clause, and in its subordinates, Sercambi contrasts the purity of Luccan motives with the suspicious character of those which he imputes to Florence. He presents this contrast in the form of a correction by example of the inference, which might be drawn from his preceding words, that secrets are always above criticism. The next example may be interpreted in two ways: *Et pertanto di tal materia al prezente non si conterà altro, ma quando seguirà l'effetto altro'si notificherà; bene che poco fructo si spera torni a Luccha, però che di tucto che segue, del dapno ne torna a Luccha più che sua parte, e al bene non giunge.*² The meaning may be: "When the outcome develops I will make it known elsewhere in my narrative; although I hope for but slight advantage accruing to Lucca," and the narrative will therefore be sad. That interpretation, which makes the concessive clause logically adversative to the literal statement preceding, seems to me not to take proper account of the marked change at the pause from the somewhat perfunctory tone of the chronicler explaining the arrangement of his material to the deep pessimism of the patriot. The concessive clause seems then to be really a correction of that tone, and to refer back to "quando seguirà l'effetto." In other words, the correction is of the possible inference that Sercambi expects a favorable outcome. In the next examples the correction is of the more immediately obvious sort: . . . *tali paezi erano e sono signoreggiati & acomodati a molti & diversi signori & conti, a parte al dicto Luizo d'Angiò e parte al dicto Ladislao, gueregiando e nimicandosi insieme molto*

¹ Serc., II, 285.² Serc., II, 41.

tempo, & molto tezoro spendendo l'una parte e l'altra; benchè la maggior parte della spesa, che facea il dicto Ladislao e la sua madre erano de' beni che' l papa e la Chieza di Roma a loro porgea. . . .¹ The concessive clause corrects the probable inference that the money came out of their own pockets. The next example is punctuated with a comma: . . . con quelle brigade che avea entrò nascozamente in Saona, benchè si crede che a lui fusse facto traeto doppio.² The concessive clause corrects the impression that the first statement tells the true story; it is a restatement of what precedes, and *benchè* has the force of "or rather," so that if one reads without a marked pause the fact that the concessive clause is not subordinate in emphasis to what precedes mars the clearness of the passage.³ In the following example the Lucca editors, and Fanfani, have the correct semicolon: E s'egli v'era più a grado lo studio delle leggi che la moglie, voi non dovavate pigliarla; benchè a me non parve mai che voi giudice foste, anzi mi paravate un banditore di sacre e di feste, sì ben le sapavate, e le digiune e le vigilie.⁴ The concessive clause, which is adversative to the first clause, corrects the possible inference that the speaker considers the person addressed as really fitted for the law.

In the next example the relation in thought between the concessive clause and the preceding statement is of special interest:

Se si potesse morir di dolore,
Molti son vivi che sserebber morti:
i'son l'un desso, sed e' no men porti
'n anim'e carn' il Lucifer maggiore;
avegna ch'i' ne vo co la peggiore,
ché ne lo'nferno non son così forti
le pene e tormenti e li sconforti
com'un de' miei, qualunqu'e 'l minore.⁵

The editor, Massèra, interprets: Ancor che il diavolo non lo porti via in anima e in corpo, il poeta ne va con la peggiore, à la peggior sorte, poichè, etc.⁶ I should prefer to interpret without any such

¹ Serc., II, 289.

² Serc., III, 191.

³ If the passage of Sercambi's MS given in the facsimile is typical (II, 376), the punctuation must be almost entirely supplied. It therefore seems that the editor, who was in the main most careful, here made an error of interpretation.

⁴ Decam., I, 201.

⁵ Cecco, XIX, 1-8.

⁶ P. 85.

radical syntactical change. The whole tone of the sonnet is one of profound depression, and the ellipsis in line 3 is significant: "I am one of these (and shall continue to be) unless," etc. The jump of thought is to the dread terror of hell, and the poet dwells upon it, as if fascinated, with "'n anim'e carn'" and the final epithet "maggiore." Then comes a further crescendo, by a correction of the apparent impression that hell contains the maximum of horror, a crescendo which is sustained as the thought is explained and amplified in the following lines. Massèra's method of interpretation seems therefore to change the meaning in changing the form in which it is expressed.

Both the Lucca editors and Fanfani have a comma in the following example. A woman locked up in a lonely tower shouts for help: *Ma anche questo l'aveva sua nimica fortuna tolto. I lavoratori eran tutti partiti da' campi per lo caldo, avvegna che quel dì niuno ivi appresso era andato a lavorare, sì come quegli che allato alle lor case tutti le lor biade battevano.*¹ The concessive clause states an afterthought, since it corrects the preceding statement in its entirety and substitutes an essentially different one. The two clauses are not adversative in force, but mutually exclusive. "Avvegna che" has once more the force of "or rather." The effect of reading without a pause is therefore to obscure the meaning, since it suggests a logical adversative relation between the two clauses and makes the second subordinate. In the next example Wiese punctuates with a comma:

Nè so s'io me ne vo, ne s' io m'aspetti,
se riuscir la veggio in nessun lato,
benchè si folti son questi boschetti,
che vi staria a cavallo un nom celato,
sanza d'esser veduto aver sospetti.²

In the concessive clause Africo is correcting his assumption, which is quite obvious, though only implicit, in the statement of his query, that Mensola will necessarily see him in case chance brings them near to each other in the forest. The transition in thought is so easily made that the comma will serve. The concessive clause, is, then, intermediate between the purely subordinate type and the supplementary, which is co-ordinate, or, perhaps, in view of the force

¹ *Decam.*, II, 244-45.

² *Ninf. fies.*, 125, 1-5.

naturally associated with the conjunction, semico-ordinate. The examples have shown that the two types are often definitely distinct, so much so that a disregard of the difference tends to obscure the connection in thought of the supplementary clause with what precedes. I chose to present the material in this way for the sake of clearness and because the full-fledged supplementary type is so frequently used. But of course the form of the first clause makes the suggestion corrected by the second more or less obvious in different cases. The speaker may at times be free to pause or not as he chooses.

In the following examples Sercambi uses the subjunctive in clauses which are clearly supplementary: . . . il comune di Firenze comprò Luccha dal dicto messer Mastino certa somma di denari. E benchè i Fiorentini mettersero nome quella aver comprata fiorini. ccl.^m, dicho che a quello che il dicto Mastino stava contento da' Luchesi, la dicta somma fu assai minore; posto che il nome fusse grande.¹ After completing a matter-of-fact statement of the contrast between the Florentine pretensions and the facts, Sercambi restates the thought of the original concessive clause in an ironical form which expresses his resentment. The clause is therefore clearly an afterthought, and the semicolon is correct. The use of the subjunctive may seem to be due to its presence in the first concessive clause, and in a certain sense that may be true. The analogy to the normal type of the concessive clause probably does cause the departure from the more frequent use of the indicative which we have seen, and that analogy will no doubt have effect especially when a concessive clause with the subjunctive directly precedes. But Sercambi has the subjunctive in the following passage, where there is, to be sure, a preceding subjunctive, so that attraction may have determined the mood of the next verb, but where there is no other concessive clause: era di necessità richiedere alquanti amici dello stato di Luccha così di fuori come dentro. E simile avere alquanti con l'armo, acciò che altri volendo contradire non possa; posto che alcuno di ciò non si debbia contristare, e massimamente chi ama la libertà e lo stato di Lucha.² The semicolon is right, since the concessive clause is not logically adversative to what precedes, but is

¹ Serc., I, 88.

² Serc., III, 13.

intended to counteract the alarming effect which the military precautions might have. Here, then, attraction may explain the use of the subjunctive. But not in the following: *E licentiati, i dicti imbasciadori tornòro a Luccha a dì .xxvii. maggio, e referito la risposta facta, si prese pensieri di stare a vedere come preseguiranno le promissioni; posto che poca speranza fusse data che i Fiorentini debbiano volere bene vicinare.*¹ The concessive clause is logically adversative, and the semicolon may be intended merely to mark a pause at the end of a breath-group. But there is the other possibility also. In a word, a variety of influences of a recognizable kind may cause deviations from what appears to be the normal use of the indicative in the supplementary clause, so that a dogmatic statement about absolute uniformity would be quite out of place. The length of my discussion of the material with the indicative suggests this restriction of statement.

In fact, Petrarch's use of moods was perhaps not uniform. In the two examples following the punctuation (.), which the Carducci-Ferrari edition² and that of Scherillo³ interpret as a semicolon, may be regarded as marking a breathing space, and no more:

Poi feguiro ficome a lui nēcrebbe
 Troppo altamēte. e che di cio mauenne.
 Di chio fon facto a molta gente exempio.
 Ben chel mio duro scempio
 Sia scripto altroue / fi che mille pēne
 Ne fon gia ftāche.⁴

Ma molto piu di quel / che per inançi
 De la dolce et acerba mia nemica
 E bifogno chio dica.
 Ben che fia tal chogni parlare auançi.⁵

But the element of uncertainty, which arises especially in the second case, is still more pronounced in connection with the last line of the sonnet of the mirror:

Certo feui rimembra di narciffo /
 Quefto 7 quel corfo adun termino uāno.
 Ben che di fi bel fior fia indegna lerba.⁶

¹ Serc., II, 270.

³ Milan, Hoepli, 1918.

² Florence, Sansoni, 1899.

⁴ Petr., *Canz.*, 23, 7-12.

⁵ 23, 68-77.

⁶ 45, 12-14. Both Carducci-Ferrari and Scherillo have a colon at the end of line 13.

The closing lines, which serve to soften the severity of tone in the threat, seem to afford a parallel to the first example cited from Petrarch, where the concessive clause follows an interrogation point.

In one passage in the *Decameron* the concessive clause with the verb in the subjunctive is punctuated by both Fanfani and Scherillo¹ with a semicolon: E per certo questa vostra liberale venuta m'è troppo più cara che non sarebbe se da capo mi fosse dato da spendere quanto per addietro ho già speso; come che a povero oste siate venuta.² The concessive clause does not state a new thought, since the idea of poverty appears with great clearness in "Your visit is much more welcome than if I could spend over again all that I have spent in the past." The concessive clause is then used for repetition in explicit form. It is logically adversative to part of the thought in the first sentence, that is to say, to "Your visit is welcome," but the form and length of the intervening clauses obscure the adversative relation. The confusion of thought, as it thus appears, and as it continues to appear if one adopts the interpretation of the concessive clause just suggested and regards it as due to the speaker's attempt at greater clearness, is doubtless intended by Boccaccio to show the speaker's embarrassment. The form of statement is so irregular as to defy classification. The Lucca edition has a comma. But the semicolon has this advantage, that there are several long clauses preceding, with no punctuation, and a rather definite pause is desirable.

In the remaining examples with the indicative the concessive clauses are presumably almost all of the ordinary, purely subordinate sort. It is possible that the author marked a definite pause, and one cannot be absolutely sure in more than a few special cases that he did not, since the punctuation usually has no value as evidence. But the numerous examples already given of the supplementary clause probably include almost all the material of that kind. Under certain circumstances one may be quite sure that the author anticipated the concessive clause:

Almen sapess'ella pur quanto amata
ell'e da me, o veduto m' avesse,

¹ *Il Decamerone*, Milan, Hoepli, 1914, p. 273.

² *Decam.*, II, 64.

ben ch'i' credo che tutta spaventata
se ne sarebbe, sed ella credesse
esser da me o da uom disiata.¹

Almen I take as certainly anticipating *ben che*. Also, in the following series of balanced sentences:

Che farò dunque, lasso, po' ch' io veggio
ch' a palesarmi fare' il mio piggioro,
E s'io mi taccio, veggio ch' è 'l mio peggio,
però ch' ognor mi cresce più l'ardore?
Dunque, per miglior vita, morte chieggio,
la qual sarebbe fin di tal dolore,
bench' io mi credo ch' ella perrà poco
a venir, se non si spegne esto foco.²

The taste for contrasts and balances prevails throughout, so that such a line as 7 could be expected, to complete line 5. In other examples the thought makes a normal subordinate status seem likely:

Grassa me truovo, col palato asciutto,
con tutto che lo dì e la notte el ba(n)gno.³

And in prose: . . . e di Luccha v'andò brigate vestite di sendado armeggiando et bigordando, intanto che fu una meraviglia l'alegrezza che dimostrava esser in Pisa, benchè dentro da'chuori di ciascuno era somma tristitia a dire che i fanciulli fussero stati facti signori di Pisa e di Lucca per quel modo.⁴ The remaining indicative clauses may be found in the *Trionfi*, IX, 132 (with *benchè*); in the *Ninf. fies.*, 36. 7 (with *benchè*); 327. 7 (with *comechè*), and in variant readings, 266. 8 (with *come che*); 300, 7-8 (with *come che*); F. degli Uberti, pp. 130 and 186 (with *benchè*); 148 (with *con tutto che*); Sercambi, I, 132 (with *benchè*); 224 and 267 (with *bene che*); 228 and 381 (with *posto che*); III, 17 (with *posto che*); 153, 239, and 405 (with *benchè*). The subordinate indicative clauses I thus find to number twenty. The subordinate clauses of fact with the verb in the subjunctive following the primary clause may be found in Cecco, XII, 4 (*avegnachè*); LV, 10 (*avegna*); *Doc. d'Am.*, I, 280 (*perchè*); II, 97, 146, 342 (*perchè*); 222 (*tutto che*); *Vita Nuova*, VIII, 12; IX, 1; XXV, 3; XXXIII, 2; XXXVIII, 6; XLI, 7 (*avegna che*); XXIII, 3 (*ancora*

¹ *Ninf. fies.*, 35, 1-5.

³ Uberti, p. 148.

² *Ibid.*, 36, 1-8.

⁴ Serc., I, 132.

che); *Ninf. fies.*, 10, 3-4; 41. 8 (*benchè*); 266. 8; 303. 6; 313. 4; 341. 8; 400, 5-6 (*come che*); *Decam.*, I, 10, 30, 65, 72, 89, 106, 112, 186, 196 (two cases), 284, 311-12, 319, 320, 374; II, 40, 64, 86, 125, 153, 194, 207, 274, 317, 327, 416, 425-26 (*come che*); I, 79 (*ancor che*); I, 11, 69, 88, 93, 94, 101, 115, 131, 147, 170, 172, 175, 177, 259, 290, 315; II, 30, 47, 74, 118, 135, 172, 240, 242, 250, 290, 302, 307, 322, 340, 354, 371-72, 383, 388, 416, 431 (*quantunque*); II, 263, 267 (*benchè*): I, 34, 36 (*perchè*); II, 165, 239, 301 (*con tutto che*); I, 61, 333; II, 301 (*avvegna che*); *Petr., Canz.*, 23, 10; 23, 71; 45, 14; 83, 3; 95, 8; 120, 12; 181, 4; 333, 4; 366, 13 (*benchè*); 70, 8; 71, 96; 76. 7; 98. 6; 120, 12; 264, 81 (*perchè*); *Trionfi*, VII, 116 (*benchè*); *Uberti*, pp. 66, 88, 126, 229 (*benchè*); 246 (*quantunque*); *Sercambi*, I, 95, 110, 141, 143, 159, 178, 208, 210, 232, 259, 269, 314, 410; II, 33, 65, 70, 134, 156, 173, 184-85, 364, 375, 385; III, 3, 13, 104, 188 (*posto che*); I, 126, 359, II, 164, 398, III, 206, 317, 349, 368 (*benchè*); II, 37, 367, 377; III, 210 (*non stante che*); II, 183, III, 6 (*avegnadio che*) (II, 183, III, 6); III, 73 (*come che*).

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ANTON DE MONTORO Y EL CANCIONERO DE OBRAS DE BURLAS

Corrientemente se atribuyen a Antón de Montoro, el Ropero de Córdoba, dos de las más desvergonzadas y obscenas composiciones del obsceno y desvergonzado *Cancionero de obras de burlas provocantes a risa*, que fué publicado en Valencia en 1519 y que Usoz del Río reimprimió, por razones de absurdo fanatismo religioso, en Londres en 1841. Dichas producciones son: el *Pleyto del Manto* y la “especulativa obra,” cuyo título no puede citarse por completo, y en que se parodia el alto estilo de las *Trescientas* de Juan de Mena. Estas composiciones que tienen la distinción, no muy envidiable, de ser los ejemplos de mayor deshonestidad de toda la literatura castellana y en las que se encuentra copia extremada de voces, que a pesar de su castiza progeñe, *pudoris causa*, nuestros diccionarios destierran de sus páginas, no fueron incluídas, con muy buen acuerdo, por Cotarelo en el *Cancionero de Antón de Montoro*, que en 1900 recopiló. Pero es tal la fuerza de la costumbre, que al año siguiente, el mismo académico, en su estudio sobre Juan del Encina, aludiendo al *Pleyto del Manto*, parece hacerse eco de la usual imputación y la menciona, no sólo sin rectificarla formalmente, sino sin hacer, siquiera, la más ligera reserva.¹

En el tratado de literatura más fidedigno que poseemos—hago relación al libro de Fitzmaurice-Kelly—se dice que se supone a Montoro responsable de estas dos escandalosas poesías y más explícito aun se muestra en la edición inglesa cuando dice “there is good ground for thinking that to him belong the two”² y en otro manual, también de corriente uso y de mérito por su fina apreciación literaria y visión de conjunto—hablo del libro de Mérimée—se lee: “Il est bien possible qu’il ait collaboré comme on l’accuse au scandaleux Cancionero”³ y sin duda debía de tener el ilustre hispanista

¹ *Juan del Encina y los orígenes del teatro español*, Madrid, 1901, pág. 19.

² *Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1916, pág. 88; *A History of Spanish Literature*, New York and London, 1915, pág. 112.

³ *Précis d’histoire de la littérature espagnole*, Paris, 1908, pág. 123.

entonces en mente las piezas antes citadas, porque la contribución de otros versos de Montoro no ofrece duda: suyos son con toda certeza los que bajo su nombre aparecen.

Sin embargo, ya alguien se había alzado contra la reiterada atribución. Menéndez Pelayo, con el profundo conocimiento y perspicacia que informan toda su obra, la desmentía en 1894 y afirmaba, que a su juicio, las alusiones personales que una y otra composición, especialmente la segunda, contienen las trae a tiempos algo posteriores.¹

Veamos cómo esto es cierto y cómo carecen de fundamento las habituales opiniones en este punto, que según acabo de apuntar, Fitzmaurice-Kelly y Mérimée recogen.

En primer lugar, tratando del *Pleyto del Manto*, habría que meditar lo que también apuntaba el maestro de los estudios literarios españoles, en el mismo lugar, sobre que bien se infiere de su contexto que fué obra de diversos trovadores, para apurar su ingenio en competencia, y más adelante² cuando llama la atención, de modo especial, a la colaboración de García de Astorga que dirige sus coplas a Don Pedro de Aguilar.³

Por lo que respecta a la *C . . . comedia*, sería necesario tener en cuenta, las cualidades de estilo y cultura que la obra revela. Creo que bien diferentes son, a primera vista, de las peculiares del poeta judío, y estas circunstancias hicieron que Usoz del Río achacase su composición a un eclesiástico.⁴

Además, si el Roperio imita alguna vez a Juan de Mena, lo hace precisamente en las producciones en que quiere expresar nobles y levantadas ideas, y por el poeta de las *Trescientas* mostró profunda admiración y reverencia, que no se compaginan con la burlesca imitación que la obra de que hablo revela.

Pero hay que añadir que el poema y las glosas que le acompañan—que innegablemente son de la misma mano—demuestran un conocimiento curioso y extensísimo del mundo de las hetairas de la época

¹ *Antología*, T. VII, pág. xxxvi.

² *Obra citada*, pág. cccxciii.

³ Véanse en la edición de Usoz las páginas 49 y siguientes.

⁴ "Por lo que senté al principio, respecto al estudio que se hacía del latín, cuando se escribió esta obra: y por las voces latinas, que se hallan en estos comentarios, tomadas generalmente de la litúrgia, ó de la Vulgata: y asimismo, por las particularidades de la

en España. Ahora bien, Cotarelo dice que no consta que Montoro residiese en Castilla, en la corte de los Reyes, ni aun que hiciese más que alguno que otro viaje a Sevilla, y el propio Montoro se queja de la especie de esclavitud a que la falta de recursos le obligaba, lo que hace suponer, que si se veía precisado a un trabajo diario y fatal, no le sería permitido emprender largos viajes. Sus versos:

Pues non cresce mi caudal
el trovar, nin da más puja,
adorámoste, dedal,
gracias fagamos, aguja.¹

son incompatibles con las alusiones a tantas ciudades, desde Salamanca a Valencia, que la parodia de Mena ofrece. Antón de Montoro no pudo haber nacido después de 1404, porque dedica una poesía a la reina Isabel en que dice:

¡ Oh Ropero amargo, triste,
que no sientes tu dolor!
Setenta años que naciste²

Si se recuerda que la reina Isabel subió al trono el año 1474, hay que aceptar la fecha indicada como la más moderna posible. Respecto a la de su muerte, acostumbra a señalarse la de 1480. Unos la dan como segura (Mérimée, Cejador), algún otro (Fitzmaurice-Kelly) como probable. Sin embargo, de hecho, no hay motivo para tal expeditivo procedimiento. Antes por el contrario, lo único que sabemos fijamente, es que el 31 de Marzo de 1477 otorgó testamento.³ Si se atiende a que debía de tener como mínimo entonces setenta y tres años y que otorga testamento estando enfermo, creo que todas las probabilidades tienden a indicar dicho año como el de su fallecimiento.

Voy a señalar ahora algunas alusiones que prueban que la composición del *Pleyto del Manto* y de la *C . . . comedia* son de fecha muy posterior a esa de 1477 o si se quiere a la de 1480.

vida fraylesca, y aventuras de frayles que aquí se cuentan: puede presumirse que su autor fué clérigo ó frayle, y aun tal vez frayle Trinitario," dice en la advertencia que precede a la reimpresión del *Cancionero*, pág. xxiv.

¹ CXXXV, *Cancionero de Antón de Montoro*, pág. 234.

² XXXVI, *ibid.*, pág. 99.

³ Publicado por Ramirez de Arellano en la *Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas y Museos*, el año 1900, IV, págs. 484-89.

En el *Pleyto del Manto* hay una que es suficiente: en uno de los escritos de recurso se dice que se apela ante Torrellas:

é si dijeren qu'es muerto,
por ser del siglo partido,
en Salamanca, porcierto,
un hijo suyo encubierto,
tiene su poder cumplido.

El cual es aquél varón
que muy justo determina,
sabido, con discreción,
que dizen, Juan del Enzina: [Págs. 46-47.]

y téngase en consideración, que Juan del Enzina nació por los años 1468 o 1469, porque el mismo nos informa en su *Trivagia*, que tenía cincuenta años cumplidos en 1519.

En relación con la *C... comedia*, podría suponerse que al ser publicada en 1519, no debía haber sido escrita hacía mucho tiempo, porque los nombres de las personas que en ella aparecen perderían gran interés, si no fueran lo suficientemente próximos al tiempo de la impresión, para suministrar material amplio al regodeo del escándalo. Sería en extremo curioso poder enlazar algunas referencias con puntos históricos que están fuera de mi alcance: llamo, por ejemplo, la atención a la explicación de la Copla LVIII (pág. 176) donde refiriéndose a Valladolid dice "la metieron en casa del Almirante donde el Obispo d'Osma vive." Alguien podría suponer que se trata de la casa en que Cristóbal Colón murió el 20 de Mayo de 1506, pero si se tiene en cuenta que la casa donde el suceso acaecía debía de asemejarse más bien a un palacio porque se habla de caballerizas y gran golpe de criados y la casa donde murió Colón, tengo entendido que era pequeña y modesta, hay que pensar que fuera la del Almirante de Castilla, mansión donde Doña Germana, la segunda mujer del Rey Don Fernando el Católico, dió a luz en 1509 al Príncipe Don Juan, que murió poco después.¹ Y si sabemos que un miembro de la ilustre familia de los Enríquez, de hecho un hijo bastardo del

¹ Gálíndez de Carvajal, "Anales breves del reinado de los Reyes Católicos," en *Colección de Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, T. XVIII, pág. 322; *Historia de la vida y hechos del Emperador Carlos V*, por el Maestro Don Fray Prvdencio de Sandoval, Pamplona, 1634, T. I, pág. 21; Ortega y Rubio, *Historia de Valladolid*, Valladolid, 1881, T. I, pág. 210.

Almirante Don Fadrique, fué preconizado en 1506 Obispo de Osma,¹ parece que no es sino muy natural inclinarse a creer que de él se trate.²

Pero sin prestar ulterior atención a hipótesis más o menos defendibles, aunque siempre peligrosas, paso a señalar hechos indestructibles, casos de evidencia firme e irrefragable.

Dos veces se menciona la *Celestina* (págs. 152 y 168) en los escolios de las Coplas XX y XLVII, y aunque se aceptase la extremada teoría de Foulché-Delbosc que quiere dar como fecha de la composición el año 1483, puesto que aquí no se trata de este momento de la producción de la obra, sino de una época en que ya había alcanzado plena popularidad, nos encontramos con un tiempo bien posterior al en que Montoro floreció.

En el comentario de la Copla LI (pág. 171), se habla de las Cortes de Toledo de 1498 y aunque explica de un modo, al parecer, falsamente sensacional, el motivo de la Pragmática regulando el uso de los vestidos de seda—política suntuaria que los Reyes Católicos habían erigido por norma—no es menos cierto, que en esas Cortes los Procuradores del reino solicitaron la reforma contra los excesos en el vestir.³

Podría suponerse que el *terminus ad quem* lo constituiría el final del año 1504, porque en la glosa de la Copla XXXIV (pág. 159), se

¹ "Por Diciembre del año 1505 murió Don Alonso de Fonseca y le sucedió Don Alonso Enríquez, hijo bastardo del almirante Don Fadrique, de que muchos del reino tuvieron que decir por ser el dicho Don Alonso hombre profano," dice Gálíndez de Carvajal en el mismo lugar, pág. 312. Era hijo del Almirante y de una esclava, pág. 319. Cfr. Gams, *Series Episcoporum*, pág. 57; *Historia eclesiástica de la Fuente*, T. V, pág. 528.

² Entre los muchos puntos que requerirían un mayor conocimiento del que yo tengo, para poder ser usados como elementos útiles en esta argumentación, está la mención que se hace en la glosa de la Copla XXXIX, página 162, de un Miguel de Santángel, que, sin duda, debía pertenecer a la ilustre familia judía que produjo a Luis de Santángel, Escribano de ración y Contador mayor, el cual, como se recordará, tuvo tanta intervención en el descubrimiento de América. Kayserling en su conocido trabajo, *Christopher Columbus and the Participation of the Jews in the Spanish and Portuguese Discoveries*, habla de un Miguel de Santángel que era regidor de Zaragoza (pág. 69) que no sé si será el mismo Miguel Luis, profesor de Derecho en Zaragoza, y también regidor, de quien habla en la página 126, el cual vivió en el último tercio del siglo XVI.

³ Dice Sempere y Guarinos en su *Historia del lujo, y de las leyes suntuarias de España*, Madrid, 1788, T. II, págs. 13 y 14: "En el mismo año de 1498, manifestaron los Procuradores del Reyno en las Cortes de Toledo lo insuficientes que habían sido las prohibiciones antecedentes para reformar el lujo, quejándose de que en lugar del de los brocados y bordados se había introducido otro desorden en el exceso del uso de las sedas, y en las varias hechuras de los vestidos: y así pidieron igualmente su reforma, y se puso esta por medio de la Pragmatica de 30 de Octubre del año siguiente de 1499."

dice: "Agora en dia, se muestra su persona casada con un mozo d'espuela de la reyna doña Ysabel" pero si tal parece a primera vista, no es aceptable si lo comparamos con otro lugar en que se habla de la entrada del Rey Felipe en España (pág. 172), lo cual demuestra que es posterior a la proclamación del archiduque por Rey de Castilla.

Hay, además, algo en extremo curioso, a que las gentes que se han ocupado del asunto, no han prestado la más ligera atención. Paz y Melia, que sostuvo la tesis de que Montoro era el autor de estas obras, en una nota de su edición de Rodríguez del Padrón,¹ pretende hallar analogías entre el nombre de aquél y el del supuesto autor Fray Bugeo Montesino, recordando para ello, los nombres que el vulgo daba a los judíos. Pero me parece que es ir demasiado lejos. En cambio, entiendo que se ha querido aludir a Fray Ambrosio Montesino. Atendamos a lo que se dice al principio de la obra: "Como un dia me hallase leyendo unos sermones del devoto padre Fray Bugeo Montesino: hallé la presente obra, que este Reverendo Padre copiló para su recreación, después que correjó el Cartuxano." En efecto, se recordará que Fray Ambrosio hizo la traducción de la *Vita Christi* del Cartujano, traducción que inauguró la imprenta en Alcalá de Henares y de la cual parece que existen varias ediciones, pero ninguna anterior a 1502.² Los "sermones" son sin duda las *Epístolas y Evangelios para todo el año con sus doctrinas y sermones*, versión castellana que vió la luz en Toledo en 1512.³ Por consiguiente se ve que hasta el orden cronológico se observa perfectamente. El que estos libros eran bien conocidos lo prueba el hecho de que Juan de Valdés, al hablar de los libros romanizados en el *Diálogo de la lengua*, abre con ellos una larga lista, y también los pone juntos.⁴ ¿Habrà algún enemigo tratado de jugarle esta mala broma al pobre fraile menor? Pérez Pastor que hace una detallada descripción de la segunda impresión de los

¹ *Obras de Juan Rodríguez de la Cámara (ó del Padrón)*, Soc. Biblióf.-Esp. XXII, Madrid, 1884, pág. 390.

² Cfr. Catalina y García, *Ensayo de una Tipografía Complutense*, págs. 3-5. *Impresas de Alcalá en la Biblioteca del Escorial*, por el P. Benigno Fernández, Madrid, 1913, págs. 13-14.

³ Cfr. Pérez Pastor, *La imprenta en Toledo*, pág. 35.

⁴ Ed. Boehmer, *Romanische Studien*, VI, pág. 410.

Evangelios (Toledo, 1535) trae parte de la dedicatoria de Fray Ambrosio al Rey Católico (págs. 69-71) que ofrece curiosas semejanzas con los párrafos introductorios de la *C...comedia*. ¿Pudo el nombre de Bugeo ocurrírsele por la cualidad de *sempervirens* del boj, lo que podría relacionarse con la etimología de Ambrosio?¹ La cita de Virgilio que se lee al final de la introducción de la *C...comedia*, "Non minus regia res est modicum accipere quam plurimum dare," la cual, dicho sea de paso, no he encontrado en Virgilio, a pesar de haber buscado en el *Index verborum Virgilianus* de Watmore ¿querrá insinuar algunos favores recibidos en la corte por el fraile, que parece que llegó a ser Obispo de Cerdeña? Acaso todas estas razones se quiebren de puro sutiles. Para terminar con esta cuestión del autor, deseo apuntar que si Menéndez Pelayo supone que en Valencia fué redactado este bárbaro poema² sin embargo, el autor pasó algún momento de su juventud bastante lejos según propia confesión: en uno de los escolios, el de la Copla XLIX (pág. 171), habla de una cortesana que conoció en su mocedad en Plasencia.

Estas composiciones, a pesar de la repugnancia con que podamos mirar tal asquerosa mezcla de lascivia de fondo y grosería de forma, tienen, sin embargo, en la historia del pensamiento y de la literatura españoles de esta época un relativo interés: representan, con otras, afortunadamente, no tan descomedidas, el contraste con las parodias eróticas de los *salmos penitenciales* y de la *letanía* de Mosén Diego de Valera, de las *Misas de Amor* de Juan de Dueñas y Suero de Ribera, y de las *Lecciones de Job* de Garci Sánchez de Badajoz, entre otras; ejemplifican la reacción contra las apoteosis del amor y de la mujer, que, siendo de todo punto exóticas al espíritu peninsular, invaden la literatura castellana del siglo XV; ofrecen el reverso de "lo amanerado y fastidioso de la poesía amatoria y alegórica de los Cancioneros, y para el historiador importa mucho más que ésta, porque la historia recoge en todas partes las palpitaciones de la vida."³ Así vemos que aun en el *Amadís* la fase platónica del amor es de corta duración, el amor de la bella Oriana por su caballero

¹ Algunas ideas de inmortalidad parecen ir unidas al boj. V., por ejemplo, T. F. Thiselton-Dyer, *The Folk-Lore of Plants*, New York, 1889, pág. 107.

² *Antología*, T. VI, pág. cccxciv.

³ *Ibid.*, T. V, págs. cclxii y cclxiii.

es legítimo, sin duda, pero bien terrestre y no se limita por largo tiempo a la unión de almas, como muy finamente ha señalado un crítico belga: León de Monge, llamando, en este punto, la atención al hecho de que los cursos de literatura dan del *Amadís* una idea muy incompleta y a veces una idea muy falsa.¹

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¹ *Études morales et littéraires. Épopées et romans chevaleresques*, Louvain-Bruxelles, 1887-89, T. II, pág. 264.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

Feudal France in the French Epic. By GEORGE BAER FUNDENBURG.
Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1918. Pp. 121.

The title of this book is a misnomer. One might suppose it to be a study of medieval French society as it is portrayed in the *chansons*, either in the form of a reconstruction of that society with texts to support it, as in Léon Gautier's *La Chevalerie*, or in the form of an analysis of several poems made in such a way as to emphasize the cultural elements, as in M. Ch.-V. Langlois' charming (and accurate) work, *La Société française au XIII^e siècle*. In reality, it is an attempt to fix the date of the composition of certain *chansons* by means of what the author calls "custom-data." He sums up his method and his conclusions thus (p. 102): "If the manners and institutions can be assigned definitely to certain epochs in the social and political development of France, as recorded in the chronicles and other historical documents, the poems fixed in these periods by the direct reflection they give of the society in which they originated may be dated with greater accuracy than by the study of manuscripts and the search for parallel historical events." The method is not, per se, illegitimate. It has been used before with more or less success, and not only for the *chansons de geste*, but also for the Homeric poems, as in Seymour's "Life in the Homeric Age" and Reichel's "Homerische Waffen," and for the Teutonic epic, as in Chadwick's "The Heroic Age." But it demands an exceedingly wide and accurate knowledge and considerable ability in weighing evidence. It is to be feared that Mr. Fundenburg has not pondered the "golden words" of the editors of *Raoul de Cambrai*, a poem on which he places great reliance: "les mœurs féodales dans la première partie du *Raoul* portent aussi les marques d'une certaine antiquité; il serait plus difficile toutefois de faire ici le départ de ce qui appartient véritablement au X^e siècle ... on sait combien il est difficile de renfermer dans des limites chronologiques la plupart des usages du moyen âge" (pp. xxxii-iii). Where MM. Meyer and Longnon feared to tread, a young American scholar might well have hesitated before "s'imprimer tout vif."

It is difficult to see on what principle the author has chosen his texts for illustration of his thesis, as well as his authorities for his historical background. He has selected about twenty-five *chansons*, including such late and imitative works as *Aye d'Avignon*, *Gaydon*, *Gui de Nanteuil* and *Hervé de Metz*. But he considers the *Roland* hardly at all; he does not mention the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*; of all the cycle of William of Orange he discusses only the *Couronnement de Louis*, and he ignores entirely the cycle

of the Crusade. Yet *Antioch* and *Jérusalem* contain evidently more historical matter than any poem he mentions, and the late and amusing *Baudouin de Sebourc* is so crammed with realistic detail that M. Langlois chose it (along with Beaumanoir's *Jehan et Blonde*) as best illustrating thirteenth-century French life.¹ Among the historical studies cited by the author one does not find that great authority on medieval institutions, Achille Luchaire, nor such well-known writers on law and custom as Viollet, Esmein, and Guilhaume. Beaumanoir's *Coutumes du Beauvaisis* are cited, not in the critical edition by Salmon, 1899, but only in the old edition by Beugnot. Two equally important legal texts, the *Etablissements de saint Louis* and the *Assises de Jérusalem*, are not even mentioned. This will suffice, I think, to show how well Mr. Fundenburg was equipped for the task which he set himself.

It is likewise not easy to understand exactly what Mr. Fundenburg means by the "composition" of an epic poem. He constantly affirms that certain *chansons* were "composed" in the ninth and tenth centuries, but he admits (p. 62) that "the respective dates at which the extant poems were written in the form which has been handed down has (*sic*) been satisfactorily settled by the editors of the various manuscripts"; by these he means apparently the editors of the modern critical editions. Nowhere does he tell us in what form these poems [*Floovant*, for example] were first "composed," nor how they were transmitted from one generation to another till they were finally transcribed in the existing manuscripts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. He rejects (p. 103) the *cantilène* theory and says nothing whatever about prose saga, lays, oral tradition, dialect or versification. All that he does is to juggle with a few social and political institutions (such as the one called the *homme-à-seigneur* relation, in chap. iv), dating these institutions quite arbitrarily and then dating the *chansons* from them. He neglects altogether many features of medieval civilization (armor, costume, architecture, communes, religious orders, for example) equally characteristic of the age. By the use then of these few criteria he arrives at the sufficiently startling conclusion that *Floovant*, *Gormont et Isembart*, *Couronnement de Louis* and *Beuves d'Aigremont* were composed in the ninth century, *Raoul de Cambrai* and *Auberi le Bourguignon* in the tenth, the *Lorrain* cycle in the eleventh, *Gui de Bourgogne*, *Gaydon*, and *Hervi de Metz* in the twelfth. Let us see how Mr. Fundenburg reaches these unexpected results.

He begins with an introductory chapter on French epic poetry, in which we learn many novel and interesting facts. The history of the French epic (under which name he includes the poems of Chrétien of Troyes and the *romans d'aventure*) is divided into five periods: national, pre-feudal, feudal, late feudal or *romans d'aventure*, and lastly, court epic or romance of chivalry. After stating (p. 2) that "these two representative

¹ See Ch.-V. Langlois, in Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, III, 2, pp. 367 ff.

poems, the *Roland* and the *Cligés*, delimit in a general way the extent of the field," which would seem to imply that all epic production ceased with *Cligés*, he asserts (p. 4) that "the transition from the late feudal poetry, or *romans d'aventure*, to the court epic or romance of chivalry came about near the end of the thirteenth century." It is evident that this classification by periods does not correspond to any reality in the preserved versions of the poems, since four of his five classes at least were in process of production in one and the same period, at least according to all received chronology. Nor does Mr. Fundenburg use the terms *roman d'aventure* and *court epic* as other scholars do. He apparently has never read such *romans* as *Flamenca* or *Jehan et Blonde*, which are just as realistic in motif and treatment as any of his "feudal" epics. In truth, the author has no conception of the complexity and variety of medieval life and art. We wonder if he has ever considered the possibility that works of art of different style and content could be produced at the same time. Or does he imagine that in the Middle Ages every poet "wrote by rote"? I suppose that he would admit, necessarily, the contemporaneity of, let us say, *Notre-Dame de Paris*, *Le Rouge et le Noir*, *Indiana*, and *Le Curé de Tours*, notwithstanding their differing value for what he elegantly calls "depiction of their age." Scholars hitherto have had no difficulty in admitting that *Les Lorrains*, *Aucassin et Nicolette*, *Yvain*, and the *Pèlerinage de Renart* are equally contemporaneous. But it is of course impossible to fit the abundant artistic production of medieval France into any such scheme as Mr. Fundenburg proposes.

Then follow (pp. 6-11) some general considerations as to method, leading to the conclusion that "the poetry may be dated with absolute certainty by the adequate dating of all the elements in it pertaining to manners, customs, institutions, politics and geography." Again I wonder if this theory would leave any liberty for conscious archaizing or for free artistic creation. Could Mr. Fundenburg (to take a case not unconnected with the *chansons*) date the *Orlando furioso* by such criteria, if he were ignorant of Ariosto's place and time? How many modern historical novels could be dated accurately by them? And what are the *chansons* but the historical novels of their time?

It is also asserted in this section (p. 8) that "the poems which display most intimate contact with the environment of their composer are those purely feudal in nature." Then Mr. Fundenburg proceeds to compare *Les Lorrains* with *Amis et Amiles*. The former does undoubtedly contain realistic details, but to assume that it "displays more intimate contact with the environment of its composer" than *Aimeri de Narbonne*, for instance, or *Les Narbonnais* or *Baudouin de Sebourc* or (to go outside the *chansons* proper) *Guillaume de Dôle* or *Flamenca* or many of the *fabliaux* is to beg the question. Each poem deserves to be examined by itself. All this depends (and this seems to me elementary) on the personality of the author. There

were realists and romanticists in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as there are today. To talk about the "exaggerated and romanesque elements of the later poems" (p. 8) without studying each by itself leads nowhere.

Chapter ii is devoted to a consideration of the geography of the French epic. The exposition here is confused, the assertions sometimes inaccurate,¹ and the conclusion that "the various poems reflect to a vivid degree the political geography of France at the respective epochs of composition of the individual poems" (p. 28) and that "the poems which are the most feudal in spirit and age are those in which the geographic details are treated with the greatest accuracy" (p. 29) can only be accepted with many reserves and qualifications. As regards the group of *chansons* examined by the author, the last conclusion is valid, but is it true when we consider the whole of them? *Les Lorrains* and *Raoul de Cambrai* do undoubtedly impress the reader by their realism in this as in other details, but is this accuracy greater than it is in *Aimeri de Narbonne* or in *Baudouin de Sebourg* (excluding the eastern travels of that exuberant hero)? Several times (pp. 13, 14, 29) Mr. Fundenburg remarks on the inaccuracy of the geography in the *romans d'aventure*, as contrasted with the exactness in the "feudal" epic, thereby disregarding entirely such true *romans d'aventure* as *Guillaume de Dôle* or *Gilles de Chin*, in which the geographic details are every whit as accurate as they are in *Raoul de Cambrai*.

The results attained by Mr. Fundenburg for the individual poems that he discusses are not definite enough to call for much consideration. For example, *Floovant*, because the story "involves a France under the rule of a king who does not include the Ardennes nor Bourgogne within his domain" could not be "prior to the division of 843" (p. 16). Admitting the justice of this assumption, what is gained by it toward an understanding of *Floovant*, as essentially the same political status existed till 1482 when the Duchy of Burgundy was definitely annexed to the royal domain? Again, for *Beuves d'Aigremont*, i.e., the first episode of *Renaut de Montauban*, Mr. Fundenburg thinks that the mythical Aigremont must be in Lombardy, and so "the tradition harks back to the age of the Empire of Charlemagne or of Louis I" (p. 17). But in how many *chansons* is not Charles or Louis represented as ruling in Italy? By the same token the "tradition" in *Doon de Mayence* must "hark back to the age" of some Carolingian king who ruled on the Rhine. It is not necessary to pursue these geographical divagations farther—they do not affect the main thesis.

Chapter iii is entitled "Traits of the Feudal Baron." If a feudal baron could read this chapter now, he would learn many things decidedly

¹ As for example the statement (p. 13) that in the *Chanson de Roland* there is no evidence of accurate or detailed geographical knowledge (cf. Bédier, *Légendes épiques*, III, 291 ff.); or the assertion (p. 21) that Dauphiné in the eleventh century was under the nominal sovereignty of France (cf. Luchaire in Lavis, *Histoire de France*, II, 2, pp. 4 ff.); or the assumption (p. 27) that the Roussillon of the *chanson* of *Girart de Roussillon* is the "ancient province of France, in the department of the Pyrénées-Orientales"; it was in reality a castle on the Seine, near Vézelay (cf. Bédier, *op. cit.*, II, 60).

not to his advantage. According to Mr. Fundenburg, the said baron was brave, insolent, unrestrained, lawless, passionate, brutal, cowardly, dishonorable, superstitious (pp. 34-50). He was "marked by the ease with which his cruder passions found expression, and by his lack of finer qualities, those of honor and religious scruple" (p. 50), all proved by quotations from the *chansons* and the chroniclers. I am not concerned to rehabilitate this gentleman, though it would be comparatively easy to do so. In fact, that has already been attempted, in several of the *chansons* themselves,¹ and in more recent times, for example, in L. Gautier's *La Chevalerie*. In both cases the method seems to me false and the results misleading. We are now so remote in time and in feeling from the medieval artist that it is, in my opinion, impossible to determine in which case we are studying a photograph from life, in which an idealized portrait.

It is only in chapter iv, "Primitive Phases of the *Homme-à-Seigneur* Relation in History and in Feudal French Poetry," that the author becomes definite enough for definite confutation. As his assumption here is fundamental to his whole theory, it deserves a more extended consideration. After tracing the gradual change in personal and property relations in the Merovingian and Carolingian periods—changes which led finally to what we call feudalism—the author states (p. 61): "The tenth century saw the last of this personal relationship without land consideration." Henceforth, according to Mr. Fundenburg, relations either of equality or of dependency between man and man, not involving property—fiefs—were unknown and impossible. Hence, if the poems show that such a "personal, non-property relationship" existed (and he claims that this can be shown for *Floovant*, *Couronnement de Louis*, *Gormont et Isembart*, and *Raoul de Cambrai*), they must have been composed in pre-feudal times, prior to the tenth century. This argument rests on a misconception of the nature of medieval society, and of the development of human society in general. No doubt after the confusion of the ninth and tenth centuries things gradually settled down, most *seigneurs* became *casés*, vassalage implied generally a fief, but by no means invariably. The old personal *commendatio* continued to be recognized, men continued to serve lords or friends for affection, glory, or pay, as well as for lands; youths of noble families, too young to have fiefs of their own or for other reasons, continued to enrol themselves in the *mesnie* of a neighboring *seigneur*. One meets with such *escuiers* or *bachelers* in countless texts of the twelfth and thirteenth

¹ For example, see the portrait of Fouque in *Girart de Roussillon* (ed. Meyer, § 321) "Ecoutez quelles sont ses qualités. Attribuez-lui toutes celles du monde, en ôtant les mauvaises, car il n'en existe aucune de telle en lui, mais il est preux, courtois, distingué, franc, bon, habile parleur. ... Jamais sa bourse n'a été fermée à personne, mais il donne à qui lui demande: tous, les bons comme les mauvais, y ont part; jamais il n'a été lent à faire un acte de libéralité. Il est plein de piété envers Dieu; car, depuis qu'il est au monde, il n'a jamais été dans une cour où il ait été accompli ou proposé aucune injustice, sans en avoir été peiné, s'il ne pouvait l'empêcher; et jamais il n'a été renvoyé d'un jugement sans s'être battu en champ clos. Il déteste la guerre et aime la paix. ... Tous, puissants et faibles, trouvent appui en lui."

centuries, both historical and literary. Their existence is explicitly recognized by most modern authorities.¹ One important example is found in a well-known historical text that Mr. Fundenburg claims to know and cite, the *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*. Nearly a fourth of that poem is devoted to the exploits of the marshal while in the service of the "Young King," Henry Plantagenet, but we are expressly told, twice,² that he held no land of his master and friend. In other words, the marshal's relation to the Young King was exactly similar to that imagined by the *chanson* poet as existing between Bernier and Raoul, or between Richer and Floovant. The biographies of the troubadours are full of parallel cases. Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, for instance, served the Marquis of Montferrat for many years in a purely "personal" relationship before receiving from the latter lands and wealth in "Romania."³ The *romans d'aventure* contain many examples of a like relationship.⁴ They occur in texts as late as Froissart,⁵ and will of course continue to abound as long as men are men. To imagine that anywhere, at any time, a "land-tenure contract" could entirely sup-

¹ Cf. especially Luchaire, *Manuel des institutions françaises*, p. 193: "La recommandation personnelle . . . continua à se produire dans la période qui suivit l'avènement des Capétiens, mais avec moins de fréquence et en dehors de tout lien féodal. . . Tout homme libre conservait le droit d'engager volontairement sa foi à un seigneur puissant dont la protection lui était nécessaire, sans cependant devenir son vassal pour cette raison même. . . Les actes qui concernent cette recommandation extra-féodale deviennent surtout très fréquents au XIII^e siècle." Also, Viолет, *Histoire du droit civil français* (3d ed.), p. 677: "Les recommandations initiales ne cessent pas au X^e siècle; nous pouvons les suivre au moins jusqu'au XIII^e siècle, et même en deçà"; p. 685: "Toutefois la vassalité purement personnelle ne disparaît pas pour cela entièrement." Esmein, *Cours élémentaire d'histoire du droit français* (11th ed.), p. 254: "Le chevalier qui sert un seigneur sans être son homme de fief est un phénomène décrit et classé." As to the bachelers, see Guilhaume, *Essai sur l'origine de la noblesse en France*, pp. 242 ff., and Gautier, *La Chevalerie*, pp. 190 ff.

² *Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* (ed. P. Meyer), vss. 5095-5104: "Oëz quel onor e quel grace Damedex fist en mainte place Al Mareschal par sa bonté, Qu'a naient esteient conté Baron e vavasor e conte; Que l'em ne teneit d'els nul conte Quant veneit a itel afaire, E cil en poeit le tot faire Qui rente ne terre n'aveit Fors le bien que l'en i saveit." And vss. 7028-31 (the marshal is speaking): "Sire, qu'est ice ke vos dites? Trop me sereit cist gieus amers. Ge sui un povres bachelers Qui n'ai uncor reie de terre."

³ See Chabaneau's edition of the *Biographies des troubadours*, p. 85: "E pueis (Raimbautz) se parti de lui et anet se a Monferrat a messier lo marquis Bonifaci et estec en sa cort long temps. E crec se de sen e de saber e d'armas. . . E quan lo marquis passet en Romania, et el lo menet ab si e fetz lo cavalier e donet li gran terra e gran renda el regesme de Salonic." Cf. Raimbaut's own words (O. Schultz, *Die Briefe des Troubadors Raimbaut de Vaqueiras an Bonifaz I*), I, vss. 106-12: "Et ieu, senher, puese mi d'aïtan vanar Qu'en vostra cort ai saubut gent estar, Dar e servir e sufrir e celar, Et anc no y fi ad home son pezar; Ni no'm pot dir nuls hom ni repropchar Qu'anc en guerra'm volgues de vos lunhar, Ni temses mort per vostr' onor aussar;" and III, vss. 39-41: "E si per vos no sol en gran rictat No semblara qu'ab vos aia estat Ni servit tan cum vos ai repropchat."

⁴ See especially Gautier d'Aupais, *Guillaume de Dôle*, and *Galeran de Bretagne*.

⁵ Note especially the story of the "escuier a varlet" of the count of Ventadour who betrayed his master to the "routier" (Joffroy Teste-Noire, *Chroniques* [ed. of K. de Lettenhove], IX, 140 ff.)

plant all "personal, non-property relationships" is to my mind a psychological impossibility. And because men are always more interested in personal relations than in land tenures it follows that poets of any time or land will sing of the former rather than the latter, which is precisely what the *chanson* poets did. Therewith all of Mr. Fundenburg's argument in this chapter vanishes. Figures like Richer, Isebart, or Bernier were just as conceivable, legally and psychologically, in the thirteenth century as in the ninth or tenth.

A large part of chapter v, "Phases of Feudal Custom in French Epic Poetry," is given to a polemic with M. Jacques Flach. The author, having assumed that with the establishment of feudalism all personal relations ceased, now assumes that under feudalism no two men could ever be equals. "Two men might have been apparently equal when there was no intercourse of one with the other; brought into contact, one of them became inevitably subject to the other" (p. 79). This conception, which is entirely an *a priori* one, naturally leads him to combat M. Flach's views as to *compagnonnage* (*Origines de l'ancienne France*, II, 427 ff.) In regard to "equality" in feudal times one may safely assert that a practical equality between friends constantly existed and is evident in all the documents, both literary and historical. Roland and Olivier form, of course, the best-known example, but almost any text could supply others.¹ That a legal equality existed in certain cases, at least between co-vassals of the same lord, is attested by the feudal codes,² and finally, that a formal *compagnonnage*, or equal comradeship in arms, as M. Flach has pointed out, was fairly prevalent is shown by many texts. A rather late one, which I believe has hitherto escaped notice, is found in the charming (and quite realistic) *roman* of *Gilles de Chin*:

Gilles de Cyn, li combatans,
Et Gérars du Castel, li frans,
A cel tournoy furent ensemble
Compaignon d'armes, ce me semble;
Lonc tans dura lor. compeignie
Qui ne pot estre despartie,
Ains s'entr'amerent bonement
De fine amor et loiaument [Ed. Reiffenberg, vss. 463-70].

The rest of this chapter is devoted to other "phases of feudal custom," such as private wars, the judicial duel, etc., which admittedly survived till the thirteenth century and hence have nothing to do with the problem of the *chansons*.

¹ For a very late instance, in a semi-historical *roman*, see *Le petit Jehan de Saintré*, edit. Hellény, pp. 206-7.

² Cf. *Les Assises de Jérusalem*, éd. Beugnot, I, 332: "Si le seignor fait prendre son home et emprisonner sanz esgart ou sanz conoissance de court, que les pers de celui qui est einsi enprisonné deivent faire et dire a lui delivrer." Also, *Etablissements de saint Louis*, éd. Viollet, II, 124-25.

One would have more patience with the rash generalizations of Mr. Fundenburg if the latter had shown more respect for the work of such a scholar as M. Bédier. The Conclusion is largely given over to a criticism of Bédier's well-known views as exposed in *Les Legendes épiques*. Here we meet with such affirmations as the following: "His [Bédier's] strongest reliance is on poems obviously of late romantic origin, which have no pretense to geographical exactness" (p. 111); or again: "In Bédier's work, the *Amis et Amiles* and other poems of the sort are a chief basis" (p. 8). Such assertions, to anyone acquainted with Bédier's thoroughness (for example, he gives more pages to the *Chanson de Roland* than all Mr. Fundenburg's book contains), seem amazing. In fact, he accuses Bédier not only of the *suppressio veri* ("Professor Bédier would seem to have cleverly avoided the discussion of considerations damaging to his own theory," p. 110), but even of the *suggestio falsi* ("in Bédier's work the choice of *chansons* upon which particular stress is laid was imposed first of all by the necessity of treating poems that do not contain any elements apparently antedating the twelfth century, and secondly that display as evidently as possible the influence of a single institution, the pilgrimages," p. 8). And this despite Bédier's long, detailed, and accurate discussion of poems on which Mr. Fundenburg himself relies, such as *Raoul de Cambrai* and *Gormont et Isembart*. I am not here concerned to defend M. Bédier's theories, but I must strongly deprecate the tone in which these unfounded criticisms are expressed.

I have already quoted several examples of the author's awkward and involved English style. Many others could be mentioned.¹ Likewise a number of errors² in the translations of passages from the *chansons* could be indicated, as well as various other minor inaccuracies.³ But space is lacking. Enough has been quoted, I think, to prove that this publication can in no wise be considered as a real contribution to the discussion of the problem of the *chansons de geste*. Neither does it, as its title might indicate, add anything to our knowledge of medieval culture.

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¹ For example, p. 19: "But this introduction of the king and his court is in the nature of a prologue and accessory basis of the action proper, which transpires beyond the sphere of any active intervention by the king." Also, p. 109: "A flaw in the Bédier hypothesis that cannot be explained away is pronounced in convincing terms by W. Foerster."

² In verifying Mr. Fundenburg's references I have noticed such negligences as the following: *Floovant*, vs. 462 (p. 65): *Vos avez gent le cors, faites pinier vo poiell*, "your body is fair and your face is comely"; *Raoul de Cambrai*, vs. 937 (p. 74): *Il sont. l. a Ernaut de Douai*, "they have the assistance of Ernaut of Douai"; *Aiol*, vs. 7249 (p. 91): *Et vos fiez traînés a keue de destrier*, "and your sons will be torn to pieces by horses."

³ For example, the statement (p. 120) that *Gaydon* is a *chanson* composed in the last quarter of the twelfth century, notwithstanding the mention of the Franciscan and Dominican orders in the poem (vs. 6456), *Et cordeliers et jacobins batez*.

The Religious Element in the "Comedias de moros y cristianos" of the Golden Age. G. I. DALE: Washington University Studies, Vol. VII, Humanistic Series, pp. 31-46, 1919.

In this study the author points out that, to the Spaniards of the day, the main theme of interest in the *comedias de moros y cristianos* was the defeat of the Moor and his ever-present request for baptism at the end of the play. In ending the plays in this manner the authors were yielding to the popular demand: the subject of the plays was usually a struggle between Moors and Christians, and by having the defeated Moors request baptism "satisfaction was rendered both to the Church and to the popular audience." The author notes that there is some humor in such plays as Luis Vélez de Guevara's *Los sucesos en Orán*, and in Manuel de León and Diego Calleja's *Las Dos Estrellas de Francia* (ca. 1660; cf. pp. 42-43) in those scenes which deal with the baptism; we infer that the earlier plays had not been in so light a vein as these when treating the subject of baptism.

Professor Dale defines this type of play thus: "The term *comedia de moros y cristianos* has been applied to those plays in Spanish which contain characters representing Moors and Christians" (p. 31). Does he mean those plays in which the principal characters represent Moors and Christians? If so, that would make more nearly correct the statement (p. 33) that "the *Isabela* of Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola is "one of the first *comedias* containing Moorish characters." Lupercio Leonardo de Argensola was born, according to Fitzmaurice-Kelly (*Historia de la literatura española*, Madrid, 1913, p. 233), in 1559, and consequently his *Isabela* was probably written in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, say 1580, or later.

Without attempting to be exhaustive,¹ the following plays which have Moors as characters antedate the *Isabela*: the *Armélina* of Lope de Rueda (1510?-65), *Obras* (Madrid, 1908, I, 129 ff.), and the *Farsa de la iglesia* of Diego Sánchez de Badajoz (flourished 1525-47), *Recopilación*, II, 192-95. If, as appears probable,² the *negro* was confused with the *moro* in the early Spanish drama (cf. English *blackamoor*), then we have many plays of this foreign type. A few examples are: Gil Vicente (d. 1539 or 1557), *Obras* (Lisbon, 1843, II, 332-41); Lope de Rueda, *Obras* (I, 76-85, 178-87; II, 101-7); Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, *Recopilación* (I, 111-35; II, 77-87 [negro fights with pastor and has to be told to stop, pp. 84-85], 123-28 [negro and pastor quarrel, the negro is again told to stop, p. 126], 224-25, 242-51).

Professor Dale is very probably correct in concluding (p. 34) that the defeat and baptism of the Moors in these *comedias* were not due to the drama of the time being "on its good behavior in order to meet with the favor of

¹ The reviewer is making a study of the early Spanish drama, which he expects to publish later. This study will include the foreign types.

² The question of the confusion of the *negro* and *moro* will be treated in the study mentioned in the preceding note.

the Church." When we recall the earlier plays, those of Sánchez de Badajoz, for example, who persistently attacked the priests, we do not think it likely that the church's opinion was the deciding factor.

With reference to what Professor Dale says (pp. 42-43) about humor in the baptismal scenes, as noted above, and his statement (p. 41) that "the baptism of Moorish characters on the stage never reaches beyond the mere verbal request of the individual," the following passage may be quoted from Diego Sánchez de Badajoz, *Farsa de la iglesia* (the *moro* has been invited to be baptized):

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>Moro:</i> Puey yo querex batixar. | Aqui desaparece la Sinagoga, y el Pastor bautiza al Moro. |
| <i>Pastor:</i> Da, mora, una poca de agua.
(This to <i>Sinagoga</i>) | <i>Pastor:</i> Nombre del Padre y del Hijo
Y del Espíritu Santo,
Te bautizo sin letijo,
Pues que Dios en tí her quijo
Misterio de tanto espanto. |
| <i>Sinag.:</i> Mira, moro, lo que dices,
No consientas, que te pierdes,
Ta, ta, ta, no te batices. | <i>Moro:</i> Cristiano xura á San Juan. |
| <i>Pastor:</i> Heros he yo las narices. | <i>Pastor:</i> ¿Pues reniegas de Mahoma? |
| <i>Moro:</i> Dexi vos la que qixer dex. | <i>Moro:</i> Xi. |
| <i>Pastor:</i> Véisla, véisla bautizada. | <i>Pastor:</i> ¿Tambien del Alcorán? |
| <i>Sinag.:</i> Mientes, mientes, que no quiero.
¡Ay triste desventurada! | <i>Moro:</i> Xi, tambien de sacristan. |
| <i>Pastor:</i> No cureis, ya estais mojada;
Duna puta, viejo cuero. | <i>Pastor:</i> No, no, son de Sodoma. |
| <i>Sinag.:</i> No quiero, juro al talmud,
No quiero, sedme testigos. | <i>Moro:</i> Sacristan, tambien renega
Que hurtar lex é manteca,
Y andar rabo de borrega |
| <i>Pastor:</i> Nunca Dios te dé salud,
Cuero viejo sin virtud,
Vaya con los enemigos. | [Recopilación, II, 194-95]. |

It is clear that both the *Moro* and *Sinagoga* are baptized, and that a heavy humor pervades the scene. The *Sinagoga* is called *mora*, which is an indication of the confusion of the *moro* and *negro*, as referred to above.

Professor Dale concludes his study by giving three categories into which these plays may be divided: "Either the Moorish enemy is defeated, a miracle has been performed by the Virgin or by the image of the Christ, or the Moorish character seeks the Christian faith because he finds himself enamored of one of the opposite belief" (p. 44). In these plays he finds the element of hostility, which is also to be observed in the plays noted in this review with reference to foreign types.

The author has given us a very interesting essay; he would have spared his readers some trouble if he had given more exact references to the plays quoted or referred to, their dates or approximate dates, and had listed the authors of the plays at least once in the study.

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ERKENBALD THE BELGIAN: A STUDY IN MEDIEVAL EXEMPLA OF JUSTICE

A curious legend that is said to be still current in Brussels¹ is worthy of note, not only for its brave antiquity and braver spirit, but for the remarkable place it has occupied in art and literature, a place on which there has been comparatively little comment. The legend also gives the clue to some of the problems connected with the Middle English poem, *St. Erkenwald*.

The story in its modern legendary form seems to have been first written down by Maria von Ploennies in a little book, *Die Sagen Belgiens*, published in Cologne in 1846. To it she gave the name "Brüssels Brutus," a title kept in the French translation published two years later by L. Pire, *Légendes et traditions de la Belgique*. These texts are cited as sources in the *Brabantsche Sagenboek*, published in Ghent in 1911 by A. de Cock and I. Teirlinck (Koninklyke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal-en-Letterkunde). The editors give two versions of the story: one, which concludes with a miracle of the Host, they group with pious tales; the other with historical legends. In this the date and place are given as follows: "Omstreeks het jaar 1020, tijdens de regering van Hendrik I, graaf van Leuven, woonde in de oude IJzerstraat (Rue au Fer) te Brussel een arme grijsaard." For this traditional placing of the tale no reason is

¹ V. Devogel, *Légendes Bruzelloises* (Brussels, 1890), pp. 53 ff.

suggested, nor has a search through the various texts of the *Chroniques Belges*¹ added anything to the observations made in 1876 by Kinkel (*Mozaik zur Kunstgeschichte*, p. 302), who noted the ancient connection of the hero's name with the house of Bourbon.² "Schon der fünfte Sire de Bourbon, in dem bis ins zehnte Jahrhundert hinauf gehenden Stammbaum heisst Erkenbald oder französisch Archambault, und dieser Vorname wurde in dem Geschlecht stehend, so dass davon sogar das Städtchen beim Stammschloss zum Unterschied von gleichnamigen Orten den Namen Bourbon l'Archambault erhielt, den es noch heute trägt." Ancient as is the name, however, the earliest extant text associating the legendary tale of Brussels' Brutus with an Erkenwald is the *Dialogus Miraculorum*³ of Caesarius of Heisterbach, who was writing about 1222. The story may be briefly summarized as follows:

"Erkenbaldus de Burban vir nobilis et potens, erat tantus amator iustitiae, ut nullam in iudiciis respiceret personam." Once, while he was gravely ill, he heard an outcry of the people. No one would venture to tell him its cause until at last he forced one of his household to confess that the tumult was caused by the attack upon a maiden made by Erkenbald's own nephew. Deeply moved the old man commanded: "Ite, et suspendite illum." His men pretended to obey, but they feared lest later on their lord might visit on them his regret for the stern command. For some days they hid the young man, but at last Erkenbald beheld him. "Verbis blandis advocans," he enticed the youth to sit upon his bed. Seizing a sword Erkenbald killed him on the spot, to the horror of his attendants. Overcome by sorrow and suffering Erkenbald sent presently for the bishop. To him Erkenbald confessed his sins but said nothing of his nephew's death. To the bishop's reproach Erkenbald answered: "Ego neque peccatum iudico, neque a Deo mihi remitti deponco." The bishop thereupon refused to give him the last Sacrament, and

¹ *Commission royale d'histoire* (Brussels, 1836-88).

² Chazaud, *Étude sur la chronologie des sires de Bourbon, X-XIII^e siècles* (Moulins, 1865), lists the Archambauds as follows: Archambaud I, d. 1043; Archambaud II, c. 1078; Archambaud III, d. 1105; Archambaud IV, date of death unknown; Archambaud V, d. 1171."

³ Ed. by J. Strange (Cologne, 1851), II, 193; Caesarius, *Distinctio IX*, cap. xxxviii. The various manuscripts give these spellings for the hero's name: Erkenbaldus de Burbon, Burdem, Burbair, Burbay.

turned to leave the room. The old man called him back and asked that he look within the sacred pyx. The box was empty. Then said Erkenbald: "Ecce, quem mihi negastis, ipse se mihi non negavit," and he showed the Host resting on his tongue. "Episcopus vero pavens tantum miraculum ubique divulgavit, per quem etiam quibusdam Abbatibus ordinis nostri innotuit, qui anno praeterito illud in Capitulo generali recitaverunt, cunctis Deum glorificantibus, qui facit mirabilia magna solus."

The story as Caesarius gives it is gravely told and altogether lacks those livelier touches of characterization in the modern folk versions, such as Erkenbald's valiant "Weg van mij Satan," when he is tempted to mitigate his nephew's punishment, or the young man's plaintive plea, "Ik was drunken," when his uncle asks concerning his guilt. The medieval version was somber, as befitted a story of the sacred miracle for which primarily it was told. Whatever may have been its popularity before or after Caesarius' time, his own words indicate the manner of its diffusion within the Cistercian order, and no one, knowing how medieval exempla passed from one preacher and one order to another, can doubt that this story had the same experience. The probability indeed seems confirmed by the appearance of the tale in the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, which is discussed in a later section, and in the anonymous, mid-fourteenth-century collection from the Dominican convent at Breslau, which was published by J. Keller¹ in 1914. In this the justice's name was Reynold, the conversations were amplified, but in structure and detail the tale was identical with Caesarius' version.

It is an interesting fact that for some time the history of the legend must be followed chiefly in manuscripts of the *Dialogus*, which was itself one of the most popular of the great medieval collections of exempla,² and is still even today not without contemporary appeal.³ *Erkenbaldus* appears in two of the thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts of the *Dialogus* now owned by

¹ *Erzählungen des Mittelalters in deutscher Übersetzung u. lateinischem Urtext* (Breslau, 1914), No. 134. Cf. Crane's review, *Romanic Review*, VI, 235, note.

² Dr. Michal Ott, *Catholic Encyclopaedia*, calls the *Dialogus* the most popular book of medieval Germany. Cf. A. Kaufmann, *Caesarius von Heisterbach* (Cologne, 1862); J. A. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 348 ff.

³ Cf. the recent modern German translation by E. Müller-Holm (Berlin, 1910), *Erkenbald legend*, p. 193.

the British Museum and also in the Museum's *Additional Manuscript 18364*, an anonymous fourteenth-century collection of exempla, which borrows largely from Caesarius.¹ In general, however, this strikingly conspicuous miracle of the Host, authenticated as it was by Caesarius' grave citation, seems to have had a limited circulation in exempla collections before the end of the fourteenth century. The three references just given exhaust those which Mr. Herbert made to it in his analyses of the eight thousand exempla² listed in his *Catalogue of Romances*, Vol. III.

In the fifteenth century through the art of Roger van der Weyden the legend of Erkenbald became famous.³ In a minor way, however, its history may still be followed in this century and the next, in collections of exempla. It is the thirty-eighth exemplum (*Iudex Justus*) in the *Promptuarium exemplorum*, written before 1418 by John Herolt,⁴ the Dominican prior of Nuremberg. The name Erkenbald, though not given in the title or at the beginning, occurs in the middle of the story and the author definitely refers to Caesarius as his source. The story is also found in considerably abbreviated form and under the heading *De Pudicitia* in the extraordinary compilation *De dictis factisque memorabilibus* made by the Italian scholar and sometime Doge, Baptista Fulgosus (Fregoso), about 1509. This collection, originally written in Italian, was speedily translated into Latin by Camillo Ghilini⁵ and in this form was edited in the ponderous *Liber Virtutum et Vitiorum* (Basle, 1555) of Johannis Basilius Herold,⁶ a German scholar living at Basle.

The cause for the comparative rarity of medieval versions of Erkenbald is an interesting subject for speculation. The vitality which has made it survive to the present day should have been as potent then as now. That it was not, at least so far as more or less

¹ Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances*, III, 363, 367, 613.

² Cf. Crane, *Modern Philology*, X, 301.

³ Cf. Kinkel, *op. cit.*, pp. 337 ff. Also P. Lafond, *Roger van der Weyden* (Brussels, 1912), pp. 28-30.

⁴ Herbert, *Catalogue*, III, 452; Crane, "Medieval Sermon Books," *American Philological Association Proceedings*, XXI (1883).

⁵ Boccardo, *Nuova Encyclopedia Italiana* (Turin, 1880). See Fregoso or Campo-fregoso.

⁶ Firmin-Didot, *Nouvelle biographie générale* (1861); Mosher, *The Exemplum in England* (New York, 1911), p. 18.

ecclesiastical texts show, is probably to be explained by the fact that for all the essentially pietistic emphasis given to it by Caesarius and others its most trenchant meaning was for justice and not for religion. Almost unquestionably this accounts for Roger van der Weyden's choice of it when about 1436 he was ordered to decorate the wall of the great town hall at Brussels. To suit the proud and wealthy burghers of his day, to attract an attention already modern in its interests, in its zest for life and the problems of a people tumultuous with vigor and dreams of freedom, the artist had to turn from devoutly traditional themes of painting and find a subject voicing a democratic and not a religious idealism. The difficulty of such a search is suggested by the fact that among the hundred and thousands of stories with which medieval preachers had made their people familiar there were almost none which dealt with the theme of earthly justice. Feudal injustice was too rife, the church itself too insistent on aristocratic privilege, for its members to preach of a law irrespective of place or power. A good illustration may be found in the famous *Alphabetum Narrationum* once ascribed to Etienne de Besançon, but now believed to have been written by Arnold of Liege¹ about 1308. This great alphabetical collection of 802 tales had only five stories in which the justice theme was essentially involved. Three of them concerned personages of classical times: King Cambyzes,² who had an unjust judge flayed alive and made his son and successor sit on a judgment seat covered with his father's skin; Zaleucus,³ the Locrian lawgiver, who doomed his own son to blindness but gave one of his own eyes for one of his son's; and, most famous of all, Trajan,⁴ who halted his whole army to do justice to a poor widow woman; the fourth tale was of a pious bishop rebuked for not wishing to do justice on a holy day; and the fifth

¹ Herbert, *The Library* (1905); *Catalogue*, III, 423.

² From Herodotus v. 25, followed by Valerius Maximus vi. 3; *Gesta Romanorum*, etc. Cf. Herbert, *Catalogue*, III, 232, 417. This story had a notable revival in the sixteenth century. See Latimer's *Sermons*, Preston's *Cambises* (1569-70), and Shakespeare's jocose reference, *I Henry IV*, II, 4.

³ From Valerius Maximus vi. 5. 3. See Oesterley's *Gesta*, Index; Herbert, *Catalogue*, III, 206, 231, 238, etc.

⁴ Gaston Paris, "La Légende de Trajan," *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Hautes Études* (1878); Graf, *Roma nella memoria—del medio evo* (1889), 1 ff.; Boni, *Novi Antologia* (1906). Dr. Hulbert (*Modern Philology*, XVI, 488) lists all the references to the Trajan story in Herbert's *Catalogue*, III.

was our legend of Erkenbald. This last tale and that of Trajan were the only ones under the actual heading *Justicia*, and the association there is significant, for it may have been some text of the *Alphabetum* which determined Roger to emblazon the walls of the town hall with the legend of the noble Roman and the no less noble Belgian.

From this period the history of the story belongs to the fine arts rather than to literature. The studies¹ devoted to the Trajan legend and to the work of Roger van der Weyden have gathered together a large number of the descriptive comments made by the artists, scholars, and travelers who from time to time saw these famous paintings. They were there for all the world to see until their destruction in 1695 by the French bombardment of Brussels. But long before this and, indeed, shortly after Roger's completion of his work the paintings had been copied in magnificent tapestries made perhaps at Arras. These first and most famous Erkenbald tapestries passed into the possession of Charles the Bold, were taken by him on his ill-fated expedition against the Swiss in 1476, were captured by them and have since remained in the keeping of the cathedral at Berne.² The fame of the paintings and the tapestries undoubtedly inspired other copies, but the writer has only happened to note in addition to the engraving of Heinrich Aldegrever and the tapestry woven in 1513 for the confrérie of the Holy Sacrament of the church of St. Peter at Louvain, which were listed by Lafonde, the reference to "1 pece of riche Arras of King Erkinwalde" among the Tower hangings³ owned by King Henry VIII.

The group of exempla on justice and the legend of Erkenbald in particular inevitably bring to mind that strong yet tender Middle

¹ In addition to the references given on p. 672, n. 3, and p. 673, n. 4, see Crowe and Cavalcaselle, *Early Flemish Painters* (London, 1872). W. M. Conway (*Literary Remains of Albrecht Dürer* [Cambridge, 1889], p. 101) thus translates Dürer's own words about his visit to Brussels in 1520: "In the golden chamber in the Townhall at Brussels I saw the four paintings which the great master Roger van der Weyden made." Cf. also A. van Hasselt, "Trois peintres flamands du XV^e et du XVI^e siècle," *Bull. de l'Académie de Archéologie* (Anvers, 1849), VI, 127; Firens-Gevaert, "La Peinture en Belgique," *Les Primitifs Flamands* (1912), I, 37 ff.

² The tapestries are described and reproduced in color by Jubinal, *Les anciennes tapisseries historiées* (Paris, 1838), II, 121. For bibliography on this subject see J. Guiffrey, "La tapisserie," *Bibliothèque de Bibliographies Critiques* (Paris, 1904), Index. Berne.

³ W. G. Thomson, *A History of Tapestry* (New York, 1906), p. 263.

English poem which goes under the name of *St. Erkenwald*.¹ The poem is found in a single fifteenth-century manuscript (Harley 2250) and is generally supposed, on account of its long alliterative lines, to have been composed during the alliterative revival which began about 1350.² But despite its interest as a member of this group and its own indubitable power, it has been curiously neglected in critical studies. Occasional references to the question of its authorship have been made by scholars involved in the Huchown³ controversy, but until 1919 no serious study of the nature of the poem had ever been made. In a conclusive article in *Modern Philology*, XVI, Dr. Hulbert recognized and proved the essential character of the poem as a version of the famous story of Trajan and Pope Gregory, whose prayers released from hell the soul of the just emperor. Dr. Hulbert, however, still accepted Horstmann's assertion that the immediate source of the poem was the *Miracula Sancti Erkenwaldi*, a twelfth-century Latin text contained in Parker MS 161 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and this opens the way for a new consideration of the genesis of the legend and its probable date.

In the first place the statement that the Latin text is the source of the Middle English poem can now be authoritatively denied. The librarian of Corpus Christi, Sir Geoffrey Butler, has had the kindness to read the manuscript and finds in it "no mention of nor allusion to" the miracle in question. Neither in this nor in any other known life of St. Erkenwald is the Anglo-Saxon saint associated with the story of the finding in St. Paul's Cathedral of the body of an ancient pagan, sometime justice in New Troy. It is in this episode that the whole interest of the Middle English legend centers and the saint is a background figure. He is brought in for the sake of his christening tears which release the soul of the justice from "ðat derke dethe, ðer dawes neuer morowene." The story, in truth, offers a capital instance of the forcible association of entirely unrelated characters and incidents which is so characteristic of popular narrative, for clearly enough Gregory's famous act of intercession has

¹ Horstmann, *Allenglische Legenden* (Heilbronn, 1881), pp. 265 ff. and 527.

² Wells, *Manual of Writings in Middle English* (1916), p. 310; Gerould, *Saints' Legends* (1916), p. 237.

³ Neilson, *Huchown of the Awle Ryale* (Glasgow, 1902); Bateson, *Patience* (1912), p. 1, and Bibliography, pp. 71-73. See also Wells, *Manual*, p. 826.

here been connected in a piously modified form with St. Erkenwald. Since the Corpus Christi MS, which has now been discredited, was the sole reason for believing that this connection had been made as early as the twelfth century, it becomes an open question whether the deliberate efforts made in the fourteenth century for the revival of the Erkenwald cult do not best explain this somewhat obvious literary attempt to enhance the fame and the glory of the saint. It was in this century that the shrine of St. Erkenwald became one of the wonders of St. Paul's, and it was in this period that a monastic writer would have seized most willingly on any suggestion for a new miracle tale concerning Erkenwald.¹

One suggestion for this may very possibly have come from an actual happening. In a chance reference, but one of extraordinary interest, John de Bromyard,² the learned Dominican author of the *Summa Praedicatorum* (1323-80), casually refers to what he evidently considered a well-known incident. "Nota," he wrote, "de iudice cuius caput Londoniis in fundamentum ecclesiae Sancti Pauli inuentum fuit."³ The passage precedes a sorrowful indictment of the judges of his own day and occurs in the midst of his discussion of the whole subject of justice, into which he had, of course, introduced the almost inevitable legends of Trajan and the widow, and of Trajan receiving the reward of his justice through the prayers of St. Gregory. If there had been any association made between the finding of this ancient judge and St. Erkenwald at the time at which he wrote, we may be sure that the learned and pious Bromyard would have reported it. His failure to do so strongly suggests that he was simply referring to a rumor which was actually current in ecclesiastical circles in fourteenth-century London and which was

¹ The life and cult of the Anglo-Saxon St. Erkenwald are discussed by Stubbs, *Dictionary of Christian Biography*; cf. *Catholic Encycl.* See W. S. Simpson, *Documents Illustrating History of St. Paul's* (Camden Society, 1880), for offices and collects of St. Erkenwald. Simpson's *Chapters in the History of Old St. Paul's* (London, 1881), pp. 89 ff., gives the best description of the shrine, the gifts given to it, etc. In 1339 three goldsmiths were employed to work on it for a year.

² See Herbert, *Catalogue*, III, 450-52; Crane, *American Philosophical Society Proceedings*, XXI (1883), 71; Mosher, *The Exemplum in England* (1911), p. 82.

³ Quoted from the edition of 1518 published at Nuremberg, I, 441. For another reference to the same story see II, 243. For facilitating my use of Bromyard's work and other valuable collections of exempla, special thanks are due the librarians of Harvard University.

based, not at all improbably, upon some actual discovery. St. Paul's was built, as we know, upon the site of an ancient Roman cemetery,¹ and in all the building and repairing that went on at this period in the old church it would not be at all surprising if the workmen did actually come upon a Roman sarcophagus and the bones of the Roman dead. Evidence that actual excavation near the shrine of St. Erkenwald sometimes took place for the purpose of sepulture within the church is afforded by the *Annales Londoniensis*² for the year 1314, and had such a find as that recorded by Bromyard been made in that locality we may well believe that it would have been promptly recorded and in course of time associated with the saint. In any case Bromyard's report was itself sufficiently striking and authoritative to have given rise to other accounts, and it is, therefore, of special interest to note that the author of the Middle English poem, in beginning to describe the excavations which led to the finding of the old Roman's body, thus gravely alluded to other accounts of the same wonderful discovery:

as ðai makkyde and mynyde, a mervuayle ðai foundene,
As ȝet in crafty cronecles is kydde ðe memorie.

If this actual or rumored incident constitutes one step in the development of the Middle English legend, it is possible that the next one lay in the very name of the saint. The fact that this was also the name of the ancient Belgian judge seems to the present writer one of the links in the circumstances that led to the foisting of the wholly apocryphal Trajan-Gregory story upon the old Saxon saint and bishop of London. From the twelfth century the saint's legend, as preserved in various extant Latin texts, was sufficiently familiar to have been known outside England, a fact which may, perhaps, account for a surprising shift of names that took place even in the Belgian homeland of the Erkenbald legend. In the *Alphabetum Narrationum*, already referred to, the story is told of a noble justice named Bormar, who killed his nephew for just cause and sent for

¹ Dugdale, *History of St. Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1658); Milman, *Annals of St. Paul's* (London, 1869), p. 151.

² *Rolls Series*, I, 230: "Magister Johannes Seintcler, qui feretrum S. Erkenwaldi multum adauxit, oblit, sepultus in pavimento coram praedicto feretro."

Bishop Erkenwaldus to give him absolution.¹ The whole story, including the final miracle of the Host, is identical in detail with that told by Caesarius, but it is said to be drawn from an account by Bishop Erkenwaldus himself. Whether the fame of the English saint was or was not the cause for this shift of names, there can be no question that when in its turn the *Alphabetum* became known in England the Bishop Erkenbaldus of this particular tale would have been identified with St. Paul's deeply venerated saint. Though in itself the story added little to his fame, it prepared the way for its own displacement by a still more striking tale of justice and its divine reward.

It may now be recalled that several of the medieval versions of the Trajan-Gregory story, as Dr. Hulbert pointed out, began with a curious excavation scene in the course of which Trajan's head was recovered. Some of these versions must have been known in England, else the Middle English *Erkenwald* could not have its present form. To anyone who did know this older story, the rumored discovery of the Roman judge at St. Paul's must have seemed to offer an almost miraculous repetition of the initial events of the Trajan legend. What more natural, then, than to imagine that the later events of the story might also have happened, that even as Rome's pagan emperor had been saved by Rome's great bishop, so London's pagan judge might have been saved by London's bishop? That this bishop should have been Erkenwald rather than another seems to have been due probably in some small part to the previous association with him of a justice tale, and in large part to the pre-eminence of his cult at St. Paul's Cathedral.

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¹ Summarized from the Middle English, fifteenth-century translation, *The Alphabet of Tales* (E.E.T.S. 127 [1905]), II, 287).

THREE NOTES ON BEN JONSON¹

I. THE INFLUENCE OF SENECA ON "CATILINE"

In a recent article² I undertook to point out the patent borrowings from Lucan's *Pharsalia* in Ben Jonson's *Catiline His Conspiracy*. I wish here to indicate the influence of Seneca on the same drama, as to both manner and matter.

In many ways *Catiline* is a Senecan tragedy. It is certainly not tragedy exactly such as Seneca wrote, but it would seem that Jonson was consciously endeavoring to follow Senecan traditions. The play opens with the familiar Senecan ghost, introduced almost solely for the purpose of creating atmosphere, of foreshadowing the later horrors. There is also the Senecan dearth of rapid movement, although there is in *Catiline* considerably more real progression than is usual in Seneca's work. The long dialogues, full of *sententiae* (such as "The vicious count their years, virtuous their acts"), the choruses having no connection with the dramatic action,³ and the use of portents, as if Nature reflected man's moods, are also thoroughly Senecan. So, too, is the character of the hero—if we may call him such; Catiline is thoroughly depraved, not at all akin to the Greek tragic heroes, but just such a one, with his career of crime, as Seneca delights to portray. The influence of Seneca is even more clearly revealed in the contrast between the treatments of the character of Catiline in the *Catilina* of Sallust—which is, of course, one of Jonson's chief sources—and in Jonson's play. In Sallust's account Catiline is intensely practical, never working himself up into such Senecan frenzies of rage and hate, in which he breathes out fire and slaughter against all who oppose him, as Jonson has him do, for instance, in the furious rant of iv. 640–58. The character of Cethegus is likewise treated quite after the Senecan manner.

¹ A paper read before the Tennessee Philological Association at its fourteenth annual session, Clarksville, Tennessee, February 28, 1920.

² *Modern Language Notes*. XXXIV, 7.

³ For the Senecan chorus, however, Jonson had strong English precedents: for instance, *Gorbuduc*, the *Cornelia* of Kyd, the *Croesus*, the *Darius*, and *The Alexandrian* of Lord Stirling, and the *Cleopatra* and *Philotas* of Daniel.

In addition, a number of quotations or borrowings from Seneca occur in the course of the play. Among the opening lines of *Catiline* are these (ll. 11-15), spoken by the ghost of Sulla:

Behold, I come, sent from the Stygian sound,
As a dire vapour that had cleft the ground,
To ingender with the night, and blast the day;
Or like a pestilence that should display
Infection through the world. . . .

These lines are obviously imitated from the *Thyestes* of Seneca, ll. 87-89:

Mittor ut dirus vapor
Tellure rupta, vel gravem populis luem
Sparsura pestis.

Toward the close of the ghost's soliloquy occurs this (ll. 55-63):

Nor let thy thought find any vacant time
To hate an old, but still a fresher crime
Drown the remembrance: let not mischief cease,
But while it is in punishing, increase.
Conscience and care die in thee; and be free
Not heav'n itself from thy impiety:
Let night grow blacker with thy plots; and day,
At showing but thy head forth, start away
From this half-sphere. . . .

This speech is also an obvious imitation of lines in the *Thyestes* (29 ff.):

Nec vacet cuiquam vetus
Odisse crimen; semper oriatur novum;
Nec unum in uno; dumque punitur scelus crescat
Jusque omne pereat, non sit a vestris malis
Immune coelum. . . .
Nox atra fiat, excidat coelo dies.

As the ghost sinks, Catiline soliloquizes on the course that he purposes, indicating that his past misdeeds make fresh crimes necessary (ll. 79-80):

The ills that I have done cannot be safe
But by attempting greater. . . .

With this compare Seneca, *Agamemnon* 116: "Per scelera semper sceleribus tutum est iter."

Near the opening of the third act a passage is found that is strongly suggestive of a-bit from the *Epistulae Morales*. Cicero has just been elected consul, and his friend Cato is giving him congratulations and advice (*Catiline* 3. 64 ff.):

Each petty hand
Can steer a ship becalm'd; but he that will
Govern, and carry her to her ends, must know

The forces and the natures of all winds,
Gusts, storms, and tempests; when her keel ploughs hell,
And deck knocks heaven: then, to manage her
Becomes the name and office of a pilot.

Seneca has this (*Epist. Mor.* xii. 3. 34):

Non tamquam (tempestas) gubernatori, sed tamquam naviganti nocet. Alioquin gubernatoris artem adeo non impedit, ut ostendat: tranquillo enim, ut aiunt, quilibet gubernator est. Navigio ista obsunt, non rectori eius, qua rector est.

A little later (3. 179), Catiline says: "Who would not fall with all the world about him?"

Cf. *Thyestes* 882 ff.:

Vitae est avidus, quisquis non vult,
Mundo secum pereunte mori.

Shortly afterward, Cicero is informed by the harlot Fulvia of the plot. His speech (3. 235 ff.) opens thus:

Is there a heaven? and gods? and can it be
They should so slowly hear, so slowly see?
Hath Jove no thunder? or is Jove become
Stupid as thou art, O near-wretched Rome?

For this, see *Hippolytus* 671 ff.:

Magne regnator deum,
Tam lentus audis scelera? tam lentus vides?¹
Ecquando saeva fulmen emittes manu
Si nunc serenum est?

In line 368, Cicero quotes a typical Senecan *sententia*: "He that is void of fear may soon be just." This is from *Octavia* 441: "Justo esse facile est, cui vacat pectus metu."

¹ These same two lines are quoted in *Titus Andronicus* 4. 1.

Again, in line 505, Caesar, speaking to Catiline of the conspiracy, says:

Let 'em call it mischief;
When it is past and prosper'd, 'twill be virtue.

Cf. *Hercules Furens* 251-52:

Prosperum ac felix scelus
Virtus vocatur.

Cethegus (ll. 664 ff.) promises Catiline that Cicero shall die:

He shall die.
Shall was too slowly said; he's dying: that
Is yet too slow; he's dead.

This is paraphrased from *Hercules Furens* 642 ff.:

Si novi Herculem
Lycus Creonti debitas poenas dabit:
Lentum est, dabit, dat: hoc quoque est lentum, dedit.

This completes the list of evident borrowings.

II. THE SOURCE OF "EPIGRAM CXII"

As can be seen from the passages just cited, Jonson's method of using a source is not so much one of translation as of free paraphrase and adaptation. Sometimes he follows his model closely through several phrases or even lines, but almost always he adds something of his own—an original application, perhaps, or an enlargement of the author's thought. This method can best be illustrated by an extended instance. With this in view I append Jonson's *Epigram CXII* and its original, which I ran on one day while browsing through Martial.

TO A WEAK GAMESTER IN POETRY

With thy small stock, why art thou venturing still,
At this so subtle sport, and play'st so ill?
Think'st thou it is mere fortune, that can win,
Or thy rank setting? that thou dar'st put in
Thy all, at all: and whatsoe'er I do,
Art still at that, and think'st to blow me' up too?
I cannot for the stage a drama lay,
Tragic or comic; but thou writ'st the play.
I leave thee there, and giving way, intend
An epic poem; thou hast the same end.

I modestly quit that, and think to write,
 Next morn, an ode; thou mak'st a song ere night.
 I pass to elegies; thou meet'st me there:
 To satires; and thou dost pursue me. Where,
 Where shall I scape thee? in an epigram?
 O, thou cry'st out, that is my proper game.
 Troth, if it be, I pity thy ill luck;
 That both for wit and sense so oft dost pluck,
 And never art encounter'd, I confess;
 Nor scarce dost colour for it, which is less.
 Prithee, yet save thy rest; give o'er in time:
 There's no vexation that can make thee prime.

With this compare Martial *Epigrams* 12. 94:

Scribamus epos; coepisti scribere; cessi,
 Aemula ne starent carmina nostra tuis.
 Transtulit ad tragicos se nostra Thalia Cothurnos:
 Aptasti longum tu quoque syrma tibi.
 Fila lyrae movi Calabris exculta Camenis:
 Plectra rapis nobis, ambitiose, nova.
 Audemus saturas: Lucilius esse laboras.
 Ludo leves elegos: tu quoque ludis idem.
 Quid minus esse potest? epigrammata fingere coepi:
 Hinc etiam petitur iam mea palma tibi.
 Elige, quid nolis—quis enim pudor, omnia velle?—
 Et si quid non vis, Tucca, relinque mihi.

III. AN ECHO OF JONSON IN GODFREY'S "THE PRINCE OF PARTHIA"

Godfrey's *The Prince of Parthia* should always be interesting to students of American literary history for the reason, if for no other, that it was the first drama by a native author to be acted on the American stage. However, the play really deserves reading on its own merits; it can very readily bear comparison with Addison's *Cato*, Johnson's *Irene*, and others of its general class.

As I was reading this play recently, I was struck by the similarity of certain of its incidents to happenings in Ben Jonson's *Catiline*. These resemblances, it must be confessed, are superficial rather than fundamental, and of themselves would not at all furnish the grounds for establishing a literary relationship between the two plays. Other considerations, however, lead us to believe that even slight likenesses between Godfrey's work and that of any of the Elizabethans are of

moment. In view of Godfrey's known aims and practice, the presumptive inference is that such likenesses are not accidental, but intentional. In his excellent edition of *The Prince of Parthia*, Archibald Henderson has shown conclusively that Godfrey was consciously working in the Elizabethan tradition. Not only does he indicate the influence on Godfrey of Marlowe and others, but he points out unmistakable borrowings, both in incident and language, from Shakspeare: from *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Julius Caesar*, *As You Like It*, *Romeo and Juliet*, and *Coriolanus*.¹ Obviously, then, even superficial resemblances between Godfrey and Jonson would at least arouse our suspicions.

A further consideration tends to strengthen the case. *The Prince of Parthia*, although borrowing from both Marlowe and Shakspeare, is not really in the manner of either. Although written in blank verse, it has too close a regard for the Aristotelian unities to be considered romantic. Now this regard for the unities can scarcely be attributed, as Mr. Henderson seems to attribute it, wholly to the influence of Addison and the pseudo-classical tragedians, for, as Mr. Henderson himself remarks, Godfrey's work is not bound by the prevailing conventional interpretation of the unities, that is, it is genuinely classical rather than pseudo-classical, albeit classical in the Senecan rather than the Sophoclean manner. But the method which cannot be adequately explained on the ground of Addisonian or other pseudo-classical influence, can be adequately explained on the ground of Jonsonian influence; for in Jonson's two tragedies, *Sejanus* and *Catiline*, we have precisely the sort of thing that Godfrey was trying to do. Jonsonian influence would also account for the Senecan quality of Godfrey's work, for it is rather unlikely that Godfrey was acquainted with Seneca at first hand.

From the foregoing it should be evident that any resemblances which can be shown between *Catiline* and *The Prince of Parthia* establish at least a probability of purposed imitation. The resemblances that struck me are four, and I shall say a word about each.

¹ To these might be added *Titus Andronicus*, as there is considerable resemblance between the characters of Tamora and Thermusa, each, for instance, being a captive of war later raised to the throne, and each resentful over the execution of a son. Lysias and Aaron also have some points of likeness, especially in their defiant impenitence. The final fates of Tamora and Lysias are the same, both being thrown to the dogs.

In *The Prince of Parthia*, Vardanes in his conspiracy to gain the throne is partially inspired by a prophecy that his life is to be renowned (Act II, scene 2). In *Catiline*, one of the influences operant on Lentulus is a prophecy from the Sibylline books about a "third Cornelius" who is to rule in Rome, which is interpreted to apply to him (ll. 255 ff.).

Again, Lysias in *The Prince of Parthia* cares nothing, as he confesses, for Vardanes, but uses him as a tool merely, playing on his ambition for his own ends (Act II, scene 1). Catiline has the same attitude toward Lentulus, whom he terms "my stale with whom I stalk" (3. 715).

Further, Lysias urges Vardanes to seize the throne (Act II, scene 2) in much the same spirit and with the same motive as Catiline urges a like course on Lentulus (3. 575 ff.).

Lastly, the conspiracy of Lysias and Vardanes has as its background a Senecan scene of violent storm, filled with ominous portents (Act II, scene 1). So, too, has the conspiracy of Catiline (ll. 310 ff.). The portents given in the two dramas do not entirely coincide, but the purposes for which they are introduced are identical.

These four resemblances are all that I find, but, as I have said, I think them significant in view of Godfrey's known use of Elizabethan models. The fact that they all occur in the same act of the play, the second, seems to me a further warrant of their significance.

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THE WILD IRISH: A STUDY OF SOME ENGLISH SATIRES AGAINST THE IRISH, SCOTS, AND WELSH

One of the most interesting features of any Celtic revival is the anti-Celtic prejudice by which such a movement is invariably retarded among the English. The universal contempt with which the Anglo-Saxons have long regarded the "wild Irish," the Scots, and the Welsh is a tradition so powerful that at times it seems to have had considerable importance in influencing the history of literature. In the Romantic movement, for instance, two distinct forces were at work: the one tending to bring to light a vast store of Celtic history and mythology,¹ the other scornfully ridiculing all such researches. Similarly, in our own century we have seen a distinct revival of literature in Ireland marked by the writings of Fiona Macleod, W. B. Yeats, J. M. Synge, and Lady Gregory, and by the successful tour through the United States of the Irish Players; but interest in this movement has now been lost because of English bitterness over the Sinn Fein uprisings and over the treachery of Sir Roger Casement. In the alternate waves of Celtic popularity and unpopularity we see, as it were, masque and anti-masque. Although the anti-masque may be less significant, it is certainly more entertaining, and its study enables us to understand more fully the masque itself.

The "wild Irish" phenomenon may be defined as a prejudiced way of writing Celtic history, or an inordinate desire to satirize anything and everything Celtic, whether Irish, Scottish, or Welsh. Sometimes it results in the production of a work that is obviously satiric and is accepted as such; more often it manifests itself in a work whose satiric purpose is more subtle, and whose result is correspondingly more deadly. Many an English writer has delighted in suppressing every fact in favor of the Celts and in magnifying all that militates against them. Whether we call such literature

¹ A study of *The Celtic Revival in English Literature from 1760 to 1800*, by the writer, was presented as a doctor's dissertation at Harvard in 1913 and is now being prepared, with large additions, for publication. A little of the material has already been printed in an article, "Thomas Gray's Interest in Celtic," in *Modern Philology*, XI, April, 1914.

"historical satire" or "satiric history," whether the writer's prejudice is conscious or unconscious, makes but little difference in the effect on the public mind. All such writings constitute a part of the "wild Irish" movement.

This biased attitude was due originally to a variety of causes; instinctive racial prejudice, political bitterness, and religious differences all played their parts. Furthermore, in early days the comparative remoteness of Ireland from the rest of the civilized world caused men to regard it as a strange and wonderful land inhabited by barbarous people. In the case of each of the early satirists, a careful study usually shows some special reason for his distortion of facts. As soon, however, as this attitude became traditional and was adopted by successive generations of Englishmen, it was felt as something that always had existed, did exist, and always would exist; it was apparently carried on almost like a fad, with little attention to the original causes.

The very phrase "a wild Irishman" seems to have been used originally with the natural intent of distinguishing the uneducated Irish *kern* or *woodkarne* from his city-bred neighbor, who was often of English descent. But the way of satire is such that the term soon came to be applied without distinction to all Irishmen, whether peasants or townsfolk.¹

It would be difficult to settle the exact date when this scornful treatment of the "wild Irish" was first manifested; from the time of Aristotle² on, very distasteful things have been said about the Celts—some of them true and some false. Jealousy between the clergymen of England and Ireland, with its consequent effect on literary relations, must date back at least to the Synod of Whitby (664), and the medieval Latin pun on *Scottus-sottus* seems to be another case in point. Certainly from the time of Giraldus Cambrensis to the present day an anti-Celtic prejudice has been passed

¹ A similar distinction might have been made between the Scots of the Highlands and those of the Lowlands; in fact Laurence Minot, writing before the middle of the fourteenth century, does speak of "wild Scottes" (see below, p. 712). But the adjective did not suit the Scottish temperament well enough to come into general use, and in its place we find occasionally another choice characterization, "a wily Scot."

² See Aristotle's *Politica*, ii. 9. 7; also W. Dinan's *Monumenta Historica Celtica* (London, 1911), p. 42, note.

on from one writer to another until it has become almost self-propagating. By 1672 Iorevin de Rocheford found it in England "an affront to any man to call him Welchman."¹ Giraldus, of course, had a definite motive² for his attacks on the Irish and Welsh; but in the seventeenth century Dryden, striving to insult his personal enemy Shadwell in the worst manner possible, instinctively spoke of his "Irish pen."³ So too, John Pinkerton, after exhausting his ordinary critical vocabulary in condemning a new history of Great Britain, reached the height of invective by calling it a "strange and truly Celtic work." Even today we know that the tradition is still alive, when every schoolboy who tells a story about a stupid man thoughtlessly calls his hero either "Pat" or "Mike," and when there is a popular sale for such books as *The Unspeakable Scot* and *The Perfidious Welshman*. Although we are not directly concerned in this study with the history of cartooning and illustrating, it is worth noting that from early times there have been published ridiculous and insulting pictures of the Celts,⁴ and that the opprobrious term "wild Irish" has been in common use since the fourteenth century.⁵ In so far, then, as it is possible to speak of the dates of the tradition among the English, we may say that the "wild Irish" idea first took definite form late in the twelfth century, and is as much alive as ever at present.

Although various students of literature have cited isolated cases of this anti-Celtic prejudice and numerous historians have protested against it,⁶ it seems that no one has yet attempted to collect the satires in sufficient quantity to facilitate their study as a group.⁷

¹ Quoted by Mr. David Lewis (*Y Cymmrodor*, V, p. 238) from *The Travels of Iorevin de Rocheford* (1672), translated in *The Antiquarian Repertory*, IV (1809).

² See below, p. 692.

³ Shadwell was really an Englishman, but see *Mac Flecknoe*, II. 201-2:

In thy felonious heart tho' venom lies,
It does but touch thy Irish pen and dies.

⁴ Two delightful pictures of Irishmen with axes, dating from the time of Edward I, are reproduced on pp. 177-78 of Thomas Wright's *History of Caricature and Grotesque in Literature and Art*; on p. 179 are pictures of Welshmen that show obvious influence from Giraldus. Twelve highly amusing pictures of the Irish are to be found in the original black-letter edition of Derrick's *Image of Ireland*; of these, eight are reproduced in the modern edition by Sir Walter Scott, and two others in the illustrated edition of J. R. Green's *Short History of the English People* (Harper), II, 920. The pictorial material available in chapbooks is practically unlimited.

⁵ See below, p. 713.

⁶ See below, p. 690 f.

⁷ But for an interesting article on "The Welshman of English Literature," which contains some satiric material, see the study by David Lewis in *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882), 224-60.

This the present study aims to do, arranging the items in three classes: non-dramatic prose, drama, and non-dramatic poetry; incidentally it aims to trace the use in literature of the phrase "wild Irish." While the list of satires here quoted and referred to may be extended almost indefinitely, I trust it is sufficiently large and representative to throw a great deal of light on the literary relations of the English and the Celts.

So many of the following passages have been pointed out to me in casual conversation with friends that I fear it would be impossible to make a list of all to whom I am indebted. But to Professor Fred Norris Robinson, under whose guidance I began the study many years ago, and to Professor Tom Peete Cross, with whose assistance I have arranged it for publication, I wish to express my special thanks. I shall likewise be grateful to any who may take the trouble in the future to send me references to such interesting satires as they may note in the course of their reading.

I. NON-DRAMATIC PROSE

In a negative way, the strength of the English bias in writing Celtic history may be illustrated by the vigor with which various writers have protested against it. In a recent article in the *American Catholic Quarterly Review*¹ Rev. Dr. T. J. Shahan shows how keenly Keating felt the unfairness, and quotes extensively from Keating's great *Foras feasa ar Éirinn*, usually known as the *History of Ireland*, written about 1634. "For there is no historian," writes Keating, "of all those who have written on Ireland that has not continuously sought to cast reproach and blame both on the old foreign settlers and on the native Irish." In 1662 John Lynch published under the title of *Cambrensis Eversus*² a treatise whose main purpose was to counteract the libels of Giraldus Cambrensis, who, he said, disgorged his filthy calumnies against the whole Irish people, sparing neither the tender years of the child, nor the sex of the woman; ridiculed the commonalty, libelled the noble, carped at the clergy, lacerated the prelates, aimed a mortal blow at the church militant, and hurled his calumnies, even to the court of heaven, against the saints of Ireland.

¹ XXVIII, 310-38. An important study of Keating.

² Edited and translated, with notes, by Matthew Kelly for the Celtic Society in 3 vols. (Dublin, 1848).

William Drummond of Hawthornden is said to have written a *Vindication of Scotland against Mr. Camden*.¹ Francis Plowden discussed at length in his *Historical Review of the State of Ireland* the matter of misrepresentation, and showed that he recognized the work of Giraldus as thoroughly untrustworthy; with reference to Camden he quoted the lines:

Perlustras Anglos oculis Cambdene duobus,
Uno oculo Scotos, cæcus Hybernigenas.²

Another detailed protest in the same spirit is Matthew Carey's *Vindiciæ Hibernicæ: or, Ireland Vindicated: An attempt to develop and expose a few of the multifarious errors and falsehoods respecting Ireland, in the histories of May, Temple, Whitelock, Borlase, Rushworth, Clarendon, Cox, Carte, Leland, Warner, Macauley [sic], Hume, and others*³ (Philadelphia, 1819). Still more recently we have brilliant protests in the Introduction to T. A. Emmet's *Ireland under English Rule* (1903), in C. J. Herlihy's *The Celt above the Saxon, or, A Comparative Sketch of the Irish and English People in War, in Peace, and in Character* (1904), and in chapter i of Mrs. Alice Stopford Green's *Old Irish World* (1912).⁴ But brilliant as these defenses may be, they serve chiefly to illustrate the futility of trying to stem the current of satire and misrepresentation.

Passing over the work of classical historians and limiting the present study to satires written by Englishmen, we may begin with William of Malmsbury. Before the twelfth century we find nothing of any importance, and even William of Malmsbury takes only a few digs that could be called satiric; once, in describing the effect of Pope Urban's speech in 1095, he says:

The Welshman left his hunting; the Scot his fellowship with lice; the Dane his drinking party; the Norwegian his raw fish.⁵

Again:

For of what value could Ireland be if deprived of the merchandise of England? From poverty, or rather from the ignorance of the cultivators,

¹ The work is cited in the 1722 edition of Camden's *Britannia*.

² See Plowden's *Historical Review* (Philadelphia, 1805), I, 3, note.

³ I quote most of the long subtitle as containing bibliographical references to several historians whom I do not mention in the following pages. For a still more comprehensive list, see pp. v and vi of Carey's work.

⁴ For a defense of the Welshman's pronunciation of English, Professor Cross refers me to *The Red Dragon, the National Magazine of Wales*, II, No. 1 (Jan., 1883).

⁵ Bohn Library ed., p. 364 of *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*.

the soil, unproductive of every good, engenders, without the cities, a rustic, filthy swarm of natives.¹

Giraldus Cambrensis, one of the ablest writers of the twelfth century, made it his chief aim to gain advancement in English courtly and ecclesiastical circles by obsequious flattery of all who were in power. With this end apparently in view, he filled his four Latin works on Ireland and Wales² with the most horrible and ridiculous stories about the Celts, taking pains to contrast at frequent intervals the savageness of these barbarians with the polished civilization of the English. There seems to be no limit to Giraldus' invective, especially against the Irish; the most loathsome sexual perversion he treats as an everyday affair, and he is constantly telling stories that will not bear quotation. Toward the Irish people in general he expresses many such sentiments as these:

The Irish are a rude people, subsisting on the produce of their cattle only, and living like beasts—a people that has not yet departed from the primitive habits of pastoral life.

They are given to treachery more than any other nation, and never keep the faith they have pledged, neither shame nor fear withholding them from constantly violating the most solemn obligations, which, when entered into with themselves, they are above all things anxious to have observed.³

As an example of his attitude toward the Irish clergy, we may quote a single sentence:

But among so many thousands you will scarcely find one who, after his devotions to long fastings and prayers, does not make up by night for his privations during the day by the enormous quantities of wine and other liquors in which he indulges more than is becoming.⁴

A still more biting taunt against the church in Ireland is the statement that in all her history there has never been one Christian sincere enough to undergo martyrdom for the faith. Again, with reference to the alleged Irish custom of habitually carrying an axe

¹ Bohn Library ed., p. 443 of *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*.

² *Expugnatio Hiberniæ, Topographia Hiberniæ, Itinerarium Cambriæ, and Descriptio Cambriæ*.

³ From pp. 111 and 135 of Thomas Wright's *Historical Works of Giraldus Cambrensis, Containing the Topography of Ireland, and The History of the Conquest of Ireland. . . . The Itinerary through Wales, and The Description of Wales* (London, 1881).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

instead of a staff, Giraldus says in a passage which would lose the force of its puns through translation:

A securibus itaque nulla securitas; si securum te reputes, securim senties.

And with reference to the unkempt appearance of the long-bearded Irish:

Barbarus tamen tam barbarum quam vestium.

Of the Irish method of inaugurating kings, Giraldus gives a description quoted many centuries later by Edmund Campion:

The whole people of that country being gathered in one place, a white mare is led into the midst of them, and he who is to be inaugurated not as a prince but as a brute, not as a king but as an outlaw, comes before the people on all fours, confessing himself a beast with no less impudence than imprudence. The mare being immediately killed, and cut in pieces and boiled, a bath is prepared for him from the broth. Sitting in this, he eats of the flesh which is brought to him, and the people standing round and partaking of it also. He is also required to drink of the broth in which he is bathed, not drawing it in any vessel, nor even in his hand, but lapping it with his mouth. These unrighteous rites being duly accomplished, his royal authority and dominion are ratified.¹

Against the Welsh, Giraldus is not quite so severe in that his malignity is not shown with the same damnable iteration. Still, the second book of his *Descriptio Cambriæ* has such chapter headings as these: "Of the inconstancy and instability of this nation, and their want of reverence for good faith and oaths," and "Their living by plunder, and disregard of the bonds of peace and friendship." As a fair sample of his attitude toward the Welsh, I quote only the first and last sentences of chapter iv:

This nation is, above all others, addicted to the digging up of boundary ditches, removing the limits, transgressing landmarks, and extending their territory by every possible means. . . . It is also remarkable, that brothers show more affection to one another when dead, than when living; for they persecute the living even unto death, but revenge the deceased with all their power.

The *Topographia Hiberniæ* was completed in 1187, and the other three works shortly thereafter. They seem to have made a profound impression on all who read them and to have had a strong indirect influence in making others treat the "wild Irish" in a similar way.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

The quotations made above might be multiplied fifty or a hundred fold, but the limitations of space make it practical to give only these few typical passages.

Giraldus' friend, Walter Map, did much to pass on the idea of Welsh savageness and infidelity in his *De Nugis Curialium*, a work that was very popular, especially among writers of romance. A large portion of *Distinctio iii* is devoted to tales about the Welsh, in which a most unfavorable idea is given of their national peculiarities.¹ In poetry, too, Map satirized the Welsh; but this will be taken up in a later section of our study.

Passing over William of Newburg, whose description of the Welsh² is by no means complimentary, we come to Ralph Higden, who was born late in the thirteenth century, took monastic vows in 1299, and finished his part in the *Polychronicon* in 1342. Higden hastened to spread broadcast the calumnies of Giraldus concerning Ireland. In his chapter *De incolarum moribus*, he cites Giraldus and follows him so exactly that it would be futile to quote.³ Higden's work was translated into English by Trevisa in 1387, was first printed by Caxton in 1482 from Trevisa's translation modernized, and was again printed by Wynkyn de Worde as early as 1495; hence its influence must not be underestimated.

Andrew Boorde's *Introduction of Knowledge* (1542) contains descriptions of Wales, Scotland, and Ireland that are most derogatory, especially to the last. Although I do not know that the work had unusual popularity, it has a special interest in that it uses the phrase "wyld Irysh" twice on a single page.⁴

Another item, noteworthy for its early use in an offhand way of the term "wild Irishmen," is found in a letter of April 21, 1549, from John Alen, at one time Lord Chancellor. The writer says: "The Scots and wild Irishmen contend only for liberty."⁵

¹ See Thomas Wright's ed. (Camden Society, 1850), especially caps. 8, 20, and 22 (end). For the friendship of Map and Giraldus, see the Preface; also the Introduction and Appendix II of Wright's edition of Map's poems (Camden Society, 1841).

² See Book II, chap. v, of the *Historia* (available in the Rolls Series and in Vol. IV, Part II, of *The Church Historians of England* [London, 1856]).

³ See pp. 350-60 in Vol. I of the Rolls Series edition of the *Polychronicon*.

⁴ See p. 132 of F. J. Furnivall's ed. for the E.E.T.S. (1870).

⁵ Cited in part, without reference, in Mrs. Green's *Old Irish World*. Professor Cross refers me to the *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland* (London, 1860), p. 103, where other items of satiric interest may be found.

Various collections of *gests* and *merie tales* published in the sixteenth century are notably rich in satire of the Celts. W. C. Hazlitt's three volumes of *Shakespeare Jest Books* (1864) contain most of the available material, and this has been reviewed too recently to make a detailed summary necessary.¹ In at least ten cases a Welshman is made the butt of the joke, usually through his overwhelming stupidity, and the Welsh pronunciation of English is frequently reproduced with humorous accuracy. As these collections appeared from 1525 to 1567, it is probable that they gave hints for later satiric representation on the stage; to one in particular Shakspeare makes Beatrice refer in *Much Ado about Nothing*: "That I was disdainful, and that I had my good wit out of the *Hundred Merry Tales*."

A very severe satirical account of the Irish was penned in 1566 by John Good, a Popish priest, under the title of *A Description of the Manners and Customs of the Wild Irish*. Whether this was ever published is still a matter of doubt,² but its influence was widely felt through the medium of Camden's *Britannia*, where we find long extracts from it, none of them complimentary.³

All the Irish histories in Holinshed's *Chronicles* are written in a spirit of bitter or scornful partisanship, and they all use Giraldus as a source whenever possible. Of especial importance is chapter viii of Richard Stanihurst's *Description of Ireland*, entitled "The Disposition and Maners of the Meere Irish, Commonlie Called the Wild Irish."

Campion's *Historie of Ireland* is significant for the author's attitude toward Giraldus, who seems to have influenced even the historians that mistrusted him most. Here we find Campion stigmatizing Giraldus' work as "stuffed with much impertinent matter,"⁴

¹ See "The Welsh as Pictured in Old English Jest Books" in *Y Cymmrodor*, III, 107-16, by the editor, Mr. Thomas Powell.

² Camden does not speak of Good's treatise as a book, but the implication on p. 145 of Walker's *Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards* (Dublin, 1786) led me to assume that it was printed. The negative evidence, however, of its not being mentioned in any of the catalogues of the great libraries in which I have sought, leaves some doubt. Walker says: "The Music of this century has received a rude eulogium from John Good, a popish priest (who had been educated at Oxford, and was master, for many years, of a school at Limerick, and), who, at the request of the celebrated William Camden, wrote a *Description of the Manners and Customs of the Wild Irish* in the year 1566."

³ As Good's treatise was known chiefly through Camden's *Britannia*, I give my quotations under the discussion of the latter author, below, p. 697.

⁴ See Campion's prefatory epistle "To the Loving Reader."

yet distinctly telling us that he uses him as a source. The amazing closeness of his paraphrase is readily seen:¹

The lewder sort both Clarkes and Laymen, are sensuall and loose to leachery above measure. . . . As for abstinence and fasting which these dayes make so dangerous, this is to them a familiar kind of chastisement: In which vertue and diverse other, how farre the best excell, so farre in gluttonie and other hatefull crimes the vitious they are worse than too badde. They follow the dead corpses to the grave with howlings and barbarous out-cries, pittiful in apparence, whereof grew (as I suppose) the Proverbe, to weepe Irish. . . .

In some corners of the land they use a damnable superstition, leaving the right armes of their Infants males unchristened (as they tearmed it) to the intent it might give a more ungracious and deadly blow. . . .

Covenant and Indent with them never so warilie, never so preciselie, yet they have beene found faithlesse and periured. Where they are joyned in colour of surest Amitie, there they intend to kill. This ceremonie reporteth Cambrensis. [Here follows an account of how the Irish make the most solemn leagues and, even in the doing thereof, "practise mutuall destruction"; then the account, taken from Giraldus without acknowledgment, of the Irish method of inaugurating kings. The last sentence I quote seems to be taken directly from Giraldus' statement about the Welsh.]

Toward the living they are noysome and malicious, the same being dead they labour to avenge eagerly and fiercely.²

Less important, but not to be passed over without brief mention, are the host of political tracts brought out by the Irish wars. A few titles may be noted as representative of the group: Barnabe Rich's *Looking Glass for Ireland* (1599), *Short Survey of Ireland* (1609), and *The Irish Hubbub* (1617); also Sir John Davies' *Discovery of the True Cause why Ireland was never entirely subdued* (1612).

William Camden ranks close to Giraldus for importance in spreading the idea of Irish "wildness." His *Britannia*, first published in Latin in 1586, was long regarded as a standard work on everything connected with the history of the British Isles. After Edmund Gibson, Lord Bishop of London, had published his English translation in 1695 (the translation, though a large and expensive book,

¹ Campion's *Historie* appeared in Holinshed (so the D.N.B.) and was reprinted in 1633 and 1809. My quotations are from the last of these, pp. 19 ff.

² Compare Giraldus' statement quoted above, p. 693.

was already in its fourth edition by 1772), the work had an increased vogue and was quoted even more frequently than before. Some of the startling statements made by Camden are the following:

The Irish of old time, while rude and barbarous like all other nations in this part of the world, are thus describ'd by the Antients.

Strabo, 1, 4. I can say nothing of Ireland upon good authority, but that the people are more barbarous than the Britons. They feed upon man's flesh, and eat to great excess. They look upon it as very innocent, to eat the bodies of their dead parents [etc.].

Pomponius Mela, lib. 3. The Inhabitants are barbarous, and have no sense, either of Virtue, or Religion.

Solinus, cap. 24. Those who conquer, first drink the blood of the Slain, and then besmear their face with it, and know no distinction between right and wrong [etc.].

These are their *antient* customs. As for the usages of the middle age, we have them in *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and in others from him. But for their later customs, they are describ'd by an industrious modern Author, whom I take to be *J. Good*, a Priest, educated at *Oxford*, and Schoolmaster of *Limerick*, about the year 1566, from whom I shall relate them word for word. . . .

[After a short digression Camden explains that the remarks of Good are not "malicious or partial," and that they apply only to "the wild and native Irish."]

These people are generally strong bodied, nimble, bold, haughty, quick-witted, warlike, venturous, inur'd to cold and hunger, lustful, hospitable, constant in their love, implacably malicious, credulous, vain-glorious, resenting; and, according to their old character, *violent in all their affections: the bad not to be match'd, the good not to be excell'd.* . . .

Robberies here are not look'd on as infamous, but are committed with great barbarity in all parts of the country. When they are upon such a design, they pray to God to bring booty in their way, and look upon a prize as the effect of his bounty to them. They are of opinion, that neither violence, robbery, nor murder is displeasing to God. . . .

The vileness of the lives of their priests is the great cause of all this; who have converted the temples into Stews: their whores follow them wherever they go; and in case they find themselves cast off, they endeavour to revenge the injury by poison. . . . Among these wild Irish there is nothing sacred; no signs of Church or Chapel, save outwardly; no Altars, or at most such only as are polluted; and if there be a Crucifix thereon, it is defaced and broken; the sacred Vestments are so nasty, that they turn one's stomach.¹

¹ From the English ed. of 1722, II, 1417-19.

Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland*¹ sets forth with telling realism all the national failings of the Irish as seen by a cultivated Englishman who, in spite of his ambition to play an important part at the English court, was compelled to spend most of his life in Ireland. As the treatise is too long to summarize minutely, we must be content to say that it discusses first the laws, next the customs, and last the religion of the Irish. Like many of his contemporaries, Spenser uses the actual phrase "wilde Irish."² A representative passage is the description of the *kern*:

Marrie those bee the most barbarous and loathly conditions of any people (I thinke) under heaven; for, from the time that they [the kerns] enter into that course, they doe use all the beastly behaviour that may bee; they oppress all men, they spoile the subject as well as the enemy; they steale, they are cruell and blodie, full of revenge and delighting in deadly execution, licentious, swearers, and blasphemers, common ravishers of woemen, and murderers of children.³

Spenser's references to Ireland in *The Faerie Queene* and *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* will be considered later.

Thomas Nashe takes a good many flings at the Scots in his prose works, especially in *The Prayse of the Red Herring* (1599), where he breaks off abruptly from English to give a sample of the "clacke or gabbling" of the Scots:

How in diebus illis, when Robert de Breaux, their gud king, sent his deare heart to the haly land, for reason he caud not gang thider himselfe, (or then or thereabout, or whilome before, or whilome after, it matters not,) they had the staple or fruits of the herring in their road or channell, till a foule ill feud arose amongst his sectaries and seruitours, and there was mickle tule, and a black warld, and a deale of whinyards drawne about him, and many sackless wights and praty barnes run through the tender weambis, and fra thence ne sarry taile of a herring in thilke sound they caud gripe.⁴

In 1617 was published *An Itinerary Written by Fynes Moryson, Gent., first in the Latine Tongue, and then Translated by him into English: Containing his ten yeeres travell through the twelve Domjnjons of Germany . . . England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1617). Moryson's description of the Irish shows a supercilious scorn that is

¹ Published posthumously in 1633.

² See the ed. of 1805, VIII, 382.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 392.

⁴ *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. by R. B. McKerrow (London, 1910), III, 188.

almost unbelievable. In the last five pages the phrase *wild Irish* is used no less than eight times, always with telling effect, for instance:

The wild and (as I may say) meere Irish, inhabiting many and large Prouinces, are barbarous and most filthy in their diet. They skum the seething pot with an handfull of straw, and straine their milke taken from the Cow through a like handfull of straw, none of the cleanest, and so clense, or rather more defile the pot and milke.¹

Not very important themselves, yet showing how universal the conception of Irish "wildness" had become, are two short passages in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*:

. . . . the Muscovites, if they suspect their wives, will beat them till they confess, and if that will not avail, like those wild Irish, be divorced at their pleasure, or else knock them on the heads, as the old Gauls have done in former ages.²

. . . . very superstitious, like our wild Irish.³

Similar to Moryson's account of the "wild Irish" is that given by William Lithgow, who, in 1632, published his *Totall Discourse Of the Rare Aduentures and painefull Peregrinations of long nineteene Yeares Trauayles, from Scotland, to the most Famous Kingdomes in Europe, Asia, and Affrica*. From the ten pages devoted to the Irish I quote a short specimen:

But now to come to my punctuall Discourse of Ireland; true it is, to make a fit comparison, the Barbarian Moore, the Moorish Spaniard, the Turke, and the Irish-man, are the least industrious, and the most sluggish livers under the Sunne, for the vulgar Irish I protest, live more brutishly in their brutish fashion, then the undaunted, or untamed Arabian, the Divilish-idolatrous Turcoman, or the Moone-worshipping Caramines: showing thereby a greater necessity they have to live, then any pleasure they have, or can have in their living.⁴

¹ Part III, p. 162; also, with modernized spelling, in Henry Morley's *Ireland under Elizabeth and James I*, pp. 413-30. As I have not seen the first edition, I am glad to add on the authority of Professor T. P. Cross, that the whole of Part II, pp. 1-301, deals with Tyrone's rebellion, Mountjoy's campaigns, and other troubles about 1600, and contains some striking indications of Moryson's prejudice. The 1617 edition refers to "the rest of this Worke, not yet fully finished," and gives the chapter headings of the unpublished part. This is the work recently published for the first time from a MS in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, by Charles Hughes under the title *Shakespeare's Europe, Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson's Itinerary* (London, 1903).

Although quotations from this recently published portion of the *Itinerary* would serve to give further illustrations of Moryson's prejudice, we may not safely assume that this part of the work did much toward spreading the satiric spirit which is the subject of our study.

² Part III, sec. 3, end of mem. 2.

³ P. 429 of the first ed. (1632).

⁴ Part III, sec. 4, mem. 1, subs. 2.

Among pertinent marginal headings in the section on the Irish are: "A foolish and superstitious errorr"; "Two intollerable abuses in Ireland"; "The filthy corruption of Irish Priests and Wood-Carnes, thievish rebels"; "A bad and uncivill Husbandry in Ireland"; "Northerne Irish women giving sucke to their Babes behind their shoulders"; "An Ecclesiasticke corruption in unlawfull Preachers," etc.

A glance at the *characters*, so popular in the seventeenth century, reveals a few points of interest in regard to the manner in which the anti-Celtic prejudice took more and more definite shape as time went on. In the first edition of *The Miscellaneous Works of Sir Thomas Overbury* (1614) character No. 45 is called *A Welshman*; so also in all the first five editions. By the time the sixth edition was published, the popular idea of the typical Welshman was sufficiently well molded to justify the change in title to that of *A Braggadochio Welshman*. This characterization had been foreshadowed by numerous dramatists¹ and was repeatedly emphasized later.

In John Stephens' *Satirical Essays* (1615), character No. 14 is *A Welsh Client*. Similarly we find the *Character of a Mendicant Irish Priest*, by Richard Flecknoe,² *An Irish Toyle*, by Thomas Dekker,³ and, long afterward, *The Character of an Irish Squire*, by Swift. As a sample of the satiric spirit of these character writers, I quote the last sentence of *The Character of an Irishman* in Edward Ward's *London-Spy* (ca. 1700):

To conclude, he's a Coward in his own Country, a Lusty Stallion in *England*, a Graceful Footman in *France*, a Good Soldier in *Flanders*, and a Valuable Slave in Our *Western Plantations*, where they are distinguished by the Ignominious Epithet of *White Negroes*.⁴

Throughout the seventeenth century appeared chapbooks and coarse anonymous satires directed especially against the Welsh. Although a few of them are in verse, the majority are in prose,

¹ See below, pp. 703 ff.

² No. 45 in Flecknoe's *Ænigmatical Characters* (1665).

³ See A. B. Grosart's ed. of *The Non-dramatic Works of Thomas Dekker* (1885, reprinted from the rare 1608 ed. in the Huth Library), III, 104-5.

⁴ For most of the items in this paragraph I am indebted to my friends Professor C. N. Greenough and Professor Robert Withington. The quotation is from Ward's *Works* (London, 1703), I, 385-86, but the *London Spy* was first published in eighteen parts, beginning in 1698.

usually with illustrative cartoons. The following titles are self-explanatory: *The Welch Traveller, or the Unfortunate Welshman; The Life and Death of Shefferey Morgan; Taffy's Progress to London*.¹

Other miscellaneous satires, appearing between 1642 and 1647, may be enumerated, if only to give some idea of the quantity that were published.²

The Welchman's Protestation concerning the Corruptions of these times. With her last Will and Testament, writ and published with her own hand fifteen tays after her own teath. . . . 1641.

The Welchman's publike Recantation . . . telling her what Booties and Prizes her should get, the Divell take the Array. 1642.

The Welchman's last Petition and Protestation . . . whereunto is added the protestation of Thomas ap Shinkin ap Morgan. 1642.

The Welch-men's Prave Resolution . . . by Shon, ap William, ap Thomas, ap Meredith, ap Evans, ap Lloyd, ap Price, ap Hugh, ap Rowland, ap Powell, ap Shinkin, ap Shones. [1642?]

The Welshman's Warning-Piece . . . Wherein her gives Kot thanks that her was no Beshit. 1642.

The Welch Doctor . . . By Shinkin ap Morgan. 1643.

The Welshman's Declaration: declaring her resolution to be revenged on her enemies, for te creat overthrow of a creat many of her Cousins and Countreymen in Tean Forrest, in Gloucestershire, where her was slightly frittered. 1643.

A Perfect Tiurnal or Welsh Post, with her creat packet of Letters, for her to carry into her Countrey of Whales . . . 1643.

Crete Wonders foretold By Her crete Prophet of Wales . . . 1647.

Especially bitter is the spirit of a scurrilous piece which appeared anonymously in 1652: *The Humple Remonstrance of Rice op [sic] Meredith, op Morgan, Shentilman of Wales, to the Parliaments of Enghelandts, and her cood Lord Shenerals*.³ This is a mock political petition ridiculing the gross ignorance and the dialectical errors of the English-speaking Welsh. It is followed by an *Answer*, which

¹ Reproduced in part, with illustrations, in John Ashton's *Chapbooks of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1882), pp. 344 ff. and 475 ff. The first item is dated 1671.

² All the titles in this list are from Rev. William Rowlands' *Cambrian Bibliography* (*Llyfryddiaeth y Cymry*), Llanidloes, 1869, where they are listed chronologically *passim*. Most of them are also listed in the Rev. J. C. Morrice's *Wales in the Seventeenth Century* (Bangor, 1918), pp. 39-42. For a few others, see p. 235 of David Lewis' article in *Y Cymmrodor*, V (1882).

³ Thirty copies were reprinted in 1861 from the original edition.

accuses the Welsh of being ignorant, thievish, and addicted to the love of cheeses that "are hard as Millstones, and stink of Goats Milk, especially being tasted, so that the Devil would rather pe starv'd than boorded with sheese in Wales."¹ Further, the Welsh are charged with lying and exaggerating, and with continually troubling the English by presenting long bills and petitions.

Some of these bitter and extremely pointed satires against the Celts may not have done so much to influence the reading public as did those productions in which the author's prejudice was less obvious. Works containing occasional clever thrusts are hard to find and difficult to classify, but they must have been numerous and influential. In Richard Head and Francis Kirkman's *English Rogue*² the writers, under pretext of pointing out the pitfalls to be avoided by the unwary youth of England, describe in minutest detail the life of a typical libertine. Interspersed among the numerous descriptions of the hero's amorous intrigues are a number of grossly humorous references to Ireland and the Irish, which fall right in line with the already conventional treatment of the "wild Irish."

In Mrs. Aphra Behn's *Oroonoko*, frequently spoken of as the first "novel with a purpose" in our language, we find the author taking up the familiar phrase and speaking of "one *Banister*, a wild *Irish* man."³ As the present study ends with the year 1700, before the English novel had really found itself, I must be content to conjecture that a careful survey of the novels written in the eighteenth century would show a continuation of the tradition; certainly Fielding speaks in *Tom Jones* of "an absolute wild Irishman,"⁴ and Smollett contributes in *Roderick Random* a Scot and a Welshman, the latter to reappear in chapter xxxiv of *Peregrine Pickle*.

II. THE DRAMATISTS

In most cases the fun poked at the Celts on the stage is of a good-natured sort, contrasting pleasantly with the bitterness of the other satires. Shakspeare seems to be the most important writer

¹ On the fondness of the Welsh for cheese, see below, p. 703.

² Apparently a popular book; first edition dated 1665; at least five other editions had appeared by 1700.

³ 1688 ed., p. 236.

⁴ Book XI, chap. iv.

in this connection, not only because of his tremendous popularity, but also because of the frequency with which he alludes to the Celts. To the Irish kerns (about whom he read in Holinshed and elsewhere) he makes various references, brief, to be sure, but by no means complimentary:

Now for our Irish wars.

We must supplant these rough rug-headed kerns,
Which live like venom where no venom else
But only they have privilege to live.

[*Richard the Second*, II, i, 155-58.]

You rode, like a kern of Ireland, your
French hose off, and in your strait strossers.

[*Henry the Fifth*, III, vii, 55-56.]

The uncivil kerns of Ireland are in arms.

[*II Henry the Sixth*, III, i, 310.]

Full often, like a shag-hair'd crafty kern.

[*Ibid.*, III, i, 367.]

Compell'd these skipping kerns to trust their heels.

[*Macbeth*, I, ii, 30.]

And to Ireland as a whole he refers grossly in the *Comedy of Errors*.¹ Still more noteworthy is the scene in *Henry V* where he brings on the stage at the same time representatives of all three Celtic peoples—Macmorris, Fluellin, and Captain Jamy. The satire on Sir Hugh Evans in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and on Glendower in *I Henry IV*, while too well known to need detailed comment, must not be overlooked. The chief points scored against the Welsh are their undue pride in genealogy, a belief in natural magic, laughable dialectical peculiarities, and a preternatural fondness for cheese.² The last characteristic, after being touched on by countless other satirists, has brought into common use the name *Welsh rabbit*, now gradually changing through the influence of popular etymology into *Welsh rarebit*.

When Shakspeare crystallized the Welshman's unreasonable pride in gentility into Glendower's immortal words "I am not in the roll of common men," he was by no means alone among the Elizabethan

¹ III, ii, 118-24.

² See *MW*, II, 3, 316 ff.; V, 5, 85-86, and 146 ff.

dramatists. The same matter is touched on humorously by Marston in *The Malcontent* (III, i), by Peele in *Edward I* (scene ii), by Middleton in *The Family of Love* (I, iii), and by Rowley in *A Shoo-maker a Gentleman*.¹ Dekker takes a fling, also, in his *Match Me in London*:

I do speak English
When I'd move pity; if I dissemble, Irish;
Dutch, when I reel; and, tho' I feed on scalions,
If I should brag gentility I'd gabble Welch.²

Of Sir Owen ap Meredith's claim to kinship with King David, more anon under the consideration of *Patient Grissil*.

The unusual feature of Shakspeare's satire is the importance he gives to Glendower's belief in the supernatural. For while the Welsh belief in prophecy of superhuman accuracy is brought out by the Harper in Peele's *Edward I*, it is indeed rare to find anything like this:

Glendower: I can call spirits from the vasty deep.
Hotspur: Why, so can I, and so can any man;
But will they come when you do call for them?
Glend.: Why, I can teach you, cousin, to command the devil.
Hot.: And I can teach thee, coz, to shame the devil
By telling truth. "Tell truth and shame the devil."
If thou have power to raise him, bring him hither,
And I'll be sworn I have power to shame him hence.
O, while you live, tell truth and shame the devil!

Hot.: . . . Sometimes he angers me
With telling me of the moldwarp and the ant,
Of the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies,
And of a dragon and a finless fish,
A clip-wing'd griffin, and a moulten raven,
A couching lion and a ramping cat,
And such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff
As puts me from my faith. . . .

[*I Henry IV*, III, i.]

Middleton seems to have been especially interested in the Welsh as objects of humor. In his *Chaste Maid in Cheapside* he brings in a Welshwoman to occupy the unenviable position of "mistress to Sir W. Whorehound," and throughout the play she is taunted with

¹ See C. W. Stork's ed. of Rowley (Philadelphia, 1910), p. 218.

² Quoted by Bullen, from Dekker, in his edition of Middleton.

such sarcastic terms as "pure Welsh virgin," and with the barrenness of her Welsh mountains. Again in *The Family of Love* (IV, ii), to which reference has been made already, he makes Dryfat inquire: "What! art thou a Welch carrier or a northern landlord, thou'rt so saucy?"

In a slightly different spirit, Rowley laughs at the long names of Welsh towns and at the overrated "wonders" of Wales:

Hugh: Wales is my country, my name is Hugh.

Barnaby: I have some Cozens in your Countrey: you know Penvenmower, Blew Morrice Laugathin, Aberginenni Terdawhee, Saint Davis Harpe, and the great Organ at Wricksom?

[*A Shoo-maker a Gentleman.*]

But Rowley's most important contribution is the character of Randall, the Welshman in *A Match at Midnight*. Randall speaks broad Welsh dialect throughout the play, and, in addition to being the butt of many jokes, is finally duped into marrying the wrong girl.

Among miscellaneous items of varying interest, I have noted that Webster speaks twice of the "wild Irish" in the *White Devil*, and that there is mild satire against the Scots in *Eastward Ho*. Whether the dumb show of Irish kerns in Heywood's *Four Prentices of London* was to be made humorous by the actors is a matter of doubt; but there can be no question about the broad Welsh dialect in Nash's comedy *Summers Last Will* (ll. 241-46).¹ Furthermore, it seems significant that the character representing "Revenge and Fury" in Thomas Hughes's *Misfortunes of Arthur* should be dressed in "an Irish jacket and shirt, having an Irish dagger by his side."

Dekker seems to merit special attention for having satirized the Irish in *The Honest Whore, Part II*, *The Whore of Babylon*, and *Old Fortunatus*, and for his part in one of the best Welsh satires written at this time, *Patient Grissil*. Although the first two items in this list are of no great interest, Bryan the Footman must not be entirely overlooked. More important is the scene of Irish dialect and satire in *Old Fortunatus* (IV, ii), where two characters are on the stage for some time "disguised as Irish coster-mongers."

In *Patient Grissil*, the joint production of Dekker, Chettle, and Houghton, we have more prolonged holding of the stage by Welsh

¹ Ed. R. B. McKerrow (London, 1910).

characters than in any other important play which I have found among the Elizabethan dramas. While the story of Sir Owen ap Meredith (a Welsh knight), his servant Rice, and Gwenthyan (a Welsh widow) is subordinate to the main plot, it occupies about a third of the play, and in this third lies the chief interest. As the passages of Welsh dialogue are of about equal merit, we may as well quote from II, i, where the Knight and the Widow first appear on the stage together:

Gwenthyan: Who calls Gwenthyan so great teal of time?

Urcenze: Sweet widow, even your countryman here.

Sir Owen: Belly the ruddo whee: wrage witho mandag eny mou du ac whellock en wea awl.

Gwe.: Sir Owen, gramarcyee whee: Gwenthyan mandage eny, ac wellock en thawen en ryn mogh.

Farneze: Mundage! Thlawen! oh, my good widow, gabble that we may understand you, and have at you.

Sir Ow.: Have at her! nay, by Cod, is no have at her to. Is tawg in her Pritish tongue; for 'tis fine delicates tongue, I can tell hur—Welsh tongue is finer as Greek tongue.

Far.: A baked neates tongue is finer than both.

Sir Ow.: But what says Gwenthyan now? will have Sir Owen? Sir Owen is know for a wisely man as any since Adam and Eve's time; and that is, by Cod's udge me, a great teal ago.

Urc.: I think Solomon was wiser than Sir Owen.

Sir Ow.: Solomons had pretty wit, but what say you to king Tavie? King Tavie, is well known, was as good musitions as the best fiddler in all Italy, and king Tavie was Sir Owen's countryman: yes, truly, a Pritish shentleman porn, and did twinkle, twinkle, twinkle, out o'cry upon Welsh harp; and 'tis known Tavie love mistress Persabe, as Sir Owen loves Gwenthyan. Will you have Sir Owen now?¹

When *The first part of the true and honorable historie of the life of Sir John Oldcastle* was written (apparently by Munday, Drayton, Wilson the Younger, and Hathway²) to compete with *I Henry IV* the authors introduced two Welsh characters, Owen and Davy, whose broken English furnishes most of the humor of the first scene. Neither in scope nor in subtlety can the dialogue be compared to that between Glendower and Hotspur, yet the Oldcastle play is of

¹ *Patient Grissil*, Shakespeare Society ed. (London, 1841), p. 23.

² See the Introduction, p. xxvii, of *The Shakespeare Apocrypha*, by C. F. Tucker Brooke (Oxford, 1908).

special interest in the present study because, in addition to Owen and Davy, we have in the list of dramatis personae a character designated simply as "an Irishman." As the plot develops, the Irishman proves to be the arch-villain and murderer. Here again the intention of the authors seems to have exceeded their power of execution, for unless my judgment is grievously at fault, this is pretty poor Irish brogue. As the Irishman does not say much in any one scene, I pick a few passages at random from V:

Alas poe mester, Sir Richard Lee, be saint Patricke is rob and cut thy trote for dee shane, and dy money, and dee gold ring be me truly: is love thee well, but now dow be kill, thee bee shitten kanaue.

Be sint Patricke, mester, is pore Irisman, is a leufter.

Feit, me be no seruant of the lord Cobhams, Me be Mack Chane of Ulster.

Prethee, Lord shudge, let me haue mine own clothes, my strouces there, and let me be hanged in a with after my cuntry—the Irish—fashion.

At the conclusion of the play the reader takes a real pleasure in finding that the character speaking this garbled gabble is hanged, even though the ceremony is performed "after the Irish fashion."

Ben Jonson apparently fell in with the popular trend, for he not only used the phrase "wild Irish" in his learned note on *The Devil Is an Asse*, V, i, 48, but also wrote two masques—one might almost say for the special purposes of this paper.

The fun of the *Irish Masque* lies largely in the stage business which is implied in the lines: four Irishmen trying to pay their respects to the King all at once, then all refusing to speak, and generally mixing each other up in a way that must have allowed a great deal of horseplay. The more they try to express their loyalty, the more ridiculous they get; for instance:

Donnell: . . . pre de, hear me, king Yamish.

Dennise: Pree dee heare me, king Yamish: I can tell tee better ten he.

Patrick: Pree dee heare neder noder on 'hem: here'sh Dermock will shpeake better ten eder oder on 'hem.

Dermock: No fayt, shweet hart, tow lyesht. Patrick here ish te vesht man of hish tongue, of all de four; pre tee heare him.

Pat.: By chreesh shave me, tow lyesht. I have te vorsht tongue in te company at thy shervish. Vill shome body shpeak?

Don.: By my fayt, I vill not.

Der.: By my goship's hand, I vill not.

Pat.: Speake Dennish ten.

Den.: If I speake, te divell tayke me. I vill give tee leave to cram my mouth phit shamrokes and butter, and vatercreeshes instead of pearsh and peepsh.

After some hundred and fifty lines by the Irishmen, they are "interrupted by a civil Gentleman of the nation," who brings in a bard, after which the masque ends with a song and dance.

The masque entitled *For the Honour of Wales* follows in its general outline the plan of the one already described. Yet it impresses me as being much more subtle in its genial satire. When the Welsh peasants insist that Craig Erii (Mt. Snowdon) is as big as Atlas, the joke must have a singular touch of humor in that the stage structure used to represent Snowdon is actually the same that has just been used in *Pleasure Reconciled to Virtue* to represent Atlas. There is a great deal of talking and singing about toasted cheese, Welsh goats, Welsh bards, Merlin, and the long genealogy of Prince Camber, while a stray shot is taken at the Wrexham organ. The women introduced speak straight Welsh (which in itself can be made funny on the stage); and when they break into an attempt at English, the mixture is even funnier. The concluding speech involves various compliments to the Prince of Wales, and tries in a condescending way to make up for the scorn with which the country has been treated. The body of the masque is, however, amusingly satirical.

While the Puritans were in power, there was quite naturally little in the way of dramatic satire; so for this brief period we must content ourselves with a single item: *Jenkin of Wales his Love—Course and Perambulation; an Early Droll Performed at the Red Bull Theatre about the Year 1647*.¹ Just as the Royalists were coming into full power there was given a short dramatic piece (a sort of masque) before General Monk. This brings in a Scot and a Welshman, with good dialect.²

Among the dramas of the Restoration we find, as might be expected, a great many productions of interest. John Crowne's

¹ Cf. Shirley's *Love Tricks*, ed. Gifford-Dyce, I (1833), 29ff. Professor Cross tells me that *Jenkin* was edited (from Kirkman's *Wits*) by Halliwell in 1861 (30 copies printed).

² See F. W. Fairholt's *Civic Garland* (Percy Society, 1845), XIX, 24 ff.

City Politics, for instance, introduces as its most despicable character a stupid, lying Irishman whose love for *usquebaugh* makes him at once ridiculous and disgusting. Much more important is Shadwell's bitter satire on the Irish clergy in the person of one Tegue ODively, well described in the list of dramatis personae as "an equal Mixture of Fool and Knave." This Tegue has the title rôle in *The Lancashire Witches and Tegue ODively the Irish Priest*, and appears again in *The Amorous Bigot*. In both plays he has so contemptible a part that I must point out this exception to my previous statement that "in most cases the fun poked at the Celts on the stage is of a good-natured sort."

Farquhar's *Love and a Bottle* introduces "Roebuck, an Irish Gentleman, of wild, roving temper," and his *Twin Rivals* has an Irish valet, Teague, whose dialect furnishes a great deal of fun. As we come down to the eighteenth century, we find the stage Irishman and the stage Welshman established stock characters, mildly amusing or screamingly funny according to the talent of the dramatist.

While I do not pretend to carry this study on into the eighteenth century, I cannot refrain from noting a few other items which carry the tradition on toward its perfection in Sheridan's immortal creation of Sir Lucius O'Trigger. One of these is Hugh Kelly's *School for Wives*, which gives us a stage Irishman, Connolly, almost too likable to be spoken of as the object of satire. Another is Isaac Bickerstaff's *Maid of the Mill*, with Ralph speaking Irish brogue more or less broad according to the mood of the author. Still more important is Richard Cumberland's *Fashionable Lover*, with Colin Macleod, who poses as a Scot (though he had once been known as "plain Nan Rawlins of St. Martin's Parish"), with Mrs. Macintosh, and, best of all with Dr. Druid, the Welsh antiquary. This last play rises considerably above the average mere satire of a type, of which I have noted so many cases, by giving to Dr. Druid eccentricities typically Welsh yet at the same time individualized. He is variously described as "Lord Abberville's travelling tutor, a gentleman, of very ancient family in North Wales," and as "that Welchman, that buffoon, that antiquarian forsooth, who looks as if you had raked him out of the cinders of Mt. Vesuvius." "Putterflies" is the subject chiefly on the Doctor's mind at the beginning of the

play; but as his character develops, we hear him boasting of having introduced fifty different poisons into his native land, and of his enthusiasm for "pats, peetles, serpents, scorpions, caterpillars, toads,—Oh 'tis a recreating contemplation to a philosophic mind!" Dr. Druid holds his own fairly well with various Englishmen until the last act, when he falls foul of Mortimer:

Dr. Druid: Save you, sir, save you; is it true I pray you, that a learned gentleman, a traveller, but just arrived, is with you?

Mort.: There is a person under that description in my house.

Dr. Druid: May he be seen, good now? May he be talked with? What has he brought home? Is he well stored with oriental curiosities?

Mort.: Faith, sir, indifferent well; he has brought a considerable parcel of sun-dried bricks from the ruins of antient Babylon, a heavy collection of ores from the mines of Siberia, and a pretty large cargo of common salt from the banks of the Caspian.

Dr. Druid: Inestimable!

Mort.: Oh, sir, mere ballast.

Dr. Druid: Ballast indeed; and what discoveries does he draw from all these?

Mort.: Why, he has discovered that the bricks are not fit for building; the mines not worth the working, and the salt not good for preserving: in short, Doctor, he has no taste for these trifles; he has made the human heart his study; he loves his own species, and does not care if the whole race of butterflies was extinct.

Those who wish to pursue the stage Irishman down to a later period will find material assistance in a book to which I am glad to express my own indebtedness: S. J. Brown's *Guide to Books on Ireland* (Dublin, 1912).

III. THE POETS

It is easy to demonstrate that the anti-Celtic prejudice of English poets goes back to a time when many of them wrote in Latin and French, and there is good reason to believe that the French, quite as much as the English, disliked the Irish during the Middle Ages.¹ The problem of how far back one should begin the search, even when we limit it to English authors, is puzzling, but it seems that we may as well begin during the reign of Henry II.

¹ This conjecture is based not only on Skeat's note (see below, p. 713, n. 1.), but also on the fact that I have discarded from time to time a great many references to satires on the Celts in the French metrical romances.

It was Henry who sent one Jordan Fantosme as a sort of reporter to write in French an account of the defeat of William the Lion in a battle fought July 13, 1174. Fantosme's account of the struggle constantly refers to the Scots as *salvage*, which is a pretty close approximation to our English "wild."

About this time Walter Map, whose Welsh stories I have already mentioned, produced his Latin poem *Cambriæ Epitome*. As this is versified practically direct from the prose slanders of Giraldus Cambrensis, there is no need to quote the long passage (ll. 75-208) describing the uncouth manners of living in Wales. But the poem is noteworthy as a typical example of how Giraldus' stories were passed on from one author to another until they finally gained an amazing indirect vogue. In this case we find that an English verse translation was published by Caxton in 1480, along with Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon*.¹

What the English thought of the Irish priests early in the thirteenth century is implied, though not stated so clearly as it was by Shadwell some four hundred years later, in *The Owl and the Nightingale*:

Ich singe bet þan þu dest
þu chaterest so doþ on Irish prost [ll. 321-22].

Another thirteenth-century item suggesting a great deal more than it actually says is the anonymous *Song of the Welsh*,² which explains the English hatred of the Welsh on the ground of envy:

Insanit qui Britones necat generosos;
Videtur quod habeat sic eos exosos,
Namque per invidiam clamat odiosos
Semper et assidue, quos audit victoriosos.

Such a sentiment, whether justified or not, naturally recalls the protests, already cited, of the historian Keating and others, against unfair treatment of the Irish.

From about the year 1296 comes another anonymous song, which seems to have been altered by various writers. It consists of two hundred and sixty-eight lines, and is commonly called simply a

¹ See Map's *Poems*, edited by Thomas Wright for the Camden Society, 1841, pp. 131 ff. and 349.

² See Thomas Wright's *Political Songs of England, from the Reign of John to that of Edward II* (Camden Society, 1839), p. 58.

Song of the Scottish Wars. It contains much satire on the Scots, and a little on the Welsh. Line 153 furnishes a fair sample:

Quid minatur barbara bruta gens et stulta?¹

Only a few years later, probably in 1299, come the verses *On the Deposition of Baliol*, which prophesy the absolute conquest of Scotland, and, likening Scotland to conquered Troy, rejoice in victories already won. That numerous other political songs of the same period attacked the Scots is shown by line 10:

Quales sunt et erunt, carmina plura ferunt.²

Peter Langtoft's *Chronicle* furnishes much more startling material than the poems just quoted; for instance:

Gales soit maldit de Deus e de Saint Symoun!
Car tuz jours ad esté pleins de tresoun.
Escoce soit maldit de la Mere Dé!
E parfount à diable Gales enfoundré!
En l'un ne en li autre fust unkes verité!³

Among Laurence Minot's poems are two, *Halidon Hill* and *Bannockburn*, which are of special interest. The first assures us that

pare was crakked many a crowne
Of wild Scottes. . . .

which is the earliest use I have noted (ca. 1340) of the English word "wild" applied to any of the Celtic peoples. As I have already indicated, the phrase "wild Scot" never came into as general use as the phrase "wild Irish." The second poem tells us that Scots are "ful of gile."⁴

In Fragment B of the *Romaunt of the Rose*, formerly attributed to Chaucer, we find a reference to the popular belief that the Irish were especially liable to be sharp of tongue; and, indeed, if we may believe what some of the genuine Old Irish sagas say about Bricriu Poison-Tongue, the idea had some foundation in truth:

He [Wikkid-Tunge] mighte not his tunge withstonde
Worse to reporte than he fonde,

¹ See Thomas Wright's *Political Songs of England, from the Reign of John to that of Edward II* (Camden Society, 1839), pp. 160 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 180.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 273-74.

⁴ See Poem I, ll. 59-60, and Poem II, l. 6, in the Clarendon Press ed.

He was so full of cursed rage;
 It sat him well of his lineage,
 For him an Irish woman bar.¹

Another significant reference to the Irish is in *Richard the Redeles*, where we find the actual phrase "pe wilde yrisse." Though this is the first use I have yet noted of the term (Skeat dates the poem with some confidence September, 1399),² I cannot but think subsequent search will show that it was in common literary use a great deal earlier.

Aside from the strong antecedent probability that such would be the case with numerous Latin treatises employing the word *barbarus*, we find it (this time spelled "wylde Iryshe") no less than six times in four consecutive pages of *The Libel of English Policy* (1436).³ Such habitual use of a phrase would certainly suggest that it must have been in common use for many years, presumably long before 1399.

One can hardly guess how early the Welsh came to be notorious for thieving, when we find *The Ship of Fools* suggesting that

He that is borne in walys or small brytayne
 To learne to pyke and stele nedys nat go to Rome.⁴

But we can get some conception of how widespread this notoriety is if we consider how immensely popular is the nursery rhyme beginning

Taffy was a Welshman, Taffy was a thief.⁵

While all these references go to show that the poets shared with the historians a feeling of scorn for the Celts, there are some special cases in which an entire poem is devoted to a satiric account. Such

¹ Lines 3807-11. Skeat's note shows that contempt for the Celts was not limited to the English: "The F. text has *une vielle irese*. . . . G. de Lorris clearly meant something disrespectful in speaking of 'an old Irishwoman.' M. Michel explains, in a note, that the Irish character was formerly much detested in France. I therefore believe that *Irish* has here its usual sense."

² See Skeat's edition of *Piers the Plowman* for the E.E.T.S., pp. cvi. and cvii. The text of *Richard* may be found here, in various other editions by Skeat, and in the Camden Society edition (1838) by Thomas Wright. My quotation is from the prologue, l. 10. For a more recent discussion of the problem of authorship, etc., see the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, II, 41.

³ See Thomas Wright's *Political Poems and Songs*. . . . *Edw. III to Ric. III* (Rolls Series, 1859), II, 185-88.

⁴ T. H. Jamieson's ed., I, 178.

⁵ See Halliwell's *Nursery Rhymes of England* (Percy Society, 1842), IV, 40-41.

a work, printed in black letter and illustrated with twelve ridiculous pictures of the Irish, is John Derricke's *Image of Ireland*. The title and subtitle are, in part, as follows: *The Image of Irelande, With a Discoverie of Woodkarne, wherin is most lively expressed the Nature and Qualitie of the jaied [sic] wilde Irish Woodkarne; their notable aptnesse, celeritie, and pronesse to rebellion. . . . Made and devised by Ihon Derricke, anno 1578. . . . Imprinted, at London, by Ihon Daie, 1581.*¹ In the second part of the poem Derricke gives a most graphic description of the habits of the native Irish, embellished with quaint marginal notes, now in prose and now in verse.

Woodkarnes manners are
more straunger than his
apparell.

The fruite sheweth the good-
nesse of the tree,
Approvyng all Woodkarne
strong theeves for to bee.

Spoyling and burnyng is the
Irish karnes renoune.

Woodkarnes exercises when
true men take rest;
To robbe, burn, and murder,
when true men take rest,
With fire, sworde, and
acesse, these traiters are
preste;
They take no compassion of
men, children, nor wives,
But joye when they do them
deprive of their lives.

Like as their weedes be strange, and monstrous
to beholde;

So doe their maners far surpasse them all a
thousand folde.

For thei are tearmed wilde,

Woodkarne thei have to name;

And marvaile not though strange it be, for thei
desarve the same.

In maners thei be rude, and monstrous eke in
fashon;

Their dealynges also thei bewraie, a crooked
generation.

For mischeef is the game wherein thei doe
delight;

And eke thei holde it great renowne to burne and
spoil by night.

When tyme yeelds true men ease, such reste
they pretermitte,

And give them selves to other artes, for their
behofe more fitte.

To wounde the harmless sorte, it is the karnish
guise;

And other some to stifle quight, in slumbrynge
bed that lyes.

An other sorte thei spoile, even naked to the skin;
And leave hym nothing for to wrappe his naked
body in.

¹ The text and illustrations are readily accessible in the second edition of Lord Somers' *Tracts*, edited by Sir Walter Scott (London, 1809), from which I quote. For the text without illustrations, see *The Image of Ireland . . . by John Derricke . . .* edited with an introduction by John Small, Edinburgh, 1883.

As already indicated, Edmund Spenser's major attack on the Irish was made in his prose *View of the Present State of Ireland*. But twice in his poems he makes minor attacks, both of interest for their reference to Irish wolves, which seem to have been a scourge at the time. Shakspeare, it will be recalled, has Rosalind speak in *As You Like It* of "the howling of Irish wolves against the moon." In Book VII, Canto vi, of *The Faerie Queene* Spenser describes the departure of Diana from Ireland, the action being carried on from stanza 38 through stanza 54 to this:

Them all, and all that she [Diana] so deare did way,
Thence-forth she left; and parting from the place [Ireland],
There-on an heavy haplesse curse did lay,
To weet, that wolves, where she was wont to space,
Should harbour'd be, and all those woods deface,
And thieves should rob and spoile that coast around.
Since which, those woods, and all that goodly chase,
Doth to this day with wolves and thieves abound:
Which too-too true that lands in-dwellers since have found.

In *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe*, since Colin is describing to Cuddy the heavenly charms of England as contrasted with the wretchedness of Ireland, it will be understood that whatever is said in praise of the former is, by implication, derogatory to the latter:

"Both heaven and heavenly graces do much more,"
Quoth he, "abound in that same land then this.
For there all happie peace and plenteous store
Conspire in one to make contented blisse:
No wayling there nor wretchednesse is heard,
No bloodie issues nor no leprosyies,
No griesly famine, nor no raging sweard,
No nightly bodrags, nor no hue and cries:
The shepheards there abroad may safely lie,
On hills and downes, withouten dread or daunger;
No ravenous wolves the good mans hope destroy,
Nor outlawes fell affray the forest raunger" [ll. 308-19].

One of the impressive features of the "wild Irish" spirit among the poets is the wide range of the poems in which it is expressed. It is odd enough to find the references just quoted, but stranger still

to find in Ford's poem entitled *Fame's Memorial*, written in honor of the Earl of Devonshire, such lines as:

The wily Irish, whose inveterate hate
Unto the laws of justice ne'er would bow,

or again in Bishop Hall's *Satires*:

And ship them to the new named virgin-lond
Or wilder Wales where never wight yet won'd [*Satires*, V, 1, 113],

or to realize that what seems superficially an outspoken compliment is entirely ironical in its spirit, as in Butler's *Hudibras*:

A deep occult philosopher,
As learn'd as the wild Irish are [Part I, Canto i].

So, too, we find Milton defending the word *Tetrachordon* on the ground that it is no harder to pronounce than many proper names in Scotland:

Why, is it harder, sirs, than *Gordon*,
Colkitto, or *Macdonnel*, or *Galasp*?
Those rugged names to our like mouths grow sleek
That would have made Quintilian stare and gasp.

John Taylor the Water-Poet expresses in various ways a good-natured contempt for the Celts. A group of his short poems, published at least as early as 1630,¹ give mock-heroic praise to O'Toole and make game of Irish pretensions to greatness. Taylor's impressions of the general boorishness of the Welsh are recorded in his prose account entitled *A Short Relation of a Long Journey made round or ovall by encompassing the Principalitie of Wales* (London, 1653).²

Cleveland's poems were so popular in his age that no less than twenty-three editions appeared from 1647 to 1699. His most influential poem is *The Rebel Scot*, a production still well known because of such inimitable couplets as

Had Cain been Scot, God would have changed his doom,
Not forced him wander but confined him home [ll. 63-64].

¹ See *All the Workes of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (London, 1630), pp. 15 ff. of the second section (reprinted in the publications of the Spenser Society, No. 2, 1869, pp. 175 ff.). From the Catalogue of the British Museum I judge that some, and perhaps all, of these poems on O'Toole were published in 1622.

² Reprinted in the publications of the Spenser Society, No. 7, 1870.

Or, again, with an incidental thrust at the Irish:

No more let Ireland brag; her harmless nation
Fosters no venom since the Scot's plantation [ll. 36-37].

The Scot's Apostasy, now generally believed to be by Cleveland, is an even more bitter invective against the Scots. This poem was likewise very popular, appearing in some eighteen editions before 1700. The concluding lines run thus:

To sum up all—let your religion be,
As your allegiance, masked hypocrisy,
Until, when Charles shall be composed in dust,
Perfumed with epithets of good and just,
He saved, incensed Heaven may have forgot
To afford one act of mercy to a Scot,
Unless that Scot deny himself and do,
(What's easier far) renounce his nation too.

Cleveland makes a brief humorous allusion to the Welsh in his poem *Smectymnuus*.

While Dryden did not satirize the Scots as often as did Cleveland, there is a passage in the second part of *Absalom and Achitophel* in which he turns loose his wrath on the whole tribe of "Hebronites," touching on all the qualities that made them so unpopular during the reign of the Stuarts. The passage is at once bitter and brilliant, but too long to quote in full:

Next these, a troop of busy spirits press,
Of little fortunes, and of conscience less;
With them the tribe, whose luxury had drain'd
Their banks, in former sequestrations gain'd;
Who rich and great by past rebellions grew,
And long to fish the troubled streams anew.
Some future hopes, some present payment draws,
To sell their conscience and espouse the cause.
Such stipends those vile hirelings best befit,
Priests without grace, and poets without wit.
Shall that false Hebronite escape our curse,
Judas, that keeps the rebels' pension-purse;
Judas, that pays the treason-writer's fee,
Judas, that well deserves his namesake's tree;

For never Hebronite, tho' kick'd and scorn'd,
To his own country willingly return'd [ll. 310-49].

The last couplet, delightfully descriptive of the Scottish forwardness and eagerness for political position in England, was quoted in the *North Briton* for June 19, 1762, when the Scots (this time under the leadership of Lord Bute) were again swarming into London.

The death of Dryden in 1700 makes a convenient stopping-place for our list of poetical satires. Yet it would not be reasonable to overlook certain collections, made and published much later, of songs of uncertain date. Such a representative work as D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth* contains a satire, *Cousin Taffy*, beginning

There was a man, a shentleman,

and continuing with a conventional attack on the Welsh. And again there are some lines entitled *Irish Dress*, too obscene to quote.¹

Even so late a collection as the *Virginia Nightingale* (Alexandria, 1807) contains songs and ballads that may have circulated in the seventeenth century. In any case the volume is of some interest, as no less than twenty-seven of the numbers satirize the Irish.

CONCLUSIONS

By the beginning of the eighteenth century satirizing the Celts had become a traditional literary habit. Its extent and influence can be seen by studying the works of such a representative author as Swift,² and by considering the attitude of Dr. Johnson, as revealed

¹ See *Wit and Mirth*, IV, 187 and 199; also F. W. Fairholt's *Satirical Songs and Poems on Costume* (Percy Society, XXVII, 1849), 125-26.

² So far as Irish poverty was caused by unjust laws passed by Parliament, Swift did everything in his power to help an oppressed people whom he sincerely pitied; so far as Irish ignorance and degradation were the result of the savage slovenliness for which the nation had long been notorious, Swift took the morbid pleasure of a realist in displaying to the public eye all that was most loathsome.

From his *Short View of the State of Ireland*, *Modest Proposal*, *Drapier Letters*, and private correspondence, scores of pertinent quotations might be made. But although we have not space for direct quotations, we must give special attention to the amusing idea that Swift gathered the material for his descriptions of the Yahoo from common scenes of Irish life. In some verses dated 1771, by Anthony Champion, we read:

Hard and degrading is the lot
Of the poor vulgar female Scot
From such, beheld on Irish plains,
Where still old barbarism reigns,
Swift's strong, but cruel, pencil drew
The picture of the vile Yahoo [*Miscellanies* (London, 1801), p. 64].

So too, the witty Dr. Arbuthnot delights to point out the similarity of the Irish language to that of the Houyhnhnms: "Besides, what can be more evident than that the Houyhnhnm language was perfectly understood by the ancient Greeks, as the Irish (which

not only in Boswell's *Life* but also in various of Johnson's own productions.¹ Again, much material is available in the letters of men like Horace Walpole,² and in the justly popular satiric poems

hath the nearest similitude of sound and pronunciation to that language) is intelligible to many curious persons at the present?" [Arbuthnot's *Works* (Oxford, 1892), p. 504.]

It would, of course, be quite futile to try to make a brief statement of Swift's influence in molding the attitude of the English public toward the Irish. So much, however, it is safe to say: by reporting with vivid realism the degradation of Irish life and by satirizing the stupidity of the natives, Swift kept the "wild Irish" tradition alive and helped to pass it on to the time of the Romantic movement.

¹ All the anti-Celtic prejudice of which the great lexicographer was capable—no inconsiderable amount—seems to have been reserved for the Scots. On this subject some of his remarks have now become proverbial, especially the well-known definition of *oats*. So far as I know, however, no one has ever tried to establish any causal relation between his contempt of the Scots as a nation on the one hand, and, on the other hand, the storm of satirical protest which greeted the Celtic revival in literature. The relation of the "wild Irish" idea to the slowness with which the English public welcomed the Celtic-English poetry of the late eighteenth century may have been something more than a *post hoc* connection.

Turning the pages of Boswell's *Life*, one is inevitably struck by both the strength of the prejudice and the frequency with which it is manifested. A few of the more significant passages are these:

"But, Sir, let me tell you, the noblest prospect which a Scotchman ever sees, is the high road that leads him to England!" [Froude's Oxford ed., I, 285.]

"You then are going wild about Ossian. . . . Don't be credulous; you know how little a Highlander can be trusted. . . . All of them,—may not all,—but *droves* of them, would come up, and attest any thing for the honour of Scotland" [*Ibid.*, I, 558-59]. He also persevered in his wild allegation, that he questioned if there was a tree between Edinburgh and the English border older than himself.

"Their learning is like bread in a besieged town; every man gets a little, but no man gets a full meal. There is (said he) in Scotland, a diffusion of learning, a certain portion of it widely and thinly spread. A merchant there has as much learning as one of their clergy" [*Ibid.*, I, 594].

These and many other allusions in his biography throw a great deal of light on the amount of scorn expressed by the immortal definition: "Oats, a grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people."

From time to time he broke out thus, but his most delightful and certainly most subtle satire is to be found in *A Trip to the Western Islands of Scotland*. Instead of railing at the Scots for their barbarous and disgusting customs, Johnson adopts the detached and unemotional attitude of an anthropologist. Every fact of Scottish life interests him; nothing astonishes him; in fact, the most unbelievable actions are recounted as if they were exactly what should be expected among so savage and filthy a people. In this book the humor is not the bolsterous humor of exaggeration; it is the far more effective reserve of an Englishman who expresses no surprise at anything wild among the barbarous Caledonians.

In a word, Dr. Johnson was, in a modern way, to the Scots what Giraldus had been to the Irish and the Welsh. If the satires of the great lexicographer are less brutal than those of his predecessor, it is only because Johnson labored under the disadvantage of not being a liar.

² See the Index of Mrs. Paget Toynbee's edition of Walpole's *Letters* (Oxford, 1904). The following allusions are of particular interest: II, 141; II, 246; IX, 287; XI, 222. As an example, I quote from the letter of June 14, 1780, to Sir Horace Mann:

"But what a nation is Scotland; in every reign engendering traitors to the state, and false and pernicious to the kings that favour it the most! National prejudices, I know, are very vulgar; but, if there are national characteristics, can one but dislike the soils and climates that concur to produce them?"

of violent partisan poets like Churchill.¹ Among the writers of political prose perhaps the most typical in his attitude of studied

¹ Churchill's strong prejudice against the Scots was undoubtedly due largely to political conditions. He wrote his greatest satires when the Scottish influence at the English court, especially that of Lord Bute, was intolerably oppressive. Of his general attitude, William Tooke says:

"Churchill omitted no opportunity of displaying his inveterate animosity against the whole Scottish nation." . . . [Aldine Poets ed., London, 1844, I, 174.]

Churchill is of particular importance for three reasons: first, he wrote at the very time of the Celtic revival in English literature; second, he exerted a strong influence on his friend John Wilkes, with whom he collaborated in the production of *The North Briton*; last, he allowed his prejudice against the Scots such full rein that he attacked even their literature. We must remember, furthermore, that in studying Churchill we are dealing with one of the most popular writers of the day. Whatever the twentieth century may think of him as a poet, there is no doubt that he wrote about the cleverest verse in the pre-Romantic period.

His general attitude of "inveterate animosity against the whole Scottish nation" is best expressed in *The Prophecy of Famine*, which appeared early in 1763. This poem, purporting to be a pastoral in praise of the greatness of Scotland, is perhaps the masterpiece in the whole collection of satires expressing that strong racial prejudice which I have called the "wild Irish" tradition. Three brief quotations involving contemptuous references to Macpherson's Ossianic poems are all that the limitation of space permits.

And if plain nature pours a simple strain,
Which Bute may praise, and Ossian not disdain,
Ossian, sublimest, simplest bard of all,
Whom English infidels Macpherson call.

Sawney as long without remorse could bawl
Home's madrigals, and ditties from Fingal:
Oft' at his strains, all natural though rude,
The Highland lass forgot her want of food,
And, whilst she scratch'd her lover into rest,
Sank pleased, though hungry, on her Sawney's breast.

Thence came the Ramsays, names of worthy note,
Of whom one paints, as well as t'other wrote;
Thence, Home, disbanded from the sons of prayer
For loving plays, though no dull dean was there;
Thence issued forth, at great Macpherson's call,
That old, new, epic pastoral, Fingal;

Thence simple bards, by simple prudence taught,
To this wise town by simple patrons brought,
In simple manner utter simple lays,
And take, with simple pensions, simple praise.

In the same poem Churchill strikes at a few of the contemporary English poets, especially at William Mason, whose Celtic dramatic poem, *Caractacus*, had done so much to promote the Celtic revival.

Churchill also referred contemptuously to *Ossian* in several of his other poems—twice in *The Ghost*. Too much weight cannot be attached to the fact that Macpherson's *Fingal* was written under the patronage of Bute and that *Temora* was dedicated to him. For this reason it naturally came about that all the political hatred which had been accumulating against the Scot Bute was shared by the unfortunate Scot Macpherson. The influence of political and racial prejudice in discountenancing *Ossian* is clearly demonstrable in the work of Churchill.

unfairness is the demagogue Wilkes.¹ It is likewise important to note the satire contained in the *De Situ Britanniae*² even though it is now recognized as a mere literary forgery, and in the scurrilous collection of satires published by John Torbuck.³ Such a study (of

¹ One of the most amusing features of the life of the popular demagogue Wilkes is his peculiar relation to Dr. Johnson. Politically they were bitter enemies, so bitter, in fact, that Johnson felt called on to write *The False Alarm*, a pamphlet aimed directly at Wilkes. The indefatigable Boswell, always eager for some new side light on the character of his hero, conceived the strange scheme of bringing these two irresistible forces together and watching for results. Boswell twice succeeded, and on both occasions the result was this: the meeting was very agreeable; politics was carefully avoided as a subject of conversation, and the two great men promptly joined forces in a general witty attack on everything Scottish. "On this topic," says Boswell, "he and Mr. Wilkes could perfectly assimilate; here was a bond of union between them."

Wilkes made his most violent outbursts against the Scots through the medium of *The North Briton*, a weekly in which he, Churchill, and others combined to write down Lord Bute and the whole Scottish party at court. It would be idle to try to give at second hand any complete idea of the amount of anti-Scottish satire contained in the various issues of this sheet, and *The North Briton* is, of course, too well known to make any such effort necessary. Let it suffice to say that out of the first forty-five numbers there are only ten in which the Scots are not directly attacked. A few of the more important issues may be briefly mentioned.

No. 3 is significant for showing the influence of Dryden. (See above, p. 718.) No. 13 contains a description of Scotland purporting to have been written by James Howell in 1649, a scurrilous satire much like the attacks on Wales in John Torbuck's *Collection*. Numbers 22 and 26 are remarkable for a witty satire in verse called "The Poetry Professors," where Scottish literature suffers much as it did in the passages already quoted from "The Prophecy of Famine." In many of the essays the writer takes peculiar pleasure in quoting significant passages against the Scots from Johnson, and in No. 40 the famous definition of *oats* is introduced with deadly effect. On the whole, *The North Briton* may be regarded as a general handbook of satire against the Scots.

² Early in the eighteenth century there circulated widely the *De Situ Britanniae*, purporting to be by Richard of Cirencester, but now known to be a clever literary forgery by Bertram. (See G. A. Farrer's *Literary Forgeries*, 1907, chap. II.) The work was accepted as genuine by William Stukeley and other antiquaries, and exerted a considerable influence on the English writers of the late eighteenth century. In this work public attention was again called to unpleasant reports of the Celts already given by earlier writers, and here collected and again disseminated by the imaginary Richard; for instance:

"The inhabitants, says Mela, are more than other nations uncivilized and without virtue, and those who have a little knowledge are wholly destitute of piety. Solinus calls them an inhospitable and warlike people. The conquerors, after drinking the blood of the slain, daub their faces with the remainder. They know no distinction between right and wrong" [Bohn Library Translation, Book I, chap. vii].

³ In the year 1738 four anonymous satires on the Welsh were published. Perhaps they appeared separately at first; at least the pagination is not continuous throughout the volume. In any case, Torbuck published them all together under the title of *A Collection of Travels, and Memoirs of Wales*, with a brief table stating the contents of the four satires.

The first of these, "The Briton Described," now commonly ascribed to William Richards, of Helmdon, is one of the coarsest and most grotesque examples of anti-Celtic humor ever published. Its tone is ultra-Rabelaisian, and for that reason I refrain from quoting. After a few incidental insults to the Welsh (pp. 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 24, 30, 31, etc.), the author proceeds to a more direct attack on their national characteristics. As

which I indicate the outstanding features in the notes) carries us well on past the middle of the century, with the tendency growing steadily stronger.

To understand the full extent to which this scorn of everything Celtic influenced the reading public during the years from 1760 to 1800, it is necessary to read extensively in the minor writers of the period, and to turn the pages of various periodicals like the *Gentleman's Magazine* and the *Scots Magazine*. After making such a study, I can only say that the prejudice was even stronger than would be expected from *a priori* considerations. As the interest in Celtic antiquities grew stronger and even the dabbling poetasters began to imitate Macpherson's Ossianic imitations, so the minor satirists began to break out in a general expression of scorn toward everything Celtic. Popular works like Hutton's *Remarks upon North Wales*¹ were filled with coarse poems satirizing the Welsh language, the ignorance and poverty of the Welsh clergy, and

might be expected, pride in genealogy is first satirized (p. 42), after which there is a description of various disgusting habits of dress (pp. 43-45). Then follows a satire on their manner of eating, with two of the usual slurs on the Welsh predilection for cheese (pp. 45, 46), and many vile aspersions on the low stature and bodily filth of these wild people. The harpers, a class of whom the Welsh were justly proud, are treated as itinerant buffoons who earn their daily bread by harping in such fashion that the inhabitants throw vegetables and all manner of foodstuffs at them. The description of the manner of making love is particularly odious, and is illustrated by a twenty-eight line poem in dialect.

The second number in this collection, "A Trip to North-Wales," is shorter and less unified than its predecessor, but quite as abusive.

The third of Torbuck's satires is "A Funeral Sermon, preached by the Parson of Langwillin." The dialectical peculiarities of the English-speaking Welsh and the ignorance of the Welsh clergy are the special points attacked in this parody. The parson takes for his text the words "Watch and pray"; his lesson is that Abel's death resulted from the fact that he prayed but neglected to *watch* his brother Cain!

The last of these four satires, "The Welsh Mouse-Trap, a Poem," is a mock heroic of some twelve pages. The element of humor, which is the only saving feature of the three preceding compositions, is here almost wholly lacking, so that "The Welsh Mouse-Trap" does little but disgust the reader and heap a certain amount of scorn on the heroes of the ancient Britons.

The popularity of this collection of satires may be judged from the fact that other editions appeared in 1742, 1748 (two editions), and 1749.

Several other satires against the Welsh, which I have not had opportunity to examine, are listed, *s.v.* "satire," in the carefully prepared *Catalogue of Printed Literature in the Welsh Department of the Cardiff Free Libraries*, by John Ballinger and James Ifano Jones (1898).

¹ *Remarks upon North Wales, Being the Result of Sixteen Tours through that Part of the Principality*. In the 1803 ed. (Birmingham) see pp. 33, 62-64, and 87-93 respectively for the poems "Eglwys Wrw," "The Way to find Sunday," and "The Welch Wedding."

Welsh marriage customs. Antiquaries such as John Pinkerton would refer to the "Celtic savages" and explain by remarking:

For they are savages, have been savages since the world began, and will be forever savages while a separate people; that is, while themselves and of unmixed blood.¹

Even native-born Irishmen like Dermody became so filled with the popular prejudice as to write:

Rank nurse of nonsense; on whose thankless coast
The base weed thrives, the nobler bloom is lost:
Parent of pride and poverty, where dwell
Dullness and brogue and calumny:—farewell!²

The word "Hibernian" came to be synonymous with "rowdy," and even Thomas Gray said he had never known a Scotchman who could read, much less write, great poetry.³ Throughout all the magazines⁴ we find traces of an anti-Celtic prejudice so strong that we begin to wonder how any Celtic revival at all was possible.

In the foregoing pages I have reviewed a number of the most representative English satires against the Celts. The analysis has, of course, been qualitative and not quantitative, but enough satires have been studied to show that the prejudice with which we are concerned was, from the time of Giraldus Cambrensis down to the Romantic movement, an unbroken tradition. Some of the charges brought against the Celts were made against Irish, Welsh, and Scots alike; for instance, cruelty, barbarity, ignorance, and general "wildness." In particular, the Irish were taunted for their degraded

¹ *A Dissertation on the Origin and Progress of the Scythians or Goths* (London, 1787), pp. 91-92. See also John Campbell's *Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland* (London, 1777).

² Published posthumously in *The Harp of Erin* (London, 1807), I, 246.

³ See Gray's letter to Mason, August 7, 1760. (Tovey's ed. of the letters, II, 160.)

⁴ The magazines abound with humorous verses, letters, and book reviews containing all sorts of aspersions on the Celts. While most of these are too trifling to merit citation, I have noted a few that will serve as illustrations; see *The Gentlemen's Magazine*, 1762, pp. 287-88; 1767, p. 589; 1768, p. 137; 1781, pp. 430-31; 1781, p. 37; 1796, p. 951; *The Scots Magazine*, 1773, p. 39, for a notice of "The Irishman; or the favorite of fortune, a satirical novel founded upon facts" (called by the *Monthly Review* "unnatural, frivolous, and indelicate"); 1783, pp. 517-20. For humorous verses satirizing the Celtic and Scandinavian Revivals in poetry see *The Poetical Works of Robert Lloyd* (1774), I, 121, cited in F. E. Farley's *Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement* (1903), p. 223.

domestic life and lack of all civilization. The Welsh were most frequently attacked for their dialectical peculiarities, their undue pride in genealogy, their marriage customs, their habits of eating, and the ignorance and poverty of their clergy. Against the Scots the charges were frequently political, such as that of being naturally treacherous, but perhaps the English idea of the typical Scot is best expressed by the phrase "bigoted ignorance."

As in a legal case of *libel per se* the plaintiff never need show the exact amount of harm he has suffered as a result of the libel, so here I have not attempted to show the full damage done by each of the satirists; it is, however, obvious that by an attack so bitter and so general as this the popular regard for ancient Celtic literature must inevitably have been influenced. That is to say, there is the strongest conceivable antecedent probability that the English public would be slow to welcome into their poetry any myths or folklore concerning the ancient Celts.

But over and above this strong antecedent probability that such would be the case, there is the fact that we actually do find Johnson, Walpole, Churchill, and Wilkes opposing the new movement in a way that can be explained only on the ground of prejudice. And where these great generals led the way, there the vast crowd of camp followers dogged their steps. The Ossianic poems of Macpherson, the translations into English verse from real or fictitious Irish manuscripts, and the numerous versifications of bardic poems from the Welsh, however popular they may have been from 1760 to 1800, would, I believe, have been far more popular but for this systematic poisoning of the public mind. In making a detailed study of the Celtic revival during those years, I was repeatedly struck by the bitterness of such critics as Dr. Johnson and John Pinkerton; hence my interest in the question whether a long train of satires could exert a real influence on the reception by the public of poetry from Celtic sources. That such has been the case is shown to be possible and, I believe, highly probable, by the collection of satires given in the preceding pages.

It has not been the purpose of this study to show that the "wild Irish" idea was the *sole* cause of the slowness with which English poets began to substitute Celtic mythology for the worn-out stories

of the Greek and Roman gods and goddesses. The difficulty of getting at the great store of saga material, the comparative scarcity of scholars who could read the original manuscripts, the fact that Macpherson, the most famous writer of Celtic-English poetry, was by no means what he pretended to be—all these causes played their part in retarding the movement. In addition there is the fact, little commented on by most literary critics, that in the religion of the ancient Celts there was not, at any time, a well-organized pantheon corresponding to the pantheon of the Greeks, the Romans, or even the later Norsemen. Still, not least among the causes was the "wild Irish" tradition—the tradition that started in 1187 with Giraldus' immortal question, "Can any good thing come out of Ireland?" and continued unbroken well on into the English Romantic movement.

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REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Foundations and Nature of Verse. By CARY F. JACOB, M.S., PH.D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1918. Pp. ix+231.

The Measures of the Poets. A New System of English Prosody. By M. A. BAYFIELD, M.A. Cambridge: The University Press, 1919. Pp. vii+112.

Dr. Jacob's book is an attempt at a synthesis of the results of scientific (chiefly physical and psychological) investigations into the nature of the various elements which appear in verse. After a Foreword and an Introduction, the author discusses in a series of chapters such basic physical subjects as "Pitch," "Tone Quality," "Intensity," "Time," "Rhythm." Having laid this foundation, he considers "the types of phenomena which enter into the formation of temporal rhythm" (p. 101) in order to determine which of them is significant for meter. The first of these types of phenomena is duration; from experiments in which duration is isolated, it has been shown that our impressions of time are very inexact. "We accept as equal time intervals which are unequal (sometimes by almost as much as fifty per cent)" (p. 104). If this is so "when duration and duration alone is involved and when attention is doing its best to make accurate judgments, the amount of aberration attendant upon judgment when not only variety of pitch, of tone-color, and of intensity, but also intellectual content are present to complicate matters must be seen at once to be extreme" (p. 105). "The so-called short vowels require just as much time for their pronunciation as is required by the so-called long vowels" (p. 116). Therefore such theories as those of Sidney Lanier and Professor Saintsbury lack any scientific confirmation. Next the author considers accent, in which changes of pitch, loudness, and time figure. Here he uses a term "centroid syllable" devised by Wallin and defined as "an impression which arouses the sense of hearing to a certain pitch of intensity for a certain length of time" (p. 126). The problem to be studied is whether there is regularity of time intervals between centroids, and the conclusion is negative. In this chapter appear some scansiones, which are (in the opinion of one reader at least) wild and horrendous, e.g.:

Tō fūrthēr | thīs Ǟ | chitōpél ũ | nītes | [p. 139]

Yēt | ónce mōre | Ó yē | Laurels, and | ónce mōre | [p. 140]

Can it be that such schemes have a meaning? In this chapter Dr. Jacob concludes that neither the time intervals between accents nor the number of accents in the line "differentiates prose from verse or verse from music." In succeeding chapters he studies "The Phrase" and "Rhyme and the Line" with the conclusion that none of these is sufficient to distinguish verse from prose. In the second of those chapters the author expresses surprising views as to the line: he believes that the writing of verse in lines is a perfectly arbitrary matter, and that verse is essentially verse whether it be written in lines of a determined length or written continuously just as in the case of prose! The evidence he gives—the scribe's method of writing Old English verse without separation into lines, writing out a passage from Shakspeare (starting with a point *inside* a line) and asking a person to arrange it as verse, and Poe's experience with a single poem—is too trivial to be worth answering. Indeed, his opinion on lines is inconsistent with his own emphasis on the importance of the phrase.

At this point, perhaps, it is as well to state that Dr. Jacob's style is by no means clear—at least to a simple philologist. Much of what he says seems to have little definite meaning or is really ambiguous. (It should be added that in many cases the investigators whom he quotes express themselves even less clearly than he does.) Thus, it may be that he does not mean what he seems to say about the line, or in this statement about kinds of feet: "I can not believe that there is any essential difference between the various kinds of feet" (p. 178). If this means what it says, one wonders how such a view is reconciled with the fact that we have in English a vast body of verse which can be analyzed most simply as iambic in movement, cannot be treated as trochaic except by those who are willing to call trochaic a line which regularly begins with anacrusis, and is regularly truncated at the end; that the body of trochaic verse is relatively small, and that for most subject-matters at least readers and poets alike prefer the former movement to the latter. After having shown that such elements as duration, accent, phrase, rhyme, and line do not "characterize verse," Dr. Jacob begins on page 178 to consider the elements that do distinguish verse. In this section of his book he is least clear; though one can see what his opinions are, one cannot see how he arrives at them. The fact seems to be that the results of all the scientific study have been negative, and hence do not afford a basis for a constructive theory. Therefore throughout this part of his study Dr. Jacob is compelled to reach his positive conclusions much as does the ordinary metrist. Thus, though scientific investigation shows that the time lengths of syllables and pauses, when considered separately or in combination, are not sufficiently regular to arouse an impression of rhythm, Dr. Jacob thinks that when the attention is not occupied specifically with making these measurements, the regularity is sufficient to aid in the establishment of a general feeling of rhythm (p. 185). Likewise, though there is not equality of time length between accents, still there is a regularity of recurrence of

accent. "Of the phenomena of verse, accent is the most prominent. In both verse and music it furnishes for the ear the most convenient standard of measurement" (p. 186). The book concludes with chapters on "The Content of the Phrase," "The Rhythm of Prose," and "Scansion," and a Summary. The last is significant in that it shows that the result produced, on Dr. Jacob's mind at least, by the large amount of scientific experiment is a series of opinions which differ practically not at all from the views of such metrists as Lewis and Alden.

The value of the book to anyone interested in the structure of verse is great because it furnishes a quick method of becoming acquainted with the results of scientific investigation and affords a check to the more subjective methods of most books on prosody.

Mr. Bayfield's book is the production of a classical scholar, who evidently does not believe it necessary to inform himself on the discussions of the prosody of a modern language before writing on it. In an introduction he admits that he had not heard of Lanier's *The Science of English Verse* when he wrote this book. As he never refers to Omond, Bridges, or Mayor (to cite only English authorities), it is presumable that he knows nothing of their views. The chief contention of his book—that English verse should be scanned generally as trochaic rather than as iambic—he apparently considers a discovery of his own, but of course it was presented long ago by Lanier, and more systematically developed by William Thomson in *The Basis of English Rhythm* (1904). Mr. Bayfield's general treatment and scansions are by no means so convincing as those of his two predecessors. Finally, Mr. Bayfield includes information about various Greek feet—ionic and galliambic—and lyric measures (p. 24). If he finds in a line of English verse a series of syllables which seems to fit any of these, he thinks he has proved something. A more detailed review, which brings out many other faults in this absurd book, may be found in *Modern Language Notes*, XXXV, 122-26.

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Un Point du Vue Français sur le But de la Modern Humanities Research Association: The Presidential Address for 1919-20.
By GUSTAVE LANSON. [Cambridge: Printed at the University Press.] Pp. 15.

In a recently issued prospectus the Modern Humanities Research Association, founded at Cambridge, England, in 1918, announces as its main object "the encouragement of advanced study in Modern Languages and Literatures by co-operation, through correspondence, personal intercourse,

the interchange of information and counsel, and financial support for students engaged in research." It also aims at "improving and facilitating means and methods, and seeks such a co-ordination of isolated effort that those interested or engaged in the same branch of research shall be kept informed of each other's work, and that unnecessary duplication of energy shall be avoided."

Those engaged in teaching or in research should welcome the fuller statement of the purposes of the Association as set forth by its second president, the distinguished French scholar and critic, Gustave Lanson. Professor Lanson regards the Modern Humanities Research Association as

originale entre toutes les sociétés scientifiques qui pullulent à travers le monde, par l'idée qui l'inspire et les moyens qu'elle emploie. Elle ne renonce pas sans doute à améliorer les instruments bibliographiques, et à en rendre l'usage plus facile. Mais elle a bien vu que l'essentiel était ailleurs, et dans ce qui pour la plupart des sociétés savantes n'a été jusqu'ici qu'un effet accessoire, non inscrit dans les statuts ou les programmes. Elle s'efforce, sans rien abandonner des moyens modernes, de remettre les érudits du vingtième siècle dans la condition des savants de la Renaissance et du dix-septième siècle: elle veut rétablir la communication personnelle des travailleurs dispersés à travers le monde. Par-dessus les revues, les répertoires, les catalogues et les bibliographies, elle prétend mettre l'homme en présence de l'homme. Aucun instrument mécanique, quelque parfait qu'en soit la construction et quelque exact qu'en soit le fonctionnement, ne vaut, à certains égards, et pour certains effets, l'instrument variable et inexact, mais simple et adaptable et indéfiniment extensible, qu'est un esprit d'homme.

Professor Lanson's idea of humanistic culture, if realized by the Modern Humanities Research Association, should do much toward lessening the contempt in which the mere specialist is often held by those who regard real humanism as incompatible with technical scholarship. The faculty for minute research, it must be confessed, is too seldom combined with constructive imagination, but the lack is more frequently attributable to natural want of spiritual insight than to the effects of intensive study. Creative scholarly imagination and acute literary perception that can be killed by systematic technical training are likely not to be worth saving, and, as Professor Lanson observes, the critic who despises the efforts of the lowly seeker after mere facts and depends wholly on intuition for his results is doomed to err sooner or later. The French savant says:

Une Société comme la vôtre est un groupement qui a pour but le travail, et non pas l'éloquence, qui veut des choses, et non des mots. ... Vous manifestez, par votre désir de favoriser et de faciliter la recherche, que l'étude littéraire n'échappe pas plus que n'importe quelle application de l'intelligence humaine, à l'obligation de chercher la vérité, de s'en approcher le plus possible. Votre érudition ne méprise ni l'intuition, ni le sentiment, ni le goût; elle sait que c'est dans les profondeurs de la sensibilité et de l'imagination que s'allume l'idée qui guide la recherche et en interprète les résultats. Mais elle sait aussi

que l'idée a besoin du contrôle rigoureux des méthodes, que le plus petit fait, le plus sec, le plus plat, une fois qu'il est bien constaté, suffit à renverser la plus magnifique théorie, et que, si elles ne satisfont pas à quelques exigences bien terre à terre de la critique, les plus séduisantes vues de l'esprit ne sont que des visions.

Vous savez encore que l'histoire littéraire, si elle n'était qu'un jeu d'idées et un exercice de fantaisie, ne vaudrait vraiment pas la peine qu'on y prendrait: mieux vaudrait jouer au golf. ... Quiconque nous a donné le moyen de penser un peu plus vrai sur la plus petite des questions qui composent l'histoire littéraire d'une nation, celui-là, nous le croyons tous fermement, n'a pas perdu sa vie. ... C'est le savoir exact, c'est la critique méthodique qui séparent ... les hypothèses fécondes des fantaisies aventureuses.

Of the international character of the Association, Professor Lanson says:

Vous n'avez pas voulu seulement grouper les travailleurs de votre pays, de votre Empire, vous avez convié les travailleurs de toutes les nations à s'unir avec vous. Vous revenez ainsi à la belle conception de la République universelle des lettres qui fut celle de l'humanité cultivée à la Renaissance. ... La science et la pensée sont de tous les pays.

If the Modern Humanities Research Association honestly labors for a republic of letters whose bounds are determined, not by national prejudice, but by the vast domain of humanistic culture, it will accomplish great things not only for scholarship but also for the cause of international amity. Any less comprehensive program falls short of real humanism.¹

T. P. CROSS

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The Georgic. A Contribution to the Study of the Vergilian Type of Didactic Poetry. By MARIE LORETTO LILLY, PH.D. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1919. "Hesperia. Supplementary Series: Studies in English Philology." No. 6. Pp. vii+175.

Dr. Lilly's study of the georgic comprises certain chapters of a doctoral dissertation prepared under the direction of Professor Bright and Professor Mustard. As the author admits, her work is merely an introduction to the subject and omits many developments, particularly in Italian. Dr. Lilly also makes no effort to cover the fields of German and Spanish. In discussing the documents treated she has unfortunately been unable to gain access to certain promising sources of information or knows such sources only at second hand.

After indicating briefly the extent of previous critical investigations of the georgic, the author proceeds to a discussion of the history of the type,

¹ The association is affiliated with the Modern Language Association of America, and is represented in this country by Professor M. Blakemore Evans, Assistant Secretary for the United States, Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio.

which she traces from the *Works and Days* of Hesiod to Francis Jammes' *Géorgiques chrétiennes*. Chapter iii is devoted to an attempt to distinguish between the georgic and the pastoral as literary types. The essential difference seems to consist in the didactic and practical character of the former, but, as the author observes, the two kinds of poetry frequently influence each other. The georgic may either follow a definite plan and make more or less use of Vergilian conventions (e.g., Alamanni's *Coltivazione*) or show no regard for artistic form (e.g., Thomas Tusser's *Five Hundred Pointes of Good Husbandrie*). Closely related to the georgic and subject to the same classification are treatises on deep-sea fishing (the halieutic), on hunting with hounds (the cynegetic), and on hawking and snaring of birds (the ixeutic). Dr. Lilly also includes compositions "in which the poet treats of rules giving practical instructions on any outdoor occupation" (e.g., the nautical georgic) or practical art (e.g., John Gay's *Receipt for Stewing Veal*). She finds georgic conventions even in poetry which merely emphasizes "the necessity of honest toil and the advantages of country life" (e.g., John Armstrong's *Art of Preserving Health*). Georgic features turn up also in burlesque poems, such as Gay's *Trivia*. Another group of poems examined by Dr. Lilly illustrate georgic themes or georgic features but are not marked primarily by the use of rules of practice (e.g., Bloomfield's *Farmer's Boy* and Akenside's *Pleasures of the Imagination*).

Though the georgic as a *genre* cannot be disregarded, it appears seldom if ever to have attained great popularity in modern times. From the age of Vergil to the close of the fifteenth century Dr. Lilly finds scarcely more than a georgic a century. In the sixteenth century there are several new developments, especially in Italy; but in the seventeenth century the georgic almost disappears. In more recent times the form has flourished most during the eighteenth century, especially in England, whence the vogue seems to have been carried to the Continent with other features of the return to nature.

In general Dr. Lilly's study furnishes a fair survey of the field. Her work is, moreover, unusually free from the tendency often encountered in ladies' dissertations to indulge in superlatives and to lean hard on the opinions of others.

T. P. CROSS

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